



RIGHT²KNOW

2019/20 PROGRAMME REVIEW REPORT

Doing the Limbo on a Shifting Carpet

2019/20

Programme

Review

Doing the Limbo on a Shifting
Carpet



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Introduction

Since 2018, and after 8/9 years of successful advocacy for greater access to information, greater transparency and against the growing securitisation and state suppression, the R2K has been undergoing a process of reflection and reorientation. The South Africa we occupy has changed, the political, social and economic landscape has changed; the internal composition and demography of the Campaign has also changed. This has brought us to the point of re-evaluating whether the glue that brought us together in 2010, still holds us together in 2020.

The R2K Campaign started as a coalition of various interested parties – from a range of political, social and economic perspectives – drawn together by the danger posed by government’s attempt to draw a veil of secrecy over public information. And united in their advocacy for greater openness, transparency and the fullest expression of the rights contained in the Constitution.

The strength of the coalition lay precisely in its **diversity** of its members – from members of grassroots communities and structures to technical and legal specialists to academics from a range of disciplines. Each one of those constituencies were able to contribute meaningfully to the achievement of the goal – stopping the Secrecy Bill.

Over time, once the first goal was achieved (2013) – the Bill was ratified by Parliament in a significantly changed form to the proposed one in 2010; the Act has yet to be signed into law by the President. And our work expanded into new focus areas – *protecting whistleblowers, the right to protest, media freedom and diversity, access to the internet, and of course access to (public) information with its flipside – protecting personal information.*

We were able to achieve significant successes in promoting these information-related rights while we were able to combine our **policy/legal advocacy** with **grassroots mobilisation and popular education**.

We were able to do well because we had a range of activists who had the technical/specialist knowledge **AND** the access to grassroots communities both for impact and mobilisation.

Our Theory of Change challenged

Over the past 2-3 years, however, the demography of our activist base has shifted as the greater socio-economic and political context has shifted. In 2019, the base of our activists has come from grassroots communities grappling with a range of dire socio-economic challenges and service delivery issues. These activists are NOT first-and-foremost the activists who are primarily concerned with the enabling rights in the Constitution related to information. They are very interested in how they may leverage those rights – of assembly and petition, of accessing information and protecting personal information, of access to the information superhighway, of freedom of expression and opposing attempts to close down or repressing voices – especially those critical of the status quo – in order to pursue their primary activist focus.

However, the ongoing activism around the listed rights requires the **capacity to pursue that activism** – through research, policy intervention, legal challenge and strategic mobilisation.

These skill sets have to be found in the collective capacity of the activist collective AND the support staff. At present, these skills are lacking on both fronts, leaving us much weaker to advocate on the set of information and ancillary rights. As the activist leaders who held much of the technical expertise have withdrawn from the R2K, staff have had to step in to the gap, with less capacity, leaving us less able to make strategic interventions. The 2019 National Summit sought to address this by sharpening the focus of the R2K into only 3 areas, speaking to our greatest strengths. However, even this has highlighted the critical gaps – not only among advocacy staff, but also who we have as activist leadership around the table in each of our regions.

Our 3 Focus Areas in 2019: Working Deeper and Sharper

The 2019 National Summit adopted 3 focus areas for the R2K in an effort to deepen our work and to sharpen the contribution we are able to make to the deepen democracy in South Africa. The three focus areas are:

- **Countering Repression** (including Securitisation of the State, Surveillance and the Right to Protest);
- **Freedom to Express** (including Giving Voice to Citizens (Community Media focus), Access to free and secure internet and Freedom of Expression (including dealing with hate speech); and
- **Participating in Democracy** (including Open Meetings and Meaningful Engagement; Open Structures and Good Governance; and Open Processes and Integrity)

Restructuring our Activism

To ensure that we live up to the principle of being “activist-led”, and to emphasise the role that provincial structures play in implementing the national programme of action, we restructured the provincial activist structures into Provincial Action Groups (PAGs), one per focus area.

Provincial Activism Structures

The National Summit settled on Provincial Action Groups (PAGs) as the focus point in each province in each of the focus areas. This meant that each province would have a PAG (protest & repression), a PAG (communication rights) and a PAG (participating in democracy).

The Provincial Action Groups (PAGs) were formed as a small collective of activists who would drive the programme of action in relation to the focus area in the respective province. Supported by the appropriate community organiser. The PAG would be the core activists who convened the popular education events, mobilised support for the focus area activities and contributed to deepening our collective knowledge and enrolling other activists into activities. The function of the PAG would be to **(1)** ensure the implementation (and localisation) of the national resolutions around the focus area in the province; **(2)** identify popular education needs, local case studies, popular mobilisation

opportunities and **(3)** design and deliver actions that spoke to provincial specific realities.



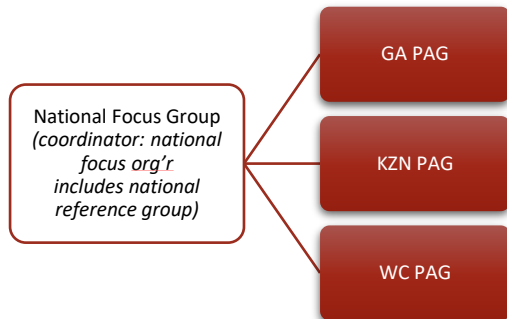
Initially the PAG was envisioned to be a small group of activists that would coordinate the actions in the focus area; in practice the groups often became the entire group of activists who were interested in the focus area, regardless of experience. Unfortunately, our capacity to organise and mobilise has become so slim that the PAG members BECAME the presence of the R2K in the province.

It also took some time to even identify members of the various provincial action groups in each of the provinces. The major stumbling block was identifying which of the current provincial activists or structures who could contribute and, more importantly, **lead** the work in the Action Group.

At the risk of generalising, across the provinces, across the PAGs, a fair amount of input and training on the technical aspects of the focus area will have to be done before the PAG is in a position to assist anyone. Very few grassroots organisations / structures agitate on the 3 central focus areas of the R2k. Instead, many structures at grassroots level look to R2K to provide them with information or services. In an “activist-led” organisation, that information or those services would be done by other activists because they would have the knowledge or skill set to assist other comrades. In the absence of that arrangement it is neither helpful nor desirable to berate / attack staff who step in or, worse still, to expect support staff to do so while perpetuating the fiction that activists are actually providing leadership on technical, programmatic matters.

We ended the year having functional PAGs in all three provinces, and had begun the process of equipping them to implement the National Summit programme resolutions in a more focused manner.

National Activism Structures



The plan was to bring the PAGs in each focus area together to ensure that at least within a focus area there was some national synergies in delivering on National Summit resolutions. While each province might have specific emphasis points in implementing the National Resolutions (e.g. Johannesburg and eThekweni might focus on the issue of protest fees, which is not a challenge in Cape Town).

The delay in provinces adjusting to and implementing the PAGs, meant that the national structures could not be implemented earlier. In 2019, we did manage to convene a 2,5-day national meeting of the PAGS on Protest and Surveillance as a learning forum and as preparation for deployment in the provinces. Similarly, we brought activists together from each province from the Participatory Democracy PAGs to a national meeting to explore expanding our meaningful engagement with provincial legislatures beyond the Western Cape to include KZN and Gauteng.

Under the National Lockdown in response to COVID19, we had to move to engaging each other virtually. This has in one sense made it easier for comrades to meet nationally. However, there remain some obstacles to fully using the technological tools: lack of familiarity with the tools, fear of technology, the cost of data, and significantly, the familiarity with the burning issues on the focus area.

During the lockdown, the PAGs met intermittently and we held National meetings for all three focus areas.

The shift towards connecting virtually will have an important impact on organising, mobilising and popular

education going forward. Our ability to do so will determine our strategies going forward.



Going forward, we will be structuring periodic (quarterly perhaps) virtual meetings of the PAGs in each focus area. We will also be ensuring that popular education on specific issues relevant to each focus area happens nationally and filters into the regional clusters.

An additional challenge in 2019 was that the Elected National activist lead on the various focus areas was either not around (Protest & Surveillance) for a substantial part of the year or was still developing their own knowledge base (Participatory Democracy) or kept on changing (Communication Rights).

Going forward we will have to ensure consistent, strategic activist leadership in each focus area.

One of the challenges at the national level is the absence of the National Focus Groups. These Focus Groups This will have to be a major effort in 2020; we need to reconstitute the national focus groups (with their sub-focus areas) by focusing on the planned campaigns in the focus areas. National Focus Organisers have been given the task of convening these focus groups as a matter of urgency.

Staffing supporting Activism

In light of the developments shared above, the role of programme staff has also shifted over the past 3 years to substitute for activists; earlier on, activists provided the technical know-how that shaped much of the policy and legal advocacy. More recently, the shift in make-up of activists has meant that it has been staff who have had to take responsibility for providing that technical know-how AND for doing grassroots mobilising and organising. Several of the current programme staff members were employed without the in-depth technical know-how (because activists were providing that) and were called

upon to merely support activist-led initiatives. Much of 2019 was spent grappling with this shifting reality and engaging in a staff restructuring exercise that started in the latter half of 2018. An agreed-upon, albeit contested, structure was finalised with effect from June 2020.

The National Summit endorsed the formation of an **integrated National Advocacy Team** with some staff based in provinces to focus on local implementation but always in pursuit of the National programme of action. Implemented in regions. And taking into account regional differences. Organisers would no longer report to Provincial Coordinators (elected activist leadership) but rather to senior programme staff (Deputy National Coordinator) that had been employed to address another gap – the management capacity in provinces among elected leadership.

To address some of the skills gaps referred to among activists and staff, the initial proposal was the creation of teams of staff working together on each focus area:

- 1) **Community Organisers** who do the grassroots mobilisation and interaction,
- 2) **Campaign Organisers** who do research/produce popular education and other materials/run capacity building initiatives in the regions and nationally on the focus area topics/support policy and legal advocacy actions and
- 3) **Focus Organisers/Team Leaders** who would provide strategic leadership in relation to the focus area and ensure that there is synergy among everyone involved in the focus area (staff and activists) in pursuing the National Summit Resolutions and Programme.

What has been missing from the R2K is this last capacity – strategic leadership on a Focus Area.

Considering another resolution taken at the National Summit in 2019 namely, that we should do more to “root the Campaign” in local struggles. Because most local struggles consist of a lack of meaningful engagement with one or more levels of government, the role of Community Organisers, work geographically (provincially, or rather based in a metro) should be on local issues, especially engagement with local stakeholders and structures and processes affecting local communities. In other words, Community Organisers, whilst supporting all three focus areas, would spend **50%** of their time on **Participatory Democracy** (at local and provincial levels), 20% of their time on **Protest and Countering**

Repression, 15% on **Communication Rights** and the balance (**15%**) on administration, reporting and strengthening the R2K.

Campaign Organisers would focus on their area (across the sub-themes) developing materials, creating popular education events, strengthening collaboration on the sub-themes. There could be more than one Campaign organiser in a Focus Area; in such a case they would be able to provide more specific attention to one or other aspect of the focus. It is also envisaged that Campaign Organisers would bring more specific skills – research, legal knowledge, facilitation of learning events etc.

The Focus Team Leaders/Organisers would, in addition to what the Campaign Organisers brought, also provide strategic and team leadership. While the focus areas were distinct, there were also many ways in which they overlapped. A key consideration of the Integrated Advocacy Team was a “joined up” way of working – bringing the different perspectives from the focus areas together to create a more nuanced picture – and advocacy strategy.

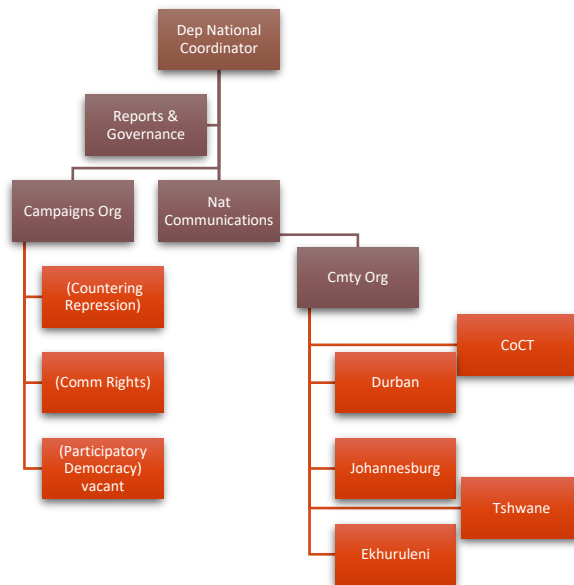
The initial proposed organogram for the Integrated Advocacy Team is below:

However, this Team approach with 3 types of Organisers was rejected by the NWG during the restructuring discussions in favour of a **2-tier** structure of Organisers. There would only be **Community Organisers** and **Campaign Organisers**. The NWG felt there was no need for strategic or team leadership in each focus area. This was done without understanding either the rationale or the need for 3 distinct types of organisers, because the Advocacy strategy document – **Greeting the New Dawn** – was not engaged or interrogated.

The NWG also rejected arranging the **integrated, national** Advocacy Team as described in the National Summit resolutions in favour of a provincially focused support staff. That proposal, if implemented completely, would have resulted in 9 community organisers across 3 provinces without any management capacity to guide them where 2/3 of them would be working on issues that have little traction in provinces (because our focus is on changing policy nationally).

This reversal on the mandate of the National Summit 2019 is one of the causes for the delay in finalising the staffing structure. However, this also was not pursued.

The Organogram of the programme staff as at June 2020 is as follows:



The Shifting Context

External

2019 was a significant year. The removal of President Zuma shortly after the ANC elective conference signalled a change in the fortunes of the country; at the very least a brake placed on looting of the infrastructure of the State and its institutions. However, the focus remains on the national level; the leaking sieve that is local government – responsible for most of the service delivery to citizens – still presents with no answers. In May, the national and provincial elections showed a rise in support for more radical approaches on both the left and the right, while the centre represented by both the governing ANC and the official opposition DA continued to hold on. The political landscape remained incredibly fractured – especially at the local level where the intra-party fractures often had deadly consequences. Overall, society also showed a decline in social cohesion and a retreat into narrow identity politics with all sorts of nationalisms rearing their head and attracting following. Racial and other divisions became starker – often alongside an abuse of the right to freedom of expression. The sluggish economic outlook and the threat of junk investment status raised the cost of living for

ordinary South Africans to unbearable and the lack of service delivery the subject of constant protest.

The country joined the rest of the world as the impact of the global climate crisis bit with changing weather patterns affecting food security negatively and depriving us of the literal life-blood of sentient beings, water.

Of course, the greatest tsunami to hit South Africa were the considerable consequences of the Zuma-era project of State Capture. Hollowed out institutions, incompetent officials, looted resources – the revelations at the State Capture Commission of Inquiry lifted a curtain on the workings of a corrupt, shadowy state repurposed in service of a venal elite.

The civil society space was left considerably weakened in areas in which we work: the closure of SAHA and ODAC, has left huge gaps in the areas of access to information and whistle-blower protection for instance.

2020 will want to be forgotten as the year the world we knew came to an end. The practical suspension of many of the fundamental rights contained in the Constitution, revealed the repressive underbelly of the State. The socio-economic hardships caused by the restrictions on movement and free economic activity led to massive job losses, economic stagnation, food insecurity as well as a spike in violence – especially gender-based violence and contact crimes. The restrictions – and the intensity of the security response (around **240,000** arrests for breaches of the lockdown regulations) created a pressure cooker effect that erupted into social unrest, land occupations and (in terms of the regulations) illegal protest actions. More than 11 civilians lost their lives at the hands of the various security agencies – Municipal Police, SAPS and the SANDF – called up to enforce the regulations.

The National State of Disaster comprised the most significant contraction of our fledgling democracy of 25 years. Cabinet was replaced by a National Command Council, Parliament was suspended, Chapter 9 Institutions too were constrained in their operation. The system of checks and balances between the Executive / Legislature / Judiciary, already quite fragile, was put under severe strain.

The pandemic highlighted the interconnectedness of things – international and local borders were shut throttling trade, travel and migration; #StayHome meant the service industry and services in general could not be sustained; information and misinformation (especially about the pandemic, but also about many other things) were locked in a battle that often had dire consequences.

As of 01 August 2020, close to **500,000** people were infected with COVID19 in South Africa and **8,005** people had died as a result of the disease. Globally, nearly **18 million people** had been infected and with close to **700,000** deaths reported.

Internal

Given that the R2K seeks to work on the macro level of the national stage, many of the issues we do work on also presented themselves WITHIN the R2K. New political leadership, class divisions, the pain of a large unemployed activist corps having to work alongside paid staff brought survival politics to the fore. The change processes – both in the activist sphere and of staff – created mistrust, insecurity and uncertainty. And very little progress, notwithstanding the relatively great amount of time spent on dealing with them.

A Diagnostic Report detailed, as had the 2018 MTR1 & 2 reports, a wide-range of internal organisational challenges that exist within R2K. These include:

1. What is the Purpose for R2K in the current moment?
2. What is the nature of R2K? A horse, a zebra or a mule?
3. What are the politics of R2K?
4. Who comprise R2K?
5. What should be the focus of the work of R2K?

There has been very little appetite within the organisation to grapple with these questions or ones that flow from them since December 2019.

On the programmatic side, the R2K has failed to retain the activist comrades who were working on the focus areas and who were opening up new channels of activism on those focus areas. It also meant that elected leadership were not sufficiently schooled in the issues to provide strategic leadership on the issues.

On the staffing side too, there was a high turnover of staff between 2018 and 2019. This had left vacancies and a number of internal arrangements as a moratorium was placed on appointments pending finalisation of the organogram. The capacity of most of the programme staff to respond to the priorities created by the 2019 National Summit has been lacking. So while there has been work done in all four focal areas – and some significant victories – there has been significant gaps in the contribution of campaign and community organisers across the board, although some have done better than others.

The Programme Team also struggled to gel as a team. The enduring uncertainty around structure left everyone unclear about reporting lines and the scope of their work. It is also quite clear that some of the organisers are uncomfortable in their new roles and ill-equipped to deal with new subject content and the challenges of organising and mobilising in all too unfamiliar virtual environment. This adjustment is one shared by many of the grassroots activists.

The COVID19 lockdown highlighted these challenges even more. We were ill-prepared to manage the repression monitoring teams (Countering Repression), keep track of developments at Metropolitan level into of the Lockdown responses (Participatory Democracy) or collect and publish stories of grassroots experiences of the lockdown and the pandemic (Communication Rights).

The artificial construct of a separation between activists and staff as well as the relative technical incapacities in both groups represent the most important weaknesses internally.

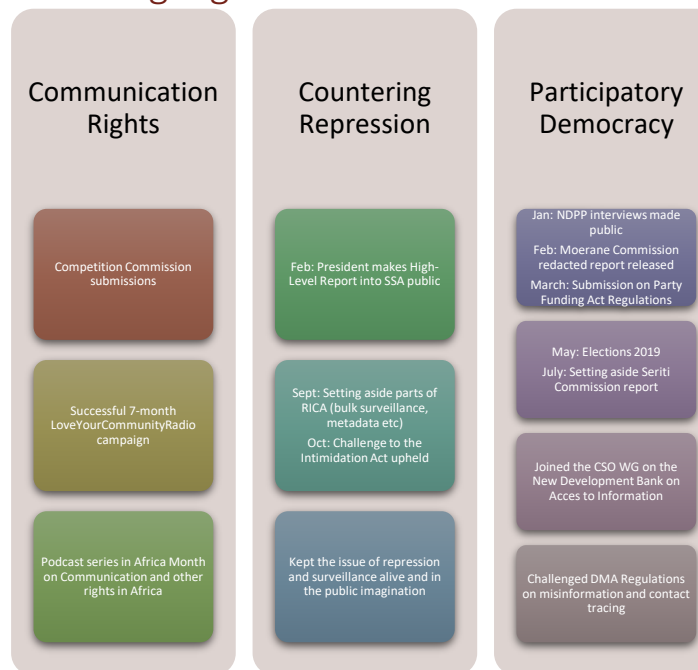
We do have access to pockets of technical expertise that we ought to access and to utilise to strengthen our capacities. That represents an opportunity for us. However, sorting out the fractious and frayed relationships and the toxic environment must be our number one priority if we are to turn the organisation – and our programme around.

Progress Report 2019/20

2019 was marked by slower than anticipated progress against our summit resolutions for this year. There are a number of factors that militated against the full achievement of all the resolutions. While some of those were external to the R2K, many of them were internal, with changes in the governance structures, the composition and demography of the activist corps and the gaps in the necessary skill set among support staff being among the most important and significant.

Nonetheless, we are able to record some progress against our primary resolutions. We also remained sufficiently responsive to the changing landscape in South Africa to record some results against secondary priorities that arose during the year.

Some Highlights:



It is important to remember that the **IMPACT** of these policy/legal advocacy interventions have been far-reaching. R2K managed to punch above its weight-class because of the longer-term impact these individual and collaborative actions have on the overall system: the success in the RICA case with AmaBhungane means that bulk surveillance on **55 million South Africans** had to stop immediately, the setting aside of the Arms Deal Commission Report, with Corruption Watch, has implications for how future Commission of Inquiry operate and removed one important foundation for impunity in that multi-billion Rand corruption case. Our submissions to the Competition Commission were almost fully incorporated into the final set of recommendations on the cost of data that if complied

with, will see tangible reduction in the cost of data for all mobile telephony users.

One lesson from the 2019/20 Programme of Action is the importance of **persistence and perseverance**. It is in the nature of systemic change that it takes time. The setting aside of the Arms Deal Commission Report, was the culmination of nearly 8 years of campaigning -both on the ground and in court.

It was also the result of the efforts of many actors both inside the R2K and in partnership with others.

Collaboration and alliance-building has proven crucial to our success over this period.

The costs of building a mass-based movement have proven to be excessive, and in recent years, the costs of building such a broad-based mass movement around multiple issues have proven too difficult for even cash-rich NUMSA's United Front. The proliferation of issues also leads to competition among interest groups for their issue. We have experienced the same challenges in building grassroots support for our issues; grassroots activists and communities are often too involved in their bread-and-butter survival issues to also have time for the struggles to create an enabling environment.

The COVID19 pandemic heightened the struggle for survival in the face of a health emergency that brought with it increasing joblessness and food insecurity. Community structures (Community Action Networks) sprang up in response to the very real humanitarian crisis. For at least 3 months they demonstrated what true collective community action could look like. However, the demand for resources and that response is not sustainable in the long-term. It points to a different orientation that is needed at a municipal level – a “whole-of-society” approach that leverages the capacities of community structures, government and the private sector. In a participatory manner.

Focus One: Communication Rights

Our Constitution guarantees everyone in South Africa the freedom to express themselves. Like Steve Bantu Biko, we can “write what we like” and “say what we like”. Within reason. Like all rights under the Bill of Rights, the right to freedom of expression is limited insofar it does not infringe on any competing rights of others (s36). It is also limited by an internal limitation in s16 – inciting others to do violence is not permitted, neither is propaganda for war or hate speech defined as inciting imminent violence to be done to someone on the basis of their race, origin, gender or religion.

Giving expression to one’s deepest aspirations is the highest form of self-actualisation, the achievement of one’s greatest potential. That is also where our creativity and innovation reside – and with that the progress of humankind.

Freedom of expression therefore comprises **the freedom to express** as well as **the freedom through expression**.

But the reality of complex social, economic and political relations is never that simple. There are many factors that conspire to limit the right to freedom of expression – some internal to the person, many are external to the person. State restrictions and regulation, censorship, cultural norms and standards, media ownership and editorial policy, the high cost of data and access to the information superhighway as well as the violent underbelly of a virtual world – cyberbullying, stalking and trolling and the abuse of personal information for economic gain and profiteering. Expression is no longer restricted to the real world, but increasingly happens in the virtual space where an individual’s exposure and vulnerability is multiplied exponentially.

Freedom of Expression

- Defend and Advance freedom of expression
- Advance the Right to Communicate
- Promote the Voice of community - in media

Fast & Secure Internet

- Challenging Telecomms companies' profiteering
- Campaign for WIFI in communities and public spaces

Digital Security

- Campaign for a safe and secure internet free from censorship and surveillance
- Promote digital self-defence especially for activists

Achievements

Category	Resolution	Activities completed
Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We will focus on building the campaign for a free, fast, secure and easily accessible Internet - a public good that serves the information and expression needs of all people Campaigning for Wi-Fi in communities and public spaces and institutions that is provided as a free basic service by government. Challenging the profiteering by the big telecomms companies (especially Vodacom and MTN) and to break their domination of spectrum – and to resist their demands for a bigger chunk of the spectrum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We have publicised the OOIN APP this app tests the security of your internet search We have formed a partnership with the Isizwe WIFI project that has a model that can provide 5G internet access safely we are in talks for workshop schedules (see more at https://projectisizwe.org/projects/). We have continued to workshop and publicise the Zenzeleni community network. Read about the rural community that built a network (https://wapa.org.za/node/263) We have engaged the Minister of Communications and Telecommunications on her WIFI roll out plans for communities We have attempted to engage municipalities on their WIFI roll out plans and have been assured that only now the plans are being drawn up. Our submissions to the Competition Commission on the anti-poor pricing of data and the disproportionately high cost of data and connectivity on poor households by the MTN/Vodacom duopoly resulted in a significant reduction in the cost of 1GB of data in 2020.
Legal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We will continue to make strategic interventions to respond to threats and take opportunities to defend and advance freedom of expression and the right to communicate - including free and diverse media and access to telecommunications. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We learned that the proposed Hate Speech / Hate Crimes draft legislation is currently being redrafted. There is the possibility that it will be reintroduced for public comment in 2020/1. We will continue our advocacy around the decriminalisation of speech. We will continue to lobby government and the MDDA to increase support to community media as a primary channel of getting information to indigent and rural communities.

Mobilisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● We will drive the Love Your Community Radio campaign mobilizing progressive civil society to engage their community media using popular education and workshops until the MTR. ● Campaigning for a safe and secure internet free of censorship and surveillance where our privacy and personal information is protected (#HandsOffMyNet) ● Support the continental campaign against internet shutdowns (#KeepItOn) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● We continued to promote the OOIN app and research into a toolkit on tips for safer internet. ● Stronger networks have been formed with the international and continental #KeepItOn network. ● We successfully concluded the LoveYourCommunityRadio campaign in July 2019. The restrictions of the National Lockdown have reinforced the importance of community participation in community media – both as a source of information AND as an outlet for sharing their experiences. ● We also joined the mobilisation around the Copyright Bill and fair use and access to intellectual property.
Research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Conduct research on internet access ● Conduct research on spectrum options 	<p>We held a first roundtable discussion on spectrum allocation. We will need to schedule further roundtables to feed into a campaign for greater and cheaper access.</p>
Materials Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Develop and distribute materials on #LYCR ● Develop a digital security toolkit ● Develop an Activist Guide to Digital Security 	<p>We produced an electronic version of a facilitator guide for supporting the LYCR campaign.</p> <p>The Digital Security Toolkit has been updated to include latest technological developments. It will be launched in August 2020.</p> <p>We produced a series of podcasts in collaboration with CORMA for Africa Month</p> <p>We need to develop and design a series of infographics and info sheets on each of the sub focal areas.</p>
Popular Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● We will continue to make strategic interventions to respond to threats and take opportunities to defend and advance freedom of expression and the right to communicate - including free and diverse media and access to telecommunications. 	<p>We held sessions in support of the LoveYourCommunityRadio campaign in at least 5 provinces.</p>
Partnerships	<p>Develop National Focus Groups on</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Freedom of Expression, (2) Media Diversity, (3) Internet Access and (4) Internet Security <p>Strengthen our strategic engagement with SOS and other coalitions</p>	<p>Building alliances and partnerships has been rendered difficult because of (1) the toxicity of the internal environment and (2) competition with other organisations taking the lead on areas where we had a strong presence. However, networks have been formed on media diversity and digital security.</p>

Key Campaigns

Love Your Community Radio Stations

The right to communicate aspect of the focus area took the front seat this year. With the implementation of the Love Your Community Radio campaign (#LYCR). The campaign was based on the work done in a pilot project in Cape Town and Johannesburg, with Alex FM in Johannesburg and Kulcha FM and Radio Zibonele in Cape Town.

The project looked at governance issues at Alex FM where it was alleged local politicians had captured the station and that it had very little community support or engagement. From the outside, the station looked well run, but after consulting the staff and some community members who were part of the listeners forum, who wanted the community radio to survive, a very different picture emerged.

From this process our “9 tips on how to keep a community engaged in their community radio station” emerged and could then be applied in other contexts.

Off the back of our work, Alex FM, with the support of their local community, was able to challenge the Board in court. The case continued at least until June, when the #LYCR campaign came to an end.

We held workshops in all three provinces and in some outreach provinces; the Campaign ended in July with big demonstrations in the 3 provinces and action from outreach communities all agreeing and demanding an annual grant for their community radio stations.

KeptOn

The #KeptOn network is an African network of organisations working and advocating for internet access for all. This network has given us an in into internet shutdowns all over the world. What makes this network important is the space to observe when and why governments specifically shut down the internet of their citizens or rather some of their occupants in their country. An instance is when refugee camps' internet access is cut off. The network has also exposed us to a range of organizations and that are miles ahead in research on internet this has made much of the work in the sector happen especially in the hostile period we had been through as an organization.

Looking Forward: Communication Rights

Area of Work	Outstanding actions
Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Watching brief on costing of mobile data. The cost of accessing the internet can also be dropped dramatically by the provision of free daily broadband WIFI access and through the zero-rating of specific information sites. We will focus on expanding access at municipal and provincial level in partnership with the 5 metros in which we are based. ● Continue to engage the DoC&T on increasing the financial support to community media. ● Engage the DoJCD on the roll-out of the National Action Plan Against Racism ● Engage the public process on Hate Speech/Hate Crimes ● Watching brief on implementation of Cybercrimes & Cyberbullying legislation ● Review Metro-level social cohesion plans ● The National State of Disaster has played havoc with media diversity – we will have to revive our work on press and broadcast diversity.
Legal	No legal action proposed at this stage
Mobilisation	<p>Designing of the toolkit and last phase of research into vital short tips for secure and safe internet.</p> <p>There is a planned workshop with the African #KeepItOn network. The coordinator has agreed and we are in the process of organizing timelines as the network is continental network so we are finding out when the relevant speakers will be in South Africa.</p> <p>There is a planned workshop on the dangers of 5G network together with the WITS tech innovation school members of the 5G appeal based in Germany and speakers in South Africa.</p>
Research	<p>Further round-table discussions in response to the spectrum guidelines need to be conducted along with popular Ed material.</p> <p>A final analysis of current legal cases on hate speech and freedom of expression to filter it into popular education material.</p> <p>An advocacy strategy including social media, mobilisation and possibly legal advocacy needs to be put together to challenge limited access to Internet access.</p>
Materials Development	<p>In the last 6 months of 2020 the focus will be on developing popular education materials on the 3 sub-themes. These will include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Info-sheets ● Infographics ● Podcast series ● Webinar series and channel <p>Several Activist Guides to areas of the work of the focus area have to be developed and produced</p>
Popular Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● We will need to move our popular education (materials and sessions) onto virtual platforms. ● This will mean looking not only at the content, but also the presentation in ways that are data-rich but not data-hungry. ● We will also explore the possibility of hosting the materials and sessions on a data-free platform. ● We will also have to build in some popular education sessions to familiarise comrades with the new technology as well as digital security.

Focus Two: Countering Repression

Our Constitution guarantees everyone in South Africa the freedom to express themselves¹. It also grants everyone the freedom to assemble, picket and petition and make political demands of decision-makers². Over the past 10 years, under a very security-conscious President Jacob Zuma, the space for difference and dissent became more and more restricted. State security apparatus was repurposed to get rid of political opponents; critical voices in civil society were seen increasingly in an antagonistic light. As the #StateCapture project and the looting of State coffers proceeded, so the surveillance of activists and journalists also increased. As more voices clamoured for #ZumaMustFall, so protests were met with harsher response from those responsible for regulating protests. As the consequences of a lack of resources (due in part to a worsening external economic climate as well as the ongoing looting and deployment of incompetent officials into the various corners of the State) kicked in, we saw a rise in service delivery protests across the country. The protests came out of mounting frustration from communities tired of being ignored by a government that seemingly had no answers.

The sharp increase in socio-economic protests was also a symptomatic of the failure to realise a more participatory democracy (as promised in the Constitution). In no way is the case of South Africa unique; elsewhere on the continent, the same factors have led to civil disobedience, and public unrest as it is met with a heavy-handed, and sometimes deadly response from the security apparatus. Also, in South Africa have we seen deaths in protests – from police, private security and from counter-protesters.

R2K has developed into a significant voice in South Africa on the right to protest and in the area of surveillance – especially the surveillance and other suppression of activists.

We witnessed the growing use of surveillance by private security companies in the name of reducing crime. In all this, the use of fibre-based technology is growing at a rapid rate particularly in the big city metros where more affluent, largely White suburbs employ a range of surveillance technologies ostensibly to combat crime. Neighbourhood watches in these suburbs also use the technology to racially profile people – with potential

criminals usually identified as Black. Another victim of all of this surveillance technology (CCTV cameras, drones, shot-spotters etc) is the citizen's rights to privacy. There is growing concern of how civilians' right to privacy is being compromised and their data gathered in the name of security, but often for financial benefit. Technological developments being deployed include facial recognition and licence recognition cameras. Biometric data gathered by private security companies is held without regulation and the data is often monetised and sold off to nameless third parties. This is a direct threat to civil liberties and the ability for communities and activists alike, to being surveilled with the purpose of silencing and or marking of vocal activists in communities with the view of shutting down dissent,

The POPI Act was finally implemented in mid-2020. This now provides for a framework for the protection of personal information to be brought into being and to stem the relative lack of accountability and impunity for data breaches or the abuse of personal information. There has been an evident realization that the need for a more effective Information Regulator is needed to ensure that data privacy is protected and where cases of illegal data mining occurs, the perpetrators as brought to book. A call for the enforcement of POPIA has never been more necessary than it has been neither is the call to have the fully functional independent Inspector General of intelligence (IGI) has never been more important. We have seen how the state has engaged in numerous spying on whistle-blowers and the direct threat they have suffered by virtue of blowing the whistle on the happenings with the state organs. We have seen the politicisation and the weakening of the IGI and the impact this has had in holding the spy agencies accountable towards how they illegally conduct themselves. The demand for the IGI to be independent of and free from political interference has become ever so important to keep the checks and balances on the spooks and protect our democracy from being eroded for mere political battles and settling political scores. We ought to demand a fully functional Information regulator and the IGI to ensure that the rights to privacy and oversight of both corporate and state abuses in kept in check in order for us to be able to protect the democracy and the participation of citizens in all political life of this country to have a transparent, accountable state.

¹ S16 in the Bill of Rights

² S17 in the Bill of Rights

The right to assemble remains one of the most important constitutional rights for citizens to express their dissatisfaction at what is unfolding and essentially demonstrate their anger at the failures of state to improve their living and material conditions. From the student's movements to the informal settlements, labour movements and the general discontent, we have seen an increasing wave of protest in recent times where citizens feel this is but one of the ways that the state will listen to their grievances. A number of civil society organizations also utilize this form of protest as means to demand greater transparency and accountability from the state. The political and economic situation realities and the forever growing levels of inequality coupled with the unemployment rate of citizens, leading to a much more restless communities especially the poor and the working class, to grow ever restless towards what they deem has been the state failure to ensure the realization of the promises for of a better life for all citizens. The rampant corruption with the different state machinery, the malfeasances. The recent revelations of how private citizens with political connections have been able to siphon off money out of state coffers has given rise to the highest levels of discontentment particularly in the poor sections of our community. With no choice but to express their unhappiness at all these developments and the state failure to provide desperately needed basic services, we have seen how citizens have decided to stand up and demand more from the state through participating more and demanding to be heard. This has led to a rise in the number of protest actions.

We have seen the state unleash systematic violence on its citizens and singling out activists for targeted repression to shut down and weaken people's

willingness to hold the state to account. Such strategic isolation of leaders in different sphere of society is mainly aimed and weakening the popular movements that are not willing to sit by and let rampant stealing of state resources happen while their lives remain the same. A greater sense of accountability is being demanded by even the undermined section of our society. The right to protest as well as petition remains an important part of the realization of a truly democratic society where every citizens' voice is heard and every citizen participates in the administration of the democracy that we fought so hard for.

2019 saw several significant contextual shifts in this focus area. These included the significant constitutional court judgement on section 12(1)a of the RGA being deemed unconstitutional. This in response to the often practice by the state to criminalise conveners of protests for having failed to give notice for a protest. This was a significant judgement in so far as the realization of the constitutional right to protest and petition as an important tool to participate in public and political life of our democracy.

In 2020, the National State of Disaster, the right to gather and protest was severely restricted; after 4 months of lockdown, frustrations bubbled over all over the country leading to service delivery protests, food insecurity caused targeting of delivery vehicles and the compression of people into small living spaces led to land occupations in many metros protesting the slow pace of housing provision. The Lockdown led to a spike in domestic violence and gender-based violence reports; and protests highlighted this issue – in defiance of the regulations.

Surveillance

- Increase in State surveillance of citizens in general - and activists in particular
- Increase in, and abuse of surveillance by private actors - and the infringement of privacy rights

Right to Protest

- Promotion and protection of the right to gather and petition
- Ensuring the widest platform for active citizenship to raise their concerns with decision-makers
- Offering support through the Protest Hotline and other mechanisms where the right to protest is suppressed

Secrecy

- Challenging the culture of secrecy in State and private actors (in respect of information in the public interest)
- Advocating for greater protection of PRIVATE information from abuse by State and private interests.

The 2019 National Summit set the following priorities for our work in this area as follows:

Recognising the growth over the past 3 years of this area of our work, and recognising the increasing challenges to the right to protest, the R2K commits to deepening its current work in the following ways:

1. We will continue to research municipal by-laws and demand the scrapping of unjust by-laws that are not in line with the RGA.
2. We will continue to identify unjust sections of the RGA and other laws that infringe on the right to protest and campaign to scrap them.
3. We will demand a standardised notification form across all municipalities that speaks to the RGA.
4. We will campaign to hold private security accountable in protest, specifically engaging the private security regulator (PSIRA).
5. We will build on the victories of the SJC10 case and high court rulings on the RGA
6. We will strengthen our relationships and partnerships with other organisations working on the right to protest, including strengthening our involvement in the R2P Project towards ensuring representation for criminalisation of protesters
7. Conducting specific further research to expand the right to protest and against the increasing surveillance of activists and protesters;
8. Actively campaigning against the ongoing criminalisation, intimidation and surveillance of protesters; and
9. Expanding our popular education work on the right to protest, including to rural communities.

Cat	Resolution	Activities Completed
Policy	<p>Actively campaigning against the ongoing criminalisation, intimidation and surveillance of protesters</p> <p>We will continue to research municipal by-laws and demand the scrapping of unjust by-laws that are not in line with the RGA</p>	<p>We have continued to engage with the different municipalities (eThekweni, Joburg and Cape Town) on the issues pertaining to ensuring the protection of the right to protest. In Joburg, we have continued to support communities and CSO's in their quest to ensuring we take a stand against paying protest fees in the province. We have continued to offer support and advice through our weekly help desk at JMPD and advising communities and allies to challenge the practice of charging protest fees in the metro.</p>

Legal	<p>Actively campaigning against the ongoing criminalisation, intimidation and surveillance of protesters</p> <p>We will continue to research municipal by-laws and demand the scrapping of unjust by-laws that are not in line with the RGA</p>	<p>Joined as amicus with Privacy International in case brought by AmaBhungane. Resulted in overhaul of the surveillance legislation, RICA, and especially the immediate outlawing of bulk surveillance.</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;">Mobilisation</p>	<p>We will campaign to hold private security accountable in protest, specifically engaging the private security regulator (PSIRA).</p> <p>We will demand a standardised notification form across all municipalities that speaks to the RGA;</p> <p>We will build on the victories of the SJC10 case and high court rulings on the RGA</p> <p>Develop a protest monitoring capacity in 3 provinces</p> <p>#StopSpyingOnUs Campaign of the High-Level Panel Report into SSA</p>	<p>Held numerous consultations with PSIRA with the view of having them be more proactive in dealing with security companies that are committing data privacy breaches through the use of unregulated CCTV use in the metros. We have had numerous meetings with them demanding they deal decisively with Vumacam that has broken the PSIRA code of conduct and has failed to register with PSIRA</p> <p>We have commenced legal proceedings against Vumacam for illegally installing CCTV cameras.</p> <p>We have also raised the issue of private security companies taking the law into their own hands and policing protests extra-legally, especially in institutions of higher learning</p> <p>We are collectively working with the R2P network to gather evidence and strengthen our potential intimidation tactics that happens in section 3 and 4 meetings as well as the misinterpretation of the RGA by law enforcement that seems to suggest that we need</p> <p>We have continued to support the SJC</p> <p>Trained up teams from all three provinces on monitoring protests. To develop the reporting mechanisms and synergy with the Protest Hotline in 2020.</p> <p>This was expanded to be Repression Monitoring Teams in each of 5 metros (<i>Cape Town, Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, Ethekewini, and Tshwane</i>) during the period of the National Lockdown</p> <p>Held a national Roundtable about the High-Level Report into the SSA. To be followed up in 2020.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Research</p>	<p>We will continue to research municipal by-laws and demand the scrapping of unjust by-laws that are not in line with the RGA;</p> <p>We will continue to identify unjust sections of the RGA and other laws that infringe on the right to protest and campaign to scrap them.</p> <p>Conducting specific further research to expand the right to protest and against the increasing surveillance of activists and protesters</p>	<p>In 2019/20 we did not manage to do the intended research</p>

Materials Development	<p>Update and expand materials on right to protest;</p> <p>Develop Protest Monitoring Report and Analysis tools</p>	<p>Right2Protest Manual 2.0 developed.</p> <p>We ran a sub-themed campaign highlighting the difference between permission vs notification. We also produced a T-shirt with this messaging.</p> <p>After much delay, we have managed to finalize the details of what the protest monitoring tools should be. A report template as well as a monitoring form should be finalized for use mid-2020. We have already run workshops to look at the concept and what it means and activists are ready to implement.</p> <p>Activist Guide to Digital Security & Surveillance developed.</p>
Popular Education	<p>Expanding our popular education work on the right to protest, including to rural communities</p> <p>We will build on the victories of the SJC10 case and high court rulings on the RGA</p> <p>Surveillance popular education materials development</p>	<p>Conducted popular education workshops with activists (PAG's) and partners in the three provinces on the Right2Protest 2.0 Activist Guide.</p> <p>We have been able to actively form alliances with organizations that use protest as a tool for mobilization and or descent.</p> <p>We have been supporting actions stemming from the constitutional judgment and even advanced the cause to critically engage with the RGA. We have made a commitment to ensure that we continue to engage in a process to have the RGA reformed.</p> <p>We will be rolling out digital security and surveillance sessions in the 2nd half of 2020. These have become more urgent due to the reliance on virtual platforms for communication during the global lockdown.</p>
Partnerships	<p>We will strengthen our relationships and partnerships with other organisations working on the right to protest, including strengthening our involvement in the R2P Project towards ensuring representation for criminalisation of protesters</p> <p>Develop and strengthen National Protest Focus Group</p> <p>Develop and strengthen Surveillance Focus Group</p>	<p>Right2Protest Network – protest monitoring networks in local areas; expand local legal support networks.</p> <p>We have been instrumental in the development of surveys and other methods to gather evidence with the view of building a legal case and litigate against the City of Joburg for the continued charging of protest fees.</p>

Key Campaigns

1 **#NOTIFY ≠ PERMISSION:**

In Johannesburg and Durban metros. Challenging the fees metros charge those who want to hold protests gatherings or demonstrations.

2 **Municipal Surveillance:**

Currently campaigning against the spread of private company surveillance infrastructure on behalf of the Johannesburg Metro. In other metros, issues around the increasing use of surveillance technology in law enforcement and intelligence operations, criminalising everyone.

3 Restore the IGI:

Advocating for the overhaul of the State Security establishment – including the strengthening of the oversight function of the Inspector-General of Intelligence.

4 Protecting Personal Information:

Campaign for the implementation of POPI – and the activation of the Information Regulator.

Partnerships

R2K has created or participated in a number of collaborative structures in the sector and in the various sub-focus areas:

R2K initiated	Other Civil Society Initiatives
Roundtable on developing a collective coalition campaign on the implementation of the High-Level Panel Report on State Security Agency	Active member of both the Working Group on State Capture as well as the Advocacy Committee. Convened the People's Hearing on State Capture.
National Workshop on Countering Repression. Held a two-day workshop looking at the countering repression leg, building capacity of activists on the modalities of the three areas with regards to what is the latest development on issue pertaining to protest, surveillance and securitization	Panellist at Policing and Human Rights Dialogue convened by APCOF to talk about the threat of surveillance to activism
	Panellist at the Human Rights Dialogue to present on Protest as a strategy to campaign for realization of Human Rights
	Steering committee meeting on the second People's Tribunal on Economic Crimes meeting convened by Open Secrets

Looking Forward: Countering Repression

Area of Work	Outstanding actions
Policy Reform	Reform of the State Security Agency Municipal Protest Administration and Regulation Municipal Surveillance roll-out Protection of Whistle-blowers Activist protection
Legal	We have commenced legal action against the City of Johannesburg and VUMACAM related to the roll-out of a CCTV network Anti-SLAPP legislation
Mobilisation	Asina Loyikho campaign #Notify not Permission Protest Monitoring
Research	
Materials Development	In the last 6 months of 2020 the focus will be on developing popular education materials on the 3 sub-themes. These will include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Info-sheets ● Infographics ● Podcast series ● Webinar series and channel
Popular Education	We will concentrate on rolling out popular education on the issues of surveillance, protests and securitisation to a range of target audiences and utilising a range of platforms.

Partnerships	We will continue to strengthen our partnerships with other coalitions and organisations working on these issues
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Focus Three: Participating in Democracy

An active and engaged citizenry is key to moving beyond a representative system of government to a properly participatory democracy. This means that communities and people participate fully in the decisions that affect their lives in a collective and meaningful way. We strive to support communities, activists and allied organisations to get an equal space at the table and have our inputs considered, as well as the necessary information, tools and the skills to be able to take full part in the process. Participatory democracy also means working to strengthen the relevant structures and institutions to promote meaningful engagement.

We therefore resolved at the National Summit in March 2019:

1. *To expand our toolkit of tools and skills training and popular education materials to better support activists and communities to access information, engage stakeholders and pursue their demands for a better quality of life;*
2. *To promote both access to information as well as the creation of own information through social audits and community mapping for example.*
3. *To continue to advocate, alone and in collaboration with other organisations and structures, for a more robust policy and legal framework to promote access to information, administrative justice and meaningful engagement;*
4. *To continue to open up and occupy spaces at National, Provincial and Local government levels. In particular we will expand our involvement in the ParliWatch collaboration to provincial legislatures. We will seek to establish and strengthen our relationships with stakeholders with an eye to opening up new spaces for engagement.*
5. *To build on our success in opening up the Executive appointment processes and in partnership with other organisations developing a framework to ensure those appointments respect and comply with the Constitutional principles of openness and transparency*
6. *To push for the creation of a Public Participation Charter that addresses the legitimate participation needs of communities.*
7. *To monitor the integrity of the National & Provincial Elections 2019, especially the issues of hate speech, electioneering, compliance with the Electoral Code of Conduct and the readiness and conduct of the IEC;*
8. *To prepare for the LGE2021 by revisiting our campaign on the Right to Recall and looking at the implementation of the Party Funding Act.*

Open Meetings	Open Structures	Open Processes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Promoting active citizenship •Meaningful engagement - especially at local government level •Promoting Access to Information for 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Advocating for good governance - in State Institutions & Entities •Promoting citizen and public participation in national and provincial legislatures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Advocating for greater transparency and integrity in various processes - e.g appointment, procurement, tendering •Advocating for greater participation in open processes

The removal of President Zuma signalled a change in the fortunes of the country; at the very least a brake placed on looting of the infrastructure of the State and its

institutions. However, the focus remains on the national level; the leaking sieve that is local government – responsible for most of the service delivery to citizens – still presents with no answers.

Sub-focus 1: Open meetings – Accessing Information, Meaningful Engagement

Once every 5 years, citizens are invited to select the national and provincial government of their choice. In May 2019, South Africa went to the polls to elect national and provincial political leadership.

The ANC won the national vote but saw its majority reduce from 62% to only 57.5%; the DA declined from 22.23% to 20.77%; the EFF saw an increase in support from 6.7% to 10.79% as did the IFP (from 2.4% to 3.38%) and the conservative FF+ also recorded its biggest win since its founding (from 0.9% to 2.8%)

Voter turnout was the lowest in the 25 years of democracy; 35.87m voters were eligible to vote in 2019. Eventually 26,75m voters registered to vote. Only 18% of eligible voters in the 18-19-year-old age group registered to vote. This followed a worldwide phenomenon of young people turning their back on elections as a way of influencing the political stage. On the day, only 65% of the 26m voters turned up; this was the lowest yet and confirmed the downward trend of voter turnout as our democracy turned 25. Curiously, the number of political parties contesting the national elections rose to 48 (up from 29 in 2014) perhaps indicating the fractures in our political landscape and the rise of single-interest parties.

An interesting challenge that could not be decided before the elections was by a group of independent candidates demanding the right to be on the ballot paper. This would present a significant departure from the practice of only voting for a party – but has also placed the issue of electoral reform back on the table.

When the dust settled on the national and provincial stage, attention has returned to the municipal level looking towards the 2021 Local Government Elections. In the killing fields of KwaZulu Natal, local councillors are embroiled in a deadly game of “eliminate the opposition”; all over the country, the IEC has been involved in by-elections on an ongoing basis pretty much since 2016. By December 2019, the DA had lost control of the 3 metros it won in 2016 – Nelson Mandela Bay, Johannesburg and Pretoria. Municipal politics is extremely fluid at present. The Tshwane Metro was placed under administration in March 2020, but reversed in April; Mangaung Metro was placed under administration in December 2019; the Johannesburg Metro narrowly avoided a similar fate; Nelson Mandela Bay Metro looks set to be placed under administration

soon. In Kwazulu-Natal, the issues of Tribal Authority Areas (TRA), and especially the control of communal land looks set to be an important factor in 2020/1.

Accountability at a municipal level is still very worrying – with very little recourse for ratepayers and residents of the municipality.

Frustratingly, Information Regulator is still hamstrung and not yet fulfilling its crucial mandate both in ensuring that the public has access to information and the protection of personal information. This, notwithstanding finally coming into operation in the midst of the Lockdown.

Sub-focus 2: Open Structures – Good Governance

The dominant development on the Good Governance front in 2019 has to be the Zondo Commission of Inquiry into State Capture. The Commission has sat for more than a year and has cost over R700m so far. The revelations of the rot of corruption and wholesale looting have been overwhelming – every SoE, in all three spheres of government (national, provincial and local) and the targeted hollowing out of institutions protecting democracy and the security cluster. The Zondo Commission was not the only one to focus on State Capture; the PIC Commission highlighted the high jinks and financial irregularities at Africa’s largest asset manager and among others, another ANC donor – Iqbal Surve’s Sekunjalo and new venture into ICT; the commission led by retired ConCourt Judge Yvonne Mokgoro into the fitness to hold office at the NPA of Advocates Mrwebi and Jiba marked a turn-around in the capture of the prosecuting authority. Parliament also confirmed that Adv Jiba will not be returning to the NPA soon. The President appointed a new NDPP – Shamila Batoyi. This was done in an appointment process open to public scrutiny for the first time in history. The President also appointed a special investigations directorate under the leadership of Adv Hermione Cronje to prosecute corruption related cases.

SOEs continued to be beleaguered with the national carrier, SAA, being placed in business rescue and the board of PRASA sacked and the institution placed under administration. SABC is still in a very fragile state; even the Robben Island Museum’s troubles made headlines. Large-scale retrenchments have been a feature throughout the economy because of COVID19; the ones at SOEs have been largely the result of the decades of looting and maladministration.

The Office of the Public Protector continued its downward spiral with a very fraught appointment process to replace Deputy Protector, Kevin Malunga. The Public Protector herself has suffered public humiliation arising from a number of court challenges that have called into question even her grasp of the law. She has also been slapped with personal costs orders in a number of cases, signalling the Court's displeasure at her frivolous and vexatious defence of her reports. Elsewhere, the Public Service Commission remains without a Commissioner, because Parliament was unable to secure enough votes to pass the recommended candidate. One of the premier institutions charged with combating corruption in the public sector, the institution was unfortunately rocked by revelations of nepotism, tender rigging and corruption at the highest administrative levels in December 2019.



Sub-focus 3: Open Processes – Rebuilding Trust

2019 saw us go to the polls in National and Provincial Elections and usher in the 6th national Parliament. The governing party recorded its lowest level of support in our 25-year democratic history. Both the ANC and DA lost support at the national level to more radical factions to the Right (FF+) and to the Left (EFF). Our political environment remained fractured, and internal divisions in the ANC, DA and EFF all threatened to undermine their respective footholds on the political landscape. December saw the DA lose the tenuous hold it achieved in 2016 – Nelson Mandela Bay, Tshwane and Johannesburg.

In the region, elections in Mozambique, Botswana and Namibia were all dogged with challenges and in the case of Mozambique, even deaths in the run-up to the elections. Vote rigging, voter fraud, and ethical concerns about some of the candidates or party members were all features of these elections.

The Auditor-General released his report on the parlous state of local authorities showing that poor financial oversight, lax reporting and leaking procurement processes at the mercy of corrupt officials and nefarious private interests being the most important factors for the overall downward slide. These were also significant contributors to an environment that encouraged State Capture. Only 8% of municipalities of all sizes got a clean audit, down from 14 in the previous period.

The Ingoyama Trust was under pressure as revelations of the R129m rental per annum charged to people living on the Trust's land; they had been granted title to the land at the establishment of the Trust and been duped into changing it into 40-year leases.

On the positive side, we saw greater transparency in some of the appointment processes in Chapter 9 institutions and greater accountability for Board appointments in SOEs.

Legislation making disclosure of political party funding compulsory was passed in the first quarter of 2019; not in time for the National and Provincial Elections in May unfortunately. Currently the Parliament and the IEC are working on regulations that will see the implementation of the Act – hopefully before the Local Government Elections in 2021! The IEC is yet to announce the implementation date – and therefore the date of first disclosures by political parties at the present date (August 2020). We are approximately 12 months from the next set of local government elections.

An amendment to PAIA was also passed to meet the deadline set by the ConCourt in the case brought by MVC in December 2019. The amended law was promulgated by the President in June 2020

Progress Report – Participating in Democracy

Cat	Resolution	Activities completed
Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To monitor the integrity of the National & Provincial Elections 2019, especially the issues of hate speech, electioneering, compliance with the Electoral Code of Conduct and the readiness and conduct of the IEC To continue to advocate, alone and in collaboration with other organisations and structures, for a more robust policy and legal framework to promote access to information, administrative justice and meaningful engagement To build on our success in opening up the Executive appointment processes and in partnership with other organisations developing a framework to ensure those appointments respect and comply with the Constitutional principles of openness and transparency 	<p>R2K activists conducted manifesto busting sessions in communities in all three core provinces</p> <p>We participated in Election roundtables in the run-up to the elections</p> <p>We monitored elections as part of domestic election observers in the WC primarily.</p> <p>We remain an active partner in the ATI Network.</p> <p>We worked with MVC on PAIA reform – and Political Party funding transparency.</p> <p>We participated in processes looking at the appointment of Board members in SOEs; and of Heads and Deputy Heads of Chapter 9 and 10 Institutions</p>
Legal		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Application to High Court to force the Moerane Commission into political killings in KZN to release its report successful Court application forced President to release the High-Level Panel Report on State Security Court application (with Corruption Watch) successfully set aside Seriti Commission Report and Findings Submissions on Party Funding Act and Regulations

Mobilisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To monitor the integrity of the National & Provincial Elections 2019, especially the issues of hate speech, electioneering, compliance with the Electoral Code of Conduct and the readiness and conduct of the IEC To prepare for the LGE2021 by revisiting our campaign on the Right to Recall and looking at the implementation of the Party Funding Act. To continue to open up and occupy spaces at National, Provincial and Local government levels. In particular we will expand our involvement in the ParliWatch collaboration to provincial legislatures. We will seek to establish and strengthen our relationships with stakeholders with an eye to opening up new spaces for engagement To push for the creation of a Public Participation Charter that addresses the legitimate participation needs of communities. 	<p>Manifesto busting sessions in communities Trained up election monitors</p> <p>Engaged with MVC, Grassroots, Corruption Watch and DDP on a partnership for the #Right2Recall Campaign</p> <p>Conducted introductory training with comrades in Gauteng and KZN</p>
Research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To prepare for the LGE2021 by revisiting our campaign on the Right to Recall and looking at the implementation of the Party Funding Act. 	None done in 2019. Carry over into Q1 2020
Materials Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To expand our toolkit of tools and skills training and popular education materials to better support activists and communities to access information, engage stakeholders and pursue their demands for a better quality of life To promote both access to information as well as the creation of own information through social audits and community mapping for example 	<p>None developed</p> <p>Started small with community mapping exercise of communities in R2K. Results still outstanding</p>
Popular Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To promote both access to information as well as the creation of own information through social audits and community mapping for example 	Sessions conducted across the country – upon request
Partnerships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To continue to open up and occupy spaces at National, Provincial and Local government levels. In particular we will expand our involvement in the ParliWatch collaboration to provincial legislatures. We will seek to establish and strengthen our relationships with stakeholders with an eye to opening up new spaces for engagement 	<p>Collaborations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ATI Network ParliWatch #Right2Recall Campaign Election Reform and Party Funding

Key Campaigns

We approached this focus area in 2019 as a ‘slow burn’ of laying foundations and building capacity rather than the “forest fire” of a fully-fledged campaign (like the #LYCR campaign in Communication Rights). This was also hampered by the fact that the post of Focus/Campaigns Organiser was not filled, and externally, 2019 saw the virtual demise of important partners in the ATI space – ODAC and SAHA.

In 2019, we did work strategically on the following issues under this Focus Area:

- Party Funding Act and Regulations
- Monitoring National and Provincial Elections
- Appointment processes – SOEs and Chapter 9 Institutions
- ParliWatch – kickstarting the expansion of monitoring the provincial legislatures

We laid the foundation stones for a renewed #Right2Recall Campaign in the run-up to the 2021 Local Government Elections. It was intended that the Campaign kick-off in 2020; with the lockdown, it seems more likely that it will be in 2021.

We also worked on pulling together a curriculum to build the capacity of activists and community organisers to engage local government more strategically and meaningfully. This will be rolled out in 2021.

Looking Forward: Participatory Democracy

Area of Work	Outstanding actions
Policy	Accountability at Municipal Level: Tender corruption and Councillors Electoral Reform PAIA & Political Party Funding reform
Legal	No current plans for legal action
Mobilisation	#Right2Recall campaign in run-up to the Local Govt Elections #ParliWatch: monitoring provincial legislatures – WC, KZN, GA
Research	Electoral reform – especially municipal electoral reform
Materials Development	In the last 6 months of 2020 the focus will be on developing popular education materials on the 3 sub-themes. These will include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Info-sheets • Infographics • Podcast series • Webinar series and channel
Popular Education	The roll-out of a 6-month curriculum for community activists. We wish to see whether a more focused “Participatory Democracy School” might produce better results in meaningful engagement with municipalities
Partnerships	

Strategic Communications

Our communications remain a critical part of our presence in the world. It is the way the R2K ensures the greatest reach for its messaging and advocacy.

More needs to be done to draw grassroots uptake on social media and online platforms. Members of the Advocacy Team (organisers etc) also need to play a stronger role in engaging on online platforms in their capacity as advocates for R2K.

Summit Resolution	Activities Completed
Monthly narrative and financial reports submitted to the NWG as well as NWG minutes must be shared electronically with other structures who may choose to consider reports and give the NWG feedback.	YES, but there were challenges regarding sharing NWG minutes.
To ensure transparency and enable synergies and connections structures must share minutes of their meetings – including any POA – within 3 working days of a meeting with other structures.	GP needs to improve how they share their POA.
Working with community media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This year we finalised the #LoveYourCommunityRadio Campaign. - We also assisted Iqhayiya FM and they held their first AGM since it was established in 2014. - Hosted the World Radio Day Event in Cape Town in partnership with Bush Radio
Forming popular education task teams before key/core events (include leaders from targeted communities)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I joined the NGOs comms WhatsApp group in order to share tools/experiences with other comrades. - Part of the Seriti Commission Review - Media Strategy team
Using social media, traditional media, roadshows, sloganeering and other artistic expressions of popular education	<p>We have maintained our visibility on social and traditional media.</p> <p>We translated the Protest handbook to four South African languages</p>

Key Campaigns & Actions

- Sent our materials to libraries in three provinces
- Hosted the World Radio Day Event in Cape Town in partnership with Bush Radio
- Organised World Press Freedom Day Dialogue at Tshisimani Centre for Activism
- Organise Africa Day Dialogue focusing on Defending the right to protest in Africa
- Organised the International Right to Know Day Dialogue

Channels Supporting our Activism

Print & Online News	Radio	Television
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Citizen Independent Online News24 Daily Maverick Business Day defenceWeb Eyewitness News Beeld Newspaper Sunday World Fin24 APA News OkayAfrica TimesLIVE Mail and Guardian Memeburn Htxt.africa ITWeb TechCentral Techweez The South African Political Analysis South Africa Journalducameroun.com BizNews The Daily Vox	Algoa FM Radio 702 East Coast Radio SAFM Jacaranda FM Phalaphala FM Cape Talk Smile FM Radio 786 Voice of the Cape Rise FM Radio Islam ChaiFM Power FM UWFM RFI Ukhozi FM Cliff Central Highveld Stereo Ligwalagwala FM Inkonjani Community Radio	SABC Cape Town TV Carte Blanche Open News TV NewzRoom Afrika
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Social Media Channels

Twitter	Facebook	Instagram
44K Followers in December 2019 39.2K followers in January 2019	FB Likes: 16,376K in December 2019 FB Followers: 16,607K in December 2019 FB Likes: 16,053K in January 2019 FB Followers: 15,778K in January 2019	Followers: 737 Following: 436 Posts: 182 NB: It is a challenge to utilise this app because I don't have space on my phone.

Website	e-Newsletter
December stats are not available 2,721 views in January Average per day 88 views	R2K Weekly Briefing: This audience has 1,967 contacts. 1,817 of them are subscribers. Average open rate: 11.8% Average click rate: 3.1% Master list: This audience has 11,960 contacts. 10,298 of these are subscribers. Average open rate: 19.5% Average click rate: 1.8%

Coalitions, Collaborations and Fronts

R2K collaborated with the comms teams of a number of partner organisations on a number of actions.

R2K initiated	Other Civil Society Initiatives
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Seriti Commission Review - Media Strategy team The initial planning often gets shifted to certain individuals	WC Civil society comms team We need to tighten this structure
	People's State Capture Inquiry This was well executed but R2K reps weren't very helpful in terms of feeding the information/decisions taken to the communicator

Provincial Action

Western Cape

2019 was an election year that saw South Africans electing new leadership at national and provincial levels. It was an intense year that revealed the fractured nature of political parties internally. saw several significant contextual shifts in this focus area. In the Western Cape, the DA consolidated its hold on the Province and the City of Cape Town. Nevertheless, there was an overall decline in support for the official opposition party in the country.

In the metropole all workshops happened not only in the CBD but also in local communities. A lot of work was done to make sure that work was implemented.

A lot of work was done in partnership Workers World Media Productions (WWMP). In 2019 we held activities in the following rural communities:

1. De-Doorns
2. West Coast
3. Vredendal
4. Saldanha Bay
5. Paarl
6. Mbekweni
7. Malmesbury

Our sessions focused on POPI, the Right2Protest, introducing Participatory Democracy and accessing our Communication Rights. These sessions relating to communication rights were done in partnership with community radio and some with Cape Town TV.

Provincial Action Groups

Countering Repression		Communication Rights		Participation in Democracy	
Name	Surname	Name	Surname	Name	Surname
Noncedo	Bulana	Khaya	Xintolo	Joyce	Malebo
Washeem	Abrahams	Michael	Graaf	Lundi	Mazizi
Zimasa	May	Siviwe	Mdoda	Tilda	Jack Yobe
Roegchanda	Pascoe	Unathi	Ndiki	Ashly	Louw
		Tholakele	Sikhosana	Levona	Carstens
				Sizwe	Manqe

Combating Patriarchy	
Name	Surname
Tholakele	Sikhosana
Noncedo	Bulana
Thilda	Jack Yoppe

Key Campaigns & Actions

Love your community Radio campaign

- First was the launch of the campaign with Bush Radio and Cape Town TV as partners. The event was live-streamed on both Cape Town TV and Bush Radio
- Distribution of the Love Your Community Radio publication to communities where there is a radio station situated.
- We communicated and formed partnerships with radio personalities, Journalist, radio presenters and station management.
- Presented the publication to a number of Radio station.
- More Community Workshops with the radio stations and communities
- Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain Community had their workshop at iSivivana Centre with radio Zibonele as a partner.
- Iqhayiya FM our partners for Samora and Philippi community workshop.

Protection of Personal Information Campaign

A youth workshop on three topics was hosted by R2K

- Love You community Radio
- Countering Repression
- Participatory Democracy (POPI Workshop)

Followed by a series of POPI workshops in

1. Khayelitsha
2. Gugulethu
3. Delft
4. Swartklip, Mitchells Plain
5. We had some in the CBD on which all activists were invited

Community Struggle Profiles

In an effort to map the various local community struggles the R2K has been supporting in the province, we compiled profiles of the structures and their relative health and current activism and activity. We also did this to distinguish between those people representing structures in our spaces and individuals who may be active alone or in a structure (but not representing them). Our first port of call were the regular members of the Provincial Working Group.

We managed to profile 10 local grassroots community struggles, active in the R2K.

Coalitions, Collaborations and Fronts

R2K has created or participated in a number of collaborative structures in the sector and in the various sub-focus areas. In the province we have or participate in the following coalitions:

R2K initiated	Other Civil Society Initiatives
Woman Can Do It: GBV Picket and Debate against Femicide	Unite Behind - Safety on Trains Protest
Right2Protest workshop	Unite Behind- Say No to Xenophobia and Femicide
Africa For Africans Dialogue	Open Secrets and UBC Launch of the report
Press Freedom Day Dialogue	Social Justice Coalition - We are the right to protest (late invitation)
Manifesto-busting Discussions	Unpaid Benefits Campaign - May Day march
love your community radio picket in parliament	
Freedom Week	
Climate Justice for all Corner Café	
Protest Monitoring Workshop	
Participatory Democracy /community workshop	

16 days of activism event

Kwazulu-Natal

2019 represented the year of a rebooted KZN. Reconstituted, KZN demonstrated how activist leadership could take ownership of the issues of the R2K and apply them locally. KZN also has unique features – like traditional authority areas – that require a reinterpretation of our approach to local authorities for instance. The other feature of the province is the real danger posed to perceived political actors. The political killings of the past few years and the targeting of movements such as ABM serve as warnings to us in R2K to exercise care as we pursue our goals.

Summit Resolution	Activities Completed
We resolve to create a database of community organisations and the creation of a skills category database.	We were able to create a database of organisations we work with and communities, but we hit a problem that some of them cease to be active in R2K
We resolve to explore the opportunity of the need for an emergency budget for local struggles.	We couldn't do this because of many things that have been happening in the organisation that shifted the focus
We resolve that all community work must impact the broader local community and not individuals in order to prevent gate-keeping.	we have been able to reach numbers in communities because most of the work we have done in communities has been community campaigns that have been driven by masses in the communities and moving like in different corners of the communities, e.g billing campaign and were able to assist in building structures
The incoming NWG must develop criteria to guide our work in engaging in local struggles to be tabled at the next MTR	

Outstanding actions

We have planned to revive and get more organisations and communities in R2k and expand to other communities, but couldn't because of limited resources and staffing needs

The billing campaign and the rolling out of WI-FI, are two programs that we were supposed to move to another community but couldn't reach our target. We are looking to continue with this work next year

Key Campaigns & Actions undertaken by the KZNWG

1. Billing campaign
2. WI-FI rollout
3. Right to protest
4. holding local government accountable
5. Community Participation in IDP processes
6. Killing of activist

Provincial Action Groups (PAGs)

Countering Repression		Communication Rights		Participation in Democracy	
Name	Surname	Name	Surname	Name	Surname
Sibusiso	Nzama	Thabo	Maile	Burton	Jaganathan
Mazwi	Ndwadwe	Zanele	Sibisi	Snenhlanhla	Manqele
Blessing	Nyoni	Zandile	Nsibande	Ngazini	Ngidi

Nompumelelo	Shozi	Percy	Nauh	Verushka	Mendutt
Thami	Ngidi	Sheldon	Francis	Asha	Moodly
Nomfundo	Mkhoba	Nomkhosi	Mazibuko		

Combating Patriarchy	
Name	Surname
Sne	Manqele

Coalitions, Collaborations and Fronts

R2K has created or participated in a number of collaborative structures in the sector and in the various sub-focus areas. In the province we have or participate in the following coalitions:

R2K initiated	Other Civil Society Initiatives
Stop the killing of activists	Coalitions of the poor
Ethekwini rules of order	Save our city
	Informal Traders' Movement

Gauteng

1. Summit Resolution	Activities Completed	Outstanding actions
We resolve to create a database of community organisations and the creation of a skills category database.	We managed to do a database of communities and organizations	Skills training
We resolve to explore the opportunity of the need for an emergency budget for local struggles.		Still needs to be work on as it is still a challenge at some point were by everything should be via management and should be approved by management
We resolve that all community work must impact the broader local community and not individuals in order to prevent gate-keeping.		Still trying to work on that as we are visiting communities when they have their mass. Meetings
The incoming NWG must develop criteria to guide our work in engaging in local struggles to be tabled at the next MTR		

Key Campaigns & Actions undertaken by the GWG

1. Protest fees (Johannesburg)
2. Love Your Community Radio campaign
3. Anti-xenophobia march
4. Climate change march
5. The right2recall program
6. POPI workshops in communities and participatory democracy workshops
7. Ending gender-based violence dialogs/protest outside JSE against femicide with the total shut down team
8. Data Must Fall campaign

9. Weekly Protest Help Desk campaign

Provincial Action Groups:

Countering Repression		Communication Rights		Participation in Democracy	
Name	Surname	Name	Surname	Name	Surname
Charles	Ndlova	Bongani	Mthembu	Thabo	Muyakayaka
General	Moyo	Lebo	Mabala	Linda	Jacobs
Caroline	Sunday	Cleo	<i>Shezi</i>	Wakhile	Wakhile
Siyabulela	Faku			Moloko	Mashangaone

Combating Patriarchy	
Name	Surname
Ntombiyebongo	Tshabalala
Lebo	Mabala
Eunice	Manzini
Moloko	Moshangwane
Aubrey	Lingane

Community Struggle Profiles

In an effort to map the various local community struggles the R2K has been supporting in the province, we compiled profiles of the structures and their relative health and current activism and activity. We also did this to distinguish between those people representing structures in our spaces and individuals who may be active alone or in a structure (but not representing them). Our first port of call were the regular members of the Provincial Working Group. **We completed the profiles of 6 community struggles that are active in the R2K in Gauteng.**

Coalitions, Collaborations and Fronts

R2K has created or participated in a number of collaborative structures in the sector and in the various sub-focus areas. In the province we have or participate in the following coalitions:

R2K initiated	Other Civil Society Initiatives
R2K initiated a women's dialog on ending gender-based violence, the dialog was held at the Heerengracht building, Braamfontein. where we had other partner organizations who participated in the dialog and led in the conversation, WOMIN and NPA played a huge role on the day of the dialog	in the province we had participated in the struggle against xenophobia attacks with other civil society organizations such as CORMSA, LHR, SERI, MACUA and section27. we had various planning meetings and methods so we are able to come up with a concrete strategy for the march as we have protested before against xenophobic attacks The protest was well mobilized and organized communities came up in numbers
R2K initiated a women's speak-out and invited other civil society organizations to participate on the day on the gender issues and the lived experience of women in the society	WOMIN had a workshop on women and climate change also a screening on how mines affects women the most as they suffer in all aspects because water is contaminated, there are open shafts which endangers their children in the society also mines cracks their houses The workshop was fruitful and we were all able to participate as women affected by mines and climate change

R2K Gauteng every year has its provincial summit where we take decisions and have new resolutions which needs to be implemented in the year, this year provincial summit was well attended partner organization came in numbers to shape the province	R2K Gauteng comrades participated in the climate change march which was organized by environmental organizations, the march was successful and after the march the had been various pickets against climate change
R2K initiated a workshop on the right2protest and also protested against the protest fees at the DoJ which we invited partner organizations which we know deals with the right2protest	Gauteng comrades with other civil society orgs attended the torture workshop which was organized by LHR in discussions of the ill-treatment of activist
R2K has series of community workshops on the love your community radio stations, also launched in 3 provinces after all the engagements with community radio stations we and most citizens had joined hands and signed our petition and we submitted our MOU at the department of communications in Tshwane	Grassroots organization has been very close with the Right2Know Gauteng on the right2recall, as in 2016 R2k has held community workshops on the right2recall which involved local councillors Then the participatory democracy team in Gauteng had been participating in the steering committee with the grassroots and we marched to the main three political parties' headquarters and handed a memorandum with signed petitions from community members
ParliWatch workshop	Benchmarks foundation AGM, theme of the 3 days was mining and climate catastrophe
R2K Gauteng is always participating in the Jozi book fair we normally have a stall and a slot, but this year we only had a stall and it was quieter than usual	NPA invited the women can do it R2k team to a WCDI seminar regional were all three countries set together to strategies and how we move forward and implement all programs for WCDI

Beyond our Urban Nodes/Outreach

In the year 2019 R2k continues to support outreach Communities, however because of the new restructuring of the Campaign which to take the decision on which structure we should work on, has let us to fail most of the resolutions taken in 2019. Politics and power in the campaign has led to the weakness of outreach support to Communities beyond KZN, GP and WC.

It cannot be taken away that even in these difficult challenges, work has been done and we have supported communities more especially in Rustenburg and Free State. And the report will detail the support we have done in all the outreach communities.

During the 2019 MTR meeting, the outreach organiser and team members of the NWG agreed that, even though the outreach post has been integrated into current Provinces, we would task the outreach organiser to visit all the outreach communities that have signed the MOU with us, to explain the new structure in the campaign so that these communities can be integrated into R2K PAGs. Till today there has been no implementation, not that the organiser didn't make efforts for this to happen but simply because of the leadership role from management and NWG.

With all the above said outreach relationship between R2K and communities is now weaker than it was in 2018. During the year 2018 outreach over spend on its allocated finances, this was a fruitful expenditure with outcomes. As a result, 6% increase on outreach was allocated. However, a big blow when the outreach post was decided to be taken out as a single stand-alone post, which came with lots of not knowing what the next step is. At this point PWGs in the current structures are struggling with getting their houses in order, how is it possible that the current provinces can be able map and strategies the work relationship with outreach communities, that can't be done in the current structured provinces, not unless things change getting our house in order... I personally hope that the 2020 summit resolution will revisit this decision and reverse it to allow outreach to be a stand - alone post but working with R2K PAGs (meaning 6 Provinces, becoming a one structured province with equal powers as the other three).

Building Outreach Communities into the National action group: this is where outreach has failed, but it couldn't be up to outreach but rather the structural implementation, for relevant organisers to make that possible. In the year 2019 about a detailed report was written and given to the Deputy National Coordinator by the outreach organiser, which in my mind was a way to make things easier for the organisers to understand what is out there and how they can work

with the outreach communities in the new structure. As said the failure of the structure failed the outreach resolutions.

Building the existing solidarity network to build

outreach Communities: R2K did well on this front and we would see how in the August Marikina solidarity network worked. Also, with comrades from Senekal and Rustenburg whom were arrested, R2K was able to get the FXI to assist those comrades. We have also managed in the year 2019 to build a strong working relationship with R2P, SERI, Fight Inequality Network, PCAX (Peoples Coalition Against Xenophobic attacks), LHR and WOMIN that is what R2K did well in building more relationship between outreach communities and solidarity networks.

It is safe for one to say, in the year 2019 more work was done in only three provinces but mostly in NW and FS as stated above, we did support outreach communities, however more was possible if the structure was adopted. We didn't do as expected on this front. And this is not because of the structure only, but it's the managerial issues. At some point all outreach POA were undermined with no clear explanation even after funds were requested there was no funds release. That do not take away the work done, but more could have been done.

Progress report on Outreach

1. In the year 2019 Jan 15 R2K outreach visited FXN comrades in Harrismith. The aim of the visit was to strengthen our working relationship and also to assist the comrades on the eviction threats they are currently facing from the municipality.
2. In the year 2019 Jan 16. R2K visited Senekal Concerned Resident. This was after a request from comrades asking R2K to come and Conduct the access to info\Right2protest workshop for the community, since last year members of SCR have been trying to access information from the municipality on the 5-year budget plan for the area.
3. In the year 2019 Jan 16. R2K had a meeting with the Community radio station Called..... In Senekal. The community radio station requested that R2K facilitate a program, where at least every Thursday at 7pm R2K or its partner organizations can call in and give information to the Senekal community and also be able to take calls to respond to questions from the community.
4. In the year 2019 Jan 17. R2K visited Kroonstad network comrades, this visit was just checking on comrade and mobilization.
5. In the year 2019 Jan R2K visited members of Marikana Concerned Residents in Secunda (Kinross). This visit was based on the mobilization. MCR comrades have won the struggle they had with the municipality on community development, as a result most members are allocated in proper stands, however the challenge is that they still living with no proper sanitation and no electricity
6. In the year 2019 Feb 18. R2K visited members of Doornkop Concerned Residents this was our second visit to this community, members of DCR are fighting for service delivery, they are really keen on working with R2K and also requested that R2K organize to run the access to info and R2P workshop in the area as most of the time they have challenges getting any information from the chief or even to march to the chief's offices.
7. In the year 2019 Feb 19. R2K visited members of Caroline Youth in Action, nothing much is happening in that community which is a complete opposite of what was told about the struggle there. It's a dysfunctional community.
8. In the year 2019 Feb 20. R2K had a picket outside the Zimbabwean embassy for the Zimbabwean government to call for its Army to back off from infringing on the democracy of Zimbabweans and also to put back the internet for the people of to be able to communicate with the world.
9. In the year 2019 March 12. R2K supported the leaders of Marikana Youth Development after they were charged with harassment, accused by their ward counsellor
10. On the 28th March 2019, R2K supported Mashamaite and other members of Marikana Youth Development who were in court, the matter was referred to the R2P to see if we can get any legal assistance.
11. On the 21st of March 2019 R2K attended the ACC event at Xolobeni the event was to commemorate the life of the leader, Bazooka, who was killed at his house fighting against mining in their community.
12. On the April 2019 R2k had a meeting with UHURU discussing how we can work together screening the film on Everything Must fall with communities and students around the country
13. On the April 2019 R2k assisted the Lephalale Unemployment Forum when they had the internal fight and we refed them to South African Counsel of Churches to help them find each other.

14. On the April 2019, R2K assisted the Free state network comrades who were arrested on Public Violence and assign, and referred them to the Right2Protest team to assist. unfortunately, no much help was given
15. On the April R2K attended a meeting with Human Rights defenders
16. On the 21 March 2019. R2k support the Amadiba Crisis Committee on the Right to Say No Rally and festival in Sigidi village, 'Xolobeni', Human Rights Day.
17. On the 23th May 2019 outreach organiser attended the Participatory workshop in KZN
18. On the 09-12 June 2019 R2K, supported the Marikana Community on the court case against William Mpmembe and the other accused police officers, on a trial that lasted for four days.
19. On the 03 June 2019. R2K visited the Kroonstad Community. The aim of the visit was to strengthen our working relationship
20. On the 04th July 2019, R2k had a Right2Protest workshop with Senekal (FS) Comrades on Love you community radio.
21. On the 5th July 2019. R2K had a workshop with Bloemfontein network on Participatory Democracy
22. On the 5th August 2019, we had a meeting at SERI (Participant in the meeting were R2P, SERI and R2K comrades)... the aim of the meeting was to discuss how we are going to work together towards the Marikana month, focusing on the IPID court case against the 8 police charged with defeating the ends of justice. We planned to host a march in Mankwe magistrate court on the 12 August 2019, demanding justice to Marikana 2012 massacre.
23. On the 8th Aug 2019... We had a meeting with leaders of the 10 widows of people who died during the 2012 Marikana strike, this could be of the security guys, or NUM or the police. Their request was that R2K to assist them to access information in the government department to ask why is the 10 widows not being treated as the 34 widows under the banner of AMCU... According to the Farlam report 44 families were to be compensated for what happened during the strike and as it stands only 34 is being compensated said Joseph the leader. So, the appeal that we work with them in this struggle holding the government accountable... as R2K I couldn't respond if we will assist or not but said we will come back to them with the response, and I therefore send that to the NWG and there was no response as well. Comrades Joseph calls me almost every day to hear how R2K will assist to put pressure on the government about this matter.
24. On the 9th Aug we had a mass meeting with the community of Marikana, the aim of the meeting was to discuss the challenges women face in the mines and also to mobilise for the march on the 12 Aug. the meeting was well attended with fruitful discussions.
25. On the 9th Aug 2019, we had a meeting with the Lenxes community, the meeting started at around 5pm till 7pm. The aim of the meeting was to mobilise for the march on the 12 Aug.
26. On the 12 Aug 2019. We had a march to Mankwe Magistrate court... The march was well attended by comrades from Marikana and JHB... The march started at 10am till at 15pm. The aim of the march was to demand justice for the Marikana massacre, we also had a good media coverage for the march.
27. On the 28 Aug 2019... R2K participated on the meeting hosted at SERI on fighting Inequality. The aim of this meeting was to look at the inequality within the society and look at the possible building of alliance. The meeting was well attended and it was the second meeting after the first one in Cape Town.
28. On the 13th September 2019, R2K joined the total Shut down on the fight against gender-based violence and femicide.
29. On the 14 of September 2019 R2K, participated on the March xenophobic attacks. We also form part on the people's coalition against xenophobic attacks.
30. On the 20 September 2019 R2K participated on the climate change march in PTA. We also formed part of the coalition on Extinction Rebellion on Climate Justice.
31. On the 20 November 2019, we participated on the Pali Watch workshop in GP.
32. On the 21 Nov 2019 R2K met with the Thabanzimbi Community in North West... the aim of the visit was to strengthen the relationship between R2K and the comrades, and also to get more inside of what struggle are Comrades working on.
33. On the 22nd Nov 2019 R2K had met with Mogwase Community North West... the aim of the visit was to strengthen the relationship between R2K and the comrades, and also to get more inside of what struggle are Comrades working on.
34. On the 23 Nov 2019, R2k met with the Maditlokwa Community North west ... the aim

of the visit was to strengthen the relationship between R2K and the comrades, and also to get more inside of what struggle are Comrades working on.

35. On the 23 Nov 2019 R2K met with the Marikana Community North West... the aim of the visit was to strengthen the relationship between R2K and the comrades, and also to get more inside of what struggle are Comrades working on.

Resolutions:

Summit Resolution	Activities Completed
1. We continue with a model of a struggle before structures.	We have not yet formed any structure with outreach communities, however a better working relationship, in a sense that some members could now be part of R2k PAGs and perform well, more especially in North West, Free State and Limpopo.
2. All active community and movements that have worked with R2K and shown capacity to champion struggles should be included in the national action groups.	This is where R2K failed, simply because on the failure of the structure
3. We must build on existing solidarity network(s) to strengthen outreach work.	We did well as stated on the above that organisations like, R2P, SERI, PCAX, WOMIN, FXI, FIN and LHR worked with outreach communities through R2K.
4. We will continue to support existing struggles on outreach communities within the parameters of our programme and focus. The incoming NWG will specifically identify these struggles.	Work has been done to support outreach communities; however, more was possible if the structure was adopted
5. We will continue to provide popular	We were able to do the little we can under the current R2K crisis

education in active communities.	
6. We will monitor implementation, follow up and evaluate the outreach work and link it with the R2K programs	more work was done in only three provinces but mostly in NW and FS as stated above, we did support outreach communities, however more was possible if the structure was adopted. We didn't do as expected on this front

One of the biggest gaps in our work with outreach communities has been the lack of a coordinating platform of support organisations that includes R2K, but doesn't cast R2K as the sole supporter. It is encouraging that this kind of initiative is now being undertaken in the North-West; R2K will be a contributor. One weakness of our work has been to be doing the mobilising and organising on the ground – rather than supporting local mobilisation and organising.

We will continue to expand our footprint; with the COVID19 pandemic, we will need to expand our methodologies of connecting and supporting struggles on the ground – and expanding our work on the focal areas beyond the established 3 provinces.

While we have restructured our staffers so as not to have a dedicated Outreach organiser, we have not stopped our commitment to doing outreach and making our circle bigger.

Combating Patriarchy

In 2016 R2K had adopted Combating Patriarchy in Activist spaces as an important **internal** focus area of work. In 2018, we made a collective intention to ensure that R2K become a more feminist space. This includes bringing a feminist lens to **all** the work of R2K.

The international #MeToo and the local #TheTotalShutdown (#TTS) movements in 2018 did much to raise awareness and to bring the issue of gender-based violence into prominence. The solidarity created by those movements, made it easier for womxn to step forward courageously and give voice to the hidden scourge of gender abuse, harassment and violence that affects so many womxn in South Africa. And we saw how it affected ALL womxn – from wealthy White housewives in the suburbs, socialites and celebrities, Black diamond business women to Black university students and graduates working their way up from challenging circumstances to poor womxn in townships and rural areas whose lives are so often overlooked. Poverty, race, class, sexuality – these are just some of the intersections where gender-based violence meet in South Africa. In South Africa, the increased highlighting of the issue led to a Gender Summit and the promise to make important changes.

Unfortunately, the social justice sector was not spared inclusion in the range of unsafe spaces for womxn and gender non-conforming persons. Several cases of sexual harassment and the abuse of power against womxn have hit the sector hard – and have shown up the subtle – and not-so-subtle – ways in which patriarchy and power express themselves in the sector. The consequences for all those implicated and affected by these cases have been severe and have taken its toll – emotionally, psychologically, physically etc. There have been no winners.

As with the other Programme focus areas, there are 3 sub-focus areas:

Strengthening Womxn's Voices within R2K

- creation of womxn-only spaces to build solidarity among womxn and gender non-conforming members of R2K

Creating a more resilient policy environment within R2K

- Reviewing the internal R2K policy framework to ensure the policy and structural arrangements to deal with gender discrimination
- Dealing with incidents of sexual harassment and providing proper recourse for victims of gender discrimination and harassment within the R2K

Combating incidents of patriarchy within R2K and in shared activist spaces (outside R2K)

- This includes contributing to the greater awareness raising of gender-based discrimination within the social justice sector, highlighting incidence of gender-based violence in the sector and creating safe and supportive spaces for victims of gender-based discrimination and violence in the sector.

National Feminist Team

The National Feminist Team consisted of Sinehlanhla Manqele, Noma Mbayo and Ntombi Tshabalala as the regional representatives from the established regions. Each region was more or less active on this front. Below are the names of the core feminist activists active in each region. Several NWG members also were active in the national or provincial spaces.

Gauteng: 2019 has been a slow year in engaging on the combating patriarchy front, but the national team has always kept our socks up as we always wanted to implement and pushing for gender struggles and unpacking all this terms that we normally use in spaces such as patriarchy, feminist, femicide and misogyny.

In Gauteng this year we faced a lot of challenges were most female comrades no longer sit in our provincial working group as some mentioned that in provincial meetings man are patriarchal and that is problematic for women and feel that the space is not safe for women to voice out. As much as the year has been hectic as it is, we managed to keep going as the province and we still pushed gender struggles and had workshops, discussions and speak out also attended events which were organized by partner organizations.

That reality played itself out across three provinces. No work was done to address the procedural and regulatory framework within the organisation – even though this had been identified as a priority at the last National Summit. The space for womxn's voices and dedicated spaces for womxn comrades to share experiences was also quite reduced; this is in part due to the ideological differences among womxn comrades on issues such as sexual harassment.

Looking Forward & Recommendations

The R2K is at cross-roads: the shifting internal and external contexts require us to answer the central question **“What does South Africa/the World need R2K to be and become?”**

The National Summit in 2019 resolved that we would seek to build on our strengths and to deepen our work by narrowing our programmatic focus areas in relation to some core rights in the Constitution and deepening our contribution to protecting and promoting our fledgling democracy for all. And to strengthen our nature of being a coalition of activists across the class divides and who bring both technical expertise AND grassroots support. And which pursued a multi-pronged advocacy strategy that included legal advocacy, policy advocacy and grassroots mobilisation.

It is unfortunate that the current elected leadership have not in fact worked to fulfil THAT mandate. Instead, they have pursued an alternative narrative that has been emerging over the past few years – the creation of a working class (that largely excludes workers and trades union) movement without a central coordinating principle/value/demand around which to coalesce that enables grassroots communities to take to the streets on a range of issues that affect the members who happen to be in the collective.

That is a far cry from the **what, why, who, and how** of the Right2Know in 2010 – or even in 2018.

We need to answer the question framed above clearly and rationally. The next question that will arise is what to do with the R2K that has been in existence since 2010:

1. Do we close down the Right2Know, with its focus on information and associated rights, and in its place give birth to something that speaks more properly to the needs of the 3 collectives in the various provinces? Or
2. Do we continue to nurture the platform of the R2K around information and associated rights so as to strengthen individual other substantive struggles and solidarity?

Internal Structuring:

Regardless of the model and purpose that is chosen, the **Need** will remain the same: to create a movement capable of playing a transformative and developmental role to bring about significant change in the lives of its members. That will require the movement to be well run and effectively coordinated by activists passionate about the cause. It will need to be supported by relevantly skilled staff committed to the transformative objectives and capable of delivering consistent, quality support.

The past year has also taught us that there has to be clarity about roles, responsibilities and delegations of decision-making. We need to minimise political interference in administrative tasks. We need to set norms and standards for oversight, and that the exercise of oversight is not an excuse for wanting to interfere in operational matters. Inasmuch as skills and experience is necessary for support staff, relevant skills and adequate experience and familiarity with the subject matter is even more crucial at a senior posts and leadership.

Addressing the current skills deficit in the R2K is critical to give direction to the programmatic focus areas and can happen in a number of ways, including:

1. Through the leadership of activists who are already making a difference in the world on the programmatic focus areas. This will require changes to the way leadership is nominated, proposed or elected so as to ensure that activists are able to lead on the focus areas; and
2. Through the appointment of skilled staff with technical skills in each focus area to provide that leadership and support; and
3. Through building the capacity of current staff in the programme areas; and
4. Strengthening the capacities This will not – **against the current programme priorities** – include the appointment of additional community organisers in the short term.

Some consideration must be given to the management of staff. Given the lack of managerial expertise among volunteer activists, the decision was taken to move that responsibility to adequately skilled senior staff. This will remain a crucial factor, even if the R2K were to move to a more regionalised structure. Lack of coordination and management will be a serious governance risk to the organisation.

Proposed Campaigns in 2020-2022:

Below is a summary of the campaigns we could take up in the period 2020-2022. These would be priority campaigns; they speak to our current focus areas. However, should the 2020 National Summit propose a radical departure from the 3 focus areas in response to a more current need, these campaigns also would need re-evaluation.

Communication Rights

- **2020-2:** DataMustFall 2.0: Spectrum, WIFI, Alternatives
- **2020-2: SecureMeDigitally:** Digital Security for Activists/Data Breaches and Abuses (State & Private)
- **2020-2: CitizenVoice** - creating an enabling environment for citizen voices in community media, media ownership. Freedom of Expression v Hate Speech

Countering Repression

- **2020-1: #NOTIFY not Permission** - Say NO to Protest Fees
- **2020-2: Strengthening the Right 2 Protest** - Hotline, Protest Monitoring (*#ProtestWatch*), Legal reform
- **2020-2: #StopSpyingOnUs** - reform of the SSA and Countering Surveillance Capitalism
- **2020-2: Protecting our Private Info** - POPIA and Info Regulator
- **2020-2: Regulating Surveillance** - National, Municipal and Private

Participating in Democracy

- **2021: Right 2 Recall** in Local Govt Elections
- **2020-2:** Expanding the capacity to **monitor provincial legislatures** (*#ParliWatch*)
- **2020-2: Meaningful Engagement at Local Govt Level** - Building Community Activist Capacity
- **2020-2: Good Governance** - SOEs & Municipalities (*unCapture the State*) - SABC, ESKOM