

Narrative accounts of the involvement of victims and perpetrators in mob-justice related incidents: a Limpopo case study

by

Ms L P Mpuru

submitted in accordance with the requirements for
the degree of

Master of arts

in the subject

Criminology

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: Professor NP Dastile

February 2020

DECLARATION

Name: Lebogang Pertunia Mpuru

Student number: 45206473

Degree: Master of Criminology

Title: Narrative accounts of the involvement of victims and perpetrators
involvement in mob-justice related incidents: a Limpopo case study

I herewith declare that the above dissertation is my work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged using complete references.

I further declare that I submitted the dissertation to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other Higher Education Institution.

LP Mpuru

SIGNATURE

29 February 2020

DATE

Dedicated to:

My mother, Meisie Mpuru, my late father, Paitana Mpuru
and my dearly loved son Kganya.

I. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to express sincere thanks and warm gratitude to the following people who guided and encouraged me throughout this research process:

I want to thank almighty God for giving me the strength to persevere and welcome every challenge that came my way.

I would also like to thank myself for pushing myself to complete my studies and seeing every challenge as a learning curve instead of an obstacle.

Thanks to my supervisor, Professor Pearl Dastile, who was both an excellent supervisor and mentor that worked with patience and the utmost commitment to my study. She motivated me to work extremely hard and take every challenge as it came. Prof, thank you for driving me to refine my knowledge and always to think unconventionally.

To my fiancé, Victor Mathopa Chokoe, thank you for always being there and encouraging me never to give up.

Thanks to my mother, Meisie Mpuru, and Aunt Sebuka Modipi, for assisting me during the data collection process and ensuring that I had the support I needed throughout my study.

My sisters, Kholo and Tshwarelo Mpuru, for motivating me to believe in myself and my potential. Thank you for your support.

To my colleagues in the Department of Criminology and Security Science for their support and guidance during the research process.

Lastly, I would like to thank the community members of the Diphale village for their participation and determination to assist me in the completion of my research.

II. LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ANC	African National Congress
BLA	Black Local Authorities
CALCASA	California Coalition Against Sexual Assault
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CSVV	Centre for the Society of Violence and Reconciliation
DIY	Do It Yourself
HRCUN	Human Rights Council of the United Nations
INSEC	Informal Service Sector
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
KZN	Kwa-Zulu Natal
LGTBQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer
NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OVL	Overloaded
PAC	Pan African Congress
PAGAD	People Against Gangsterism
SAPS	South African Police Services
SERI	Socio-economic Rights Institute of South Africa
SIDE	Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects
UDF	United Democratic Front
UNPF	United Nations Populations Fund

III. SUMMARY

Increasing incidents of mob justice have left a trail of murders that remain unsolved in the rural areas of South Africa. As such, little attention has been given to the experiences of victims and perpetrators involved in mob justice related incidents in these areas in particular. The purpose of this study was to examine narrative accounts of the experiences of victims and perpetrators engaged in mob justice associated incidents in the Diphale village, Limpopo. Twenty participants, consisting of 14 perpetrators and 06 victims, were chosen through sampling techniques, like, convenience and snowball sampling. A qualitative approach was adopted using semi-structured interviews as the key research instrument. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with 09 perpetrators, and two focus groups involving 06 victims and 05 perpetrators. Data was analysed using thematic analysis to interpret data collected from the participants. The findings indicated that unsolved crime leads to persistent mob justice activities in the Diphale village. The findings in the study were further bolstered through the provision of recommendations aimed at preventing future mob justice activities. The recommendations highlight proper service delivery, including community development, and the reduction of corruption and bribery.

KEY TERMS: Mob justice, Perpetrators, Victims, Punishment, Retaliatory violence, Fear, Community, Criminal justice system, Corruption.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
I. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
II. LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	v
III. SUMMARY	vi
CHAPTER 1:	1
GENERAL ORIENTATION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT	2
1.3 KEY CONCEPTS	4
1.3.1 Victim	4
1.3.2 Perpetrator	4
'1.3.3 Mob'	4
1.3.4 Justice.....	4
1.3.5 Vigilantism/ mob justice	5
1.3.6 Vigilantes/ mob groups	5
1.4 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY	6
1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	8
1.6 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES.....	8
1.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	9
1.8 DISSERTATION LAYOUT	9
1.9 CHAPTER CONCLUSION	11
CHAPTER 2:	12
CRITICAL OVERVIEW OF EXISTING LITERATURE ON VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS OF MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS	12
2.1 INTRODUCTION	12
2.2 A CRITIQUE OF TERMINOLOGY	12

2.2.1 Elements of mob justice.....	14
2.3 A CRITICAL OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS	16
2.3.1 Biblical accounts of mob justice incidents.....	16
2.3.2 Religiously motivated mob justice incidents.....	17
2.3.2.1 Honour killings and female infanticide	18
2.3.3 Ethnically motivated mob justice.....	19
2.4 INTERNATIONAL AND AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE EXISTENCE OF MOB JUSTICE GROUPS	20
2.4.1 Russia.....	21
2.4.2 Mexico	23
2.5 AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS.....	24
2.5.1 Nigeria	24
2.5.2 South Africa	26
2.5.2.1 Mob justice in the apartheid era (1930s-1994)	27
2.5.2.1.1 The 'Makgotla'	27
2.5.2.2 Mob Justice groups in the post-apartheid era (1994-present)	28
2.5.2.2.1 'People against Gangsterism' (PAGAD).....	28
2.5.2.2.2 The establishment of Mapogo a Mathamaga	29
2.5.2.2.3 Operation Wanya Tsotsi.....	30
2.6 ANTECEDENTS OF MOB JUSTICE	31
2.6.1 Political unrest related to deaths.....	31
2.6.2 Influence of witchcraft beliefs.....	32
2.6.3 Rise of xenophobia	33
2.7 MOTIVATION FOR MOB JUSTICE	35
2.7.1 High crime rates.....	35
2.7.2 Gangsterism	36
2.7.3 Climate of fear and insecurity	37

2.8 PROFILE OF VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS OF MOB JUSTICE INCIDENTS	39
2.8.1 Profile of victims	39
2.8.1.1 Age	39
2.8.1.2 Gender	39
2.8.1.3 Race and ethnicity	40
2.8.1.4 Socio-economic status	41
2.8.1.5 Demographic context	41
2.8.2 Profile of perpetrators	41
2.8.2.1 Ideological perpetrators	42
2.8.2.2 Fearful perpetrators	42
2.8.2.3 Violent perpetrators	42
2.8.2.4 Bigoted perpetrators	43
2.8.2.5 Careerist perpetrators	43
2.8.2.6 Materialist perpetrators	43
2.8.2.7 Disciplined perpetrators	43
2.8.2.8 Comrades or 'amabutho' perpetrators	44
2.8.2.9 Bureaucratic perpetrators	44
2.9 VICTIM-PERPETRATOR OVERLAP	45
2.10 INCIDENTS OF MOB JUSTICE	46
2.11 IMPACT OF MOB JUSTICE INCIDENTS ON VICTIMS	47
2.11.1 Primary victims	47
2.11.2 Secondary or indirect victims	48
2.12 MODUS OPERANDI IN MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS	48
2.13 CONCLUSION	50
CHAPTER 3:	52
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS	52

3.1 INTRODUCTION	52
3.2 BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL COGNITIVE THEORY	52
3.2.1 Social cognitive theory	53
3.2.1.1 Modeling	53
3.2.1.2 Modelling and self –efficacy	54
3.2.1.3 Modeling and the media	55
3.2.2 Critical evaluation of social cognitive theory	55
3.2.3 Application of the social cognitive theory	56
3.3 BACKGROUND OF DEINDIVIDUATION THEORY	58
3.3.1 Deindividuation theory	60
3.3.2 Critical evaluation of the theory.....	60
3.3.3 Application of the theory	61
3.4 BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL DISORGANISATION THEORY	64
3.4.1 Social disorganisation theory	65
3.4.1.1 Informal social control.....	65
3.4.1.1.1 Social and organisational ties.....	65
3.4.1.1.2 Social and group norms	66
3.4.1.1.3 Satisfaction with the criminal justice system: police	66
3.4.2 Critical evaluation of the theory.....	67
3.4.3 Application of the theory	68
3.5 CONCLUSION	71
CHAPTER 4:.....	73
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	73
4.1 INTRODUCTION	73
4.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	73
4.2.1 Qualitative approach	73
4.2.2 Case study.....	74

4.3 SAMPLING PROCEDURES	74
4.3.1 Composition of the sample	75
4.3.2 Description of the sample	76
4.3.3 Preparing participants for the process of interviewing	77
4.4 QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION METHODS	78
4.4.1 Semi-structured interview	78
4.4.2 Focus group interview.....	79
4.5 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	80
4.6 VALIDITY, RELIABILITY AND ACCURACY OF COLLECTED INFORMATION	82
4.6.1 Ensuring validity and reliability.....	82
4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	83
4.7.1 Informed consent	83
4.7.2 Voluntary participation	84
4.7.3 Anonymity/ confidentiality	85
4.8 CHALLENGES OR LIMITATIONS ENCOUNTERED DURING THE RESEARCH	86
4.9 CONCLUSION	87
CHAPTER 5:.....	88
ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA	88
5.1 INTRODUCTION	88
5.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS.....	88
5.2.1 Biographical profile of participants	89
5.2.1.1 Focus group 1: victims.....	93
5.2.1.2 Focus group 2: Perpetrators.....	94
5.3 PROFILE OF THE VICTIMS OF MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS	96
5.3.1 Accusations levelled against the victims	97
5.3.1.1 Victims accused of witchcraft	97

5.3.1.2 Victims accused of multi-killings	98
5.3.2 Experiences of the victims during mob justice attacks	99
5.3.3 Fear of repeat victimisation	101
5.3.4 Consequences of attacks on victims	102
5.3.5 Perceptions of the victims regarding the perpetrators of mob justice motivating factors	104
5.4 PROFILE OF THE PERPETRATORS OF MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS	105
5.4.1 Role of mob leader and structure of the mob group	107
5.4.2 Group mentality/ 'mob frenzy'	109
5.5 DESCRIPTION /MAPPING OUT THE INCIDENTS	111
5.5.1 Victims become perpetrators	111
5.6 MOTIVATING FACTORS	113
5.6.1 High crime rates and series of witchcraft incidents	113
5.6.2 Influence of witchcraft beliefs (motivating factors)	116
5.6.3 Vengeful behaviour- 'teaching one a lesson' (motivating factors)	117
5.6.4 Unemployment crisis	119
5.6.5 Public support for mob justice activities	120
5.6.6 Perceptions of victims regarding the criminal justice system's response - motivating factors	121
5.7 MODUS OPERANDI	122
5.8 SECONDARY WITNESSES IN MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS	124
5.9 COLLUSION BETWEEN THE POLICE AND COMMUNITY MEMBERS	126
5.10 PLIGHT OF COMMUNITY RESIDENTS	129
5.11 PREVENTATIVE MEASURES ACCORDING TO THE PERPETRATORS ..	131
5.11.1 Mob groups perceived initiative	133
5.12 CONCLUSION	134
CHAPTER 6:	135

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	135
6.1 INTRODUCTION	135
6.2 CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	135
6.2.1 To examine the narrative accounts and experiences of perpetrators and victim’s involvement in mob justice incidents in the Diphale Village	135
6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS.....	141
6.3.1 Recommendations according to the perpetrators	141
6.3.2 Recommendations according to the study	142
6.3.2.1 Predicting susceptible victims and perpetrators of mob justice related incidents.....	142
6.3.2.2 Create awareness of the impact of crime on the victims and the community.....	143
6.3.2.3 Providing safe houses and welfare, improving infrastructure	143
6.3.2.4 Significance of collaboration by public citizens and the police.....	144
6.3.3 Recommendations for future research.....	145
6.4 CONCLUSION	146
LIST OF REFERENCES	146

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE: 1	76
TABLE 2:.....	90
TABLE: 3.....	93
TABLE: 4.....	94

LIST OF ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE A.....	179
ANNEXURE B.....	183
ANNEXURE C.....	185

ANNEXURE D.....	186
ANNEXURE E.....	188
ANNEXURE F.....	190

CHAPTER 1:

GENERAL ORIENTATION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

“...we have...imperfect knowledge of the human heart if we do not also examine it in crowds.”

Jean Jacques Rousseau.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to analyse the experiences of victims and perpetrators involved in mob justice incidents in the Diphale area of the Limpopo Province, South Africa. The study focused on the role of victims and perpetrators in mob justice to understand their lived experiences. Incidents of mob justice date back as early as the 1930s-1990's when informal structures (like the Makgotla, People Against Gangsterism (PAGAD), and Mapogo-Mathamaga) were established to reduce and prevent crime. These structures were formed because African communities perceived the Western Legal System as incapable of solving crimes in African communities according to African based practice (Botha & Botha, 2015:20). Another view espoused by Gross (2016:246) highlights that police safety during the apartheid era focused on protecting white residents and enforcing apartheid policies, and virtually ignored the safety of residents in so-called black areas. This absence of proper policing in the townships led to increased organised crime and gang-related activities because gang members regarded their chances of prosecution as low to none. Over time, the elevated levels of violence manifested in a form of deaths and violence related to labour unions and xenophobia (killing of alleged immigrants) (Pinnock, 2016:75).

Researchers, like, Wassenberg (2016:1) argue that in post-apartheid South Africa, these incidents continue to escalate. Perpetrators of violence are usually male, young, unemployed, and living in socially disorganised environments (Winterdyck, 2017:418). In addition to this view, a study conducted by Sibanda (2014: 29) highlighted that mob justice is often perpetrated by community members, such as, mob groups, uniformed mob (such as, the police) and gang groups, depending on the motive behind their attacks. However, during these attacks, the group is often

separated into those who physically participate and those who encourage violence through their attitudes. These attitudes are demonstrated by either not reporting the crime to the police or 'hiding under the guise of fear of victimisation'. Victims of mob justice are often young people, both males and females accused of theft, rape, murder, gang or cartel involvement and mostly '*nyaope*' addicts (Mohamed, 2015:2, Baloyi, 2015:3). The mob attacks often arise spontaneously after the victim is hunted down based on a suspicion or caught in the act by community members (Kucera & Mares, 2015:177).

Based on the studies reviewed for this research, it appears that there is a paucity of available research on the experiences of victims and perpetrators of mob justice incidents. Therefore, this study aims to fill the perceived research lacuna by focusing on the lived experiences of victims and perpetrators of mob justice. This research further proposes that it is crucial to widen the scope of knowledge in research by addressing the experiences of victims and offenders of mob justice incidents. In this Chapter, critical theoretical concepts will be highlighted, the problem statement and rationale, and the significance of the study will be discussed. Furthermore, the aims and objectives of the study will be addressed. The outline of the chapters will also be illustrated to map out the content of the dissertation.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

South African media reports (television and newspapers) on mob justice have been fully loaded with images of suspected criminals being attacked, flogged, stoned and even necklaced by angry mobs in both the urban and the rural areas (Milan, 2016:2). For instance, there have been reported incidents of alleged victims being killed or attacked for suspected theft, rape, murder, human trafficking, and sexual assaults in areas, like, Khayelitsha, Etwatwa, Diepsloot and Rossetenville. However, in rural areas like Bolobedu, Diphale and Thohoyandou, incidents of this kind are mostly often linked to suspected rape, theft, witchcraft, and muti-murders. The occurrence of such incidents sends a loud message that the Bill of Rights, criminal laws, and police efforts to reduce crime, are ineffective (Mohamed, 2015:1).

Suspected offenders (who become the victims of mob-justice) are often perceived as criminals who deserve to be publicly humiliated and punished brutally, whereas, their fellow community members perceive perpetrators of mob-justice as defenders that protect the interests of society. Mob justice occurs mainly because mob groups tend to justify and decriminalise their actions by blaming the justice system and attempting to enforce law and order on their terms (Nel, 2016:3). According to Clark (2018:1), national crime statistics revealed that there were 849 reported cases of mob justice related incidents between 2017 and 2018. The victims - who were either caught in the act or suspected of a crime (rape, murder, and witchcraft) - were stoned, burned, axed to death, and set alight by angry mobs (Zondi, 2017:1). These statistics, however, may be unreliable, as the police cannot clearly distinguish between mob justice and 'ordinary' murders in both the urban and rural areas.

Furthermore, the perceived lack of trust in the justice system and the fear of being seen as an informant; appearing disloyal to fellow community members remain powerful deterrents to reporting a crime in communities (Mohamed, 2015:2). Resultantly, in areas, like, Diphale, Etwatwa and Diepsloot the police have addressed the phenomenon by issuing statements via the media. For example, the following statement was made by the provincial commissioner of Limpopo: "*...we are calling on all community members to desist from the acts of mob justice. The police will act mercilessly against anyone who participates in these violent activities*" (Manyaka, 2017:1). However, such efforts have failed to curb these incidents, and the lack of trust in the criminal justice system and perceived corruption of police officials remains a problematic discourse. Research conducted by Broidy (as cited in Winterdyk, 2017:418) highlighted that negative experiences with the police, and the criminal justice system may contribute to victim-perpetrator escalation. The author further points out that more research must be conducted in order to relate the experiences of individuals as both victims and perpetrators of criminal behaviour.

For purposes of this study, it necessary to clarify key theoretical concepts to provide context to those under study.

1.3 KEY CONCEPTS

1.3.1 Victim

The South African Department of Justice (200:8) defines the term **victim** as any person who has suffered physical or emotional harm, property damage or economic loss as a result of a crime. In the context of this study, the term victim can be described as any person who was attacked in a mob justice related incident due to an *alleged/suspected* crime. The concepts, *alleged/suspected* are used in this study because the person was not found guilty by a court of law following due process. In this case, the victim may suffer physical, psychological, emotional harm or damage to property due to a mob justice attack.

1.3.2 Perpetrator

The term **perpetrator** has the same significance as words, like, offender, criminal, wrongdoer or culprit. Wilstrom (2019:5) defines 'offender' as any person accused of transgressing the law. In the context of mob justice, perpetrators can be defined as "public citizens who spontaneously form groups under the guise of justice and to take the law into their own hands" (Taussig-Rubbo, 2011:14). This study defines a perpetrator as any individual who had participated in a mob justice related incident.

'1.3.3 Mob'

The **mob** involves various groups of people which may consist of community members, mob groups, organised crime groups, the police, and the military. However, these groups may be involved in lawful or unlawful acts like service delivery protests or violence against people (Sibanda, 2014:6). Botha and Botha (2015:18) describes the mob as a group of unorganised individuals who spontaneously carry out justice on suspected perpetrators. This study perceives the 'mob' as consisting of a large number of people or community residents who are governed by the same initiative.

1.3.4 Justice

The concept of **justice** implies accountability and fairness for the rights of the accused, the victim and society. Equality in justice for all is deeply rooted in all cultures and traditions (Winterdyck, 2017:24). The term justice is commonly linked with concepts like 'popular justice,' 'rough justice' and 'community justice.' These terms, however,

are used synonymously with informal justice to describe rules of law that are informal, illegal and non-professional (Feenan, 2018:3). For this study, the term justice is connoted with public citizens' notion of punishment against suspected perpetrators.

1.3.5 Vigilantism/ mob justice

As discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.2), there have been many contradictions in academic research when defining **vigilantism or mob justice**. For instance, Johnson (1996:220) defines vigilantism as a social movement by private citizens involving premeditated acts of force on individuals alleged to have transgressed institutionalised norms in society. General Arno Lamoer (cited in Pinnock, 2016:76) however defines vigilantism as opportunistic, and a spontaneous reaction from community members who respond with violence before asking questions. The author further argues that these actions do not occur because of the perceived failure by the justice system, but because people want 'swift/instant justice'. While most of these definitions seem to rationalise vigilantism as a proper concept to describe mob violence, very few researchers focus on the concept of mob justice, which has left the concept poorly defined, especially when considered in terms of its non-western nature.

Mohamed (2015:2) however, adopted a more South African definition of the term and therefore describes mob justice as criminal conduct that is punishable by law. The author further supports his view by pointing out that this act is an injustice to human nature and disregards the ethos of constitutional order. Therefore, the researcher defines the term mob justice as public citizen reaction towards a perceived crime by taking the law into their own hands in order to administer justice against perceived perpetrators.

1.3.6 Vigilantes/ mob groups

Historically, the term '**vigilante**' derived from the Spanish word 'watchman' or guard, while vigilante groups were described as Moderators for the notorious Ku Klux Klan (Wyatt, 2002:22). Abrahams (1998:7) pointed out that in pre- apartheid South Africa, the term vigilante was connected to violence and organised groups explicitly operating in the black communities in which actions were politically motivated. It is only recently where scholars, like, Kucera and Mares (2015), Botha and Botha

(2015); and Gross (2016) have widened their perspective and linked this term to perceived injustices, such as, crime and socio-economic conditions in post-apartheid South Africa. For instance, Kucera and Mares (2015:176) define vigilantes as an organised group of citizens affected by crime that violates the security of the community. While, Botha and Botha (2015:18) perceives vigilantes as a group of unorganised mobs, or individuals acting impulsively in pursuit of what they perceive as justice.

For this study, 'mob groups' is the preferred concept as the researcher seeks to define it in a South African context. Mob groups in this study can be associated with the gang subculture. The gang subculture tends to internalise norms of violence when confronted with conflicts. This group often operates in chaotic environments where violence is perceived as morally acceptable (Winterdyck, 2017:414). In this regard, the researcher defines mob groups as community residents who gather together to achieve a common objective (such as, prevention of crime) in pursuit of justice.

1.4 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Contrary to existing research conducted by Petrus (2015) and Botha (2015) on vigilantism, there is no clear understanding of the experiences of perpetrators and victims of mob justice in rural areas. The perceived notion that vigilantism is a regular occurrence in urban areas, such as, Etwatwa, Diepsloot and Khayelitsha, has created a lack of scientific research on mob justice in rural areas. Therefore, this study seeks to fill the gaps in research by examining the roles and experiences of perpetrators and victims involved in mob justice incidents in a rural area of Limpopo (Diphale village).

Rural areas are likely to be affected by high levels of violence and crime due to limited opportunities for employment for youth (Sibanda, 2014:34). The author further argued that the perceived inability of the government to address these issues encourages voluntary acceptance of informal social control. The incidents of mob justice have received much attention both in current media and in research. For example, the media (Daily Sun, Sowetan, Sunday times, eNews 24 etc.) often report on attacks targeted at suspected criminals who are assaulted, killed and subjected to violence at the hands of angry mobs, which may include the following:

i. Victims of stoning

A mob justice attack in Limpopo at Diphale village in 2017:

“...was a case of a business robbery in which the business owner was attacked and robbed of an undisclosed amount of cash, cigarettes and airtime vouchers by suspects who were armed with firearms. The suspected perpetrators (aged between 25 and 30 years) fled the scene in two cars. Members of the community then mobilised and followed them, and during that process, the suspects shot two community members, but this did not stop their pursuit. The suspects were subsequently caught on top of the mountain. They were then lynched with stones, and two of them burnt to death” (Manyaka, 2017:1).

ii. Thoriso Themane murder

The death of Thoriso Themane (aged 28 years old) occurred in early March 2019 when a disturbing video showed Themane being dragged, assaulted and stoned by a mob that allegedly included pupils from Capricorn High School in Limpopo. Themane’s death traumatised family and friends, and those who witnessed his brutal attack on video (Daily Herald, 2019:1).

iii. Victims of witch-hunts

In December 2017, a case of witch-hunting was reported in Ntsoaneng village, outside Burgersfort, Limpopo. It was alleged that nine perpetrators (community members) between the ages of 23 and 51 years were arrested for setting alight four houses belonging to some community members accused of poisoning a young woman using witchcraft (Ramothwala, 2018:1).

These incidents make it clear that a lack of trust in the criminal justice system may be responsible for the manifestation of this phenomenon. Moreover, it gives a clear indication that the mob justice system has become a growing trend and that many people will continue to lose their lives due to these actions (Baloyi, 2015:7). Therefore, it is vital to understand the root causes of the perceived dissatisfaction with the criminal justice system.

This study seeks to assist the police and other criminological researchers in becoming more aware of the psychological traits and behavioural tendencies that may increase the likelihood of people becoming either a perpetrator or a victim of mob justice. This may be done in the form of constructing a criminal profile based on information

collected from the victims and perpetrators to predict possible victims and potential perpetrators of mob justice. Moreover, official statistics on mob justice remain a challenge for the police, as they cannot distinguish between perpetrators of mob justice and 'ordinary' murders. The study may also assist in the assessment and rehabilitation of offenders in correctional centres. Therefore, the results of this research may assist with recommendations to the SAPS (South African Police Services) to inform them of the improvement of proper service delivery in this area. Also, the study seeks to create awareness about the experiences (physical and psychological trauma) of victims during mob justice attacks. This effort is undertaken to increase SAPS aware of the grievances and issues in this area that contribute to the manifestations of the phenomenon. The results are also expected to have a positive impact on the communities by educating and encouraging them to abstain from mob justice activities.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study seeks to contribute to public citizens and police collaboration in the prevention of mob justice incidents at Diphale village, Limpopo. While this research could contribute to the police prevention of these incidents, it is anticipated that it will encourage police intervention with the help of Community Policing Forums (CPF). Furthermore, knowledge about the roles and experiences of victims and perpetrators may also have an impact on mob justice prevention by targeting intervention strategies (such as, counselling and anger management) to reduce the likelihood of future mob activities. Hence, this study aims to provide recommendations to involve other stakeholders such as, social workers, social welfare, and the Department of Justice by providing safe houses, welfare to victims of mob justice and improvement of public service delivery, rather than relying purely on criminal conviction and sanction as a method of control and deterrence.

1.6 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Research aims and objectives focus on the central issues that the study wishes to achieve (Holloway & Galvin, 2016:30). This research aims to examine the narrative accounts and experiences of perpetrators and victims involved in mob justice incidents in Diphale village.

In order to achieve the aim as mentioned above, the following objectives were formulated:

- To examine the antecedents of mob justice in Diphale village.
- To investigate the role and experiences of perpetrators and victims of mob justice incidents in this community.
- To recommend preventative measures to reduce future mob justice activities.

1.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Holloway and Galvin (2016:31) refer to a research question as an issue or perceived concern that researchers seek to examine in order to gain new insight into the problem. Therefore, conclusions in this study are intended to answer questions concerning the aim of the research. As for this study, the questions formulated are the following:

- What are the antecedents of mob justice incidents in Diphale village?
- What are the roles and experiences of victims and perpetrators involved in mob justice incidents?
- What preventative measures can be put in place to reduce mob activities?

1.8 DISSERTATION LAYOUT

The study will be divided into the following six chapters, to wit:

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION, DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS, PROBLEM STATEMENT

Chapter One represents the orientation of the study in respect of the following areas: an introduction, the definition of concepts, problem statement and general orientation to the research study that focuses on the problem formulation. Furthermore, the aims and objectives of the study concerning the following research concepts will be discussed: the research question, goal and objectives of the research, and methods that will be used to provide the reader with an understanding of the concepts of the

research study. The chapter will further outline the background of mob justice through incidents that have occurred in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2: CRITICAL OVERVIEW OF EXISTING LITERATURE ON VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS OF MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS

Chapter Two discusses the literature review and includes the background of the research study. This chapter explores the phenomenon of mob justice and the effects it has on South Africa and other countries that have experienced incidents of mob justice. The chapter examines the historical origins of mob justice as well as mob justice groups both nationally and internationally. The phenomenon of mob justice related incidents is discussed in this study in order to provide the reader with background knowledge and a thorough understanding of the phenomenon.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Chapter Three addresses the phenomenon of criminological theories. The chapter aims to practically apply the following theories: Social Cognitive Theory, Deindividuation Theory and Social Disorganisation Theory. These theories were employed in this study to examine and understand victim and perpetrator involvement in mob justice related incidents. Furthermore, the theoretical perspectives were applied to examine circumstances that lead to mob justice related incidents within the Diphale community.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Chapter Four focuses on the methods of qualitative research, data analysis and data collection methods. The techniques will cover all the aspects that will be used to conduct the study. As a result, this research will analyse how qualitative methods will guide the research study, whereby the sourcing of information from the participants will comprise of primary data and secondary data collection. Furthermore, validity and reliability, as well as the research ethics of the study, will be discussed with reference to how the information will be collected from the participants anonymously and confidentially.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF QUALITATIVE DATA

In **Chapter Five**, the research findings will be presented and compared with existing literature related to the topic of discussion. Furthermore, the chapter will include the themes or categories from the analysis of the data collected from the participants.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

In **Chapter Six**, the overall conclusion and recommendations will be provided, which focuses on the preventative measures that may help prevent mob justice activities in the future. The chapter also highlights the conclusions of the proposed study as well as offering recommendations on ways to prevent future activities related to mob justice.

1.9 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Mob justice continues to be a growing trend in South African township and rural areas. This seems to have an impact on the country with several people being injured and killed in these incidents. Part of the premise behind this research study is that even though mob justice is perceived as a strategy to prevent crime in society, violence remains a barrier to sustainable development in the country and intervention strategies are required in order to prevent the escalation of this type of violence. The root causes of mob justice incidents in African communities' dates back to the emergence of PAGAD and Mapogo a Mathamaga, and these community structures are discussed in detail in Chapter 2. The rationale for the study was highlighted to indicate the context of the study. In light of the rationale, the significance of the study was also addressed to indicate possible contributions resulting from the study.

CHAPTER 2:

CRITICAL OVERVIEW OF EXISTING LITERATURE ON VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS OF MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to examine incidents of mob justice related incidents from both international and African perspectives, particularly in countries, such as, Russia, Mexico, Nigeria, and South Africa. The selection of these countries is intended to provide a more comprehensive comparison and understanding of the experiences of victims and perpetrators of mob justice related incidents globally. Moreover, the fact that these countries have both historical and current events of mob justice related incidents provides the impetus for their use in this study. The first section of this chapter focuses on the critique of terminology surrounding the concept of vigilantism in order to establish an operational definition for this study. This section is followed by a discussion of the elements of mob justice. Most importantly, a critical overview of the origins of mob justice related incidents will be explored. The study also addresses international and African perspectives on mob justice groups. Moreover, the antecedents, followed by motivations for mob justice, are discussed. Against this background, the study seeks to examine the profile of victims and perpetrators of mob justice related incidents.

2.2 A CRITIQUE OF TERMINOLOGY

Vigilantism is a complex phenomenon that has caused broader debates among various research scholars, such as, Johnson (1996), Abrahams (1998), Minnaar (2001), Botha (2015) and Petrus (2015). Ambiguous terms, such as, 'rough justice,' 'community justice,' 'lynching' and 'instant justice' are often used interchangeably to conceptualise the phenomenon. However, the concept is also described as a form of vigilante justice, community guards, people's courts, and flexibility justice. Given these complexities in existing literature, the researcher finds it necessary to examine and review these definitions.

The concepts vigilantism and lynching (notably ‘frontier justice’) dates back in the ‘early American colonies.’ During these times, the terms were easily connected to the Spanish word, ‘watchmen’ (Wyatt, 2002:22). The term ‘vigilantism’ is generally defined as members of organised unlawful movements who take the law into their own hands to protect their community from a perceived crime (Abrahams, 1998:7-8). Some authors, like, Johnson (1996:220), seek to provide a more concrete definition of vigilantism as a social movement by community members that involves premeditated acts of aggression against alleged perpetrators. Similar to vigilantism, lynching involves premeditated acts of violence by a mob who attempt to administer justice on an alleged perpetrator (Huggins, 1991:266). However, the fact that these definitions are so outdated brings to mind that they may have been formulated in a particular context in time and space, which gives the motivation to critique these explanations.

The concepts vigilantism and lynching have recently been reviewed by some academic scholars who adopted terms, such as, people’s courts, community justice and mob justice. Based on a review of these concepts, the term vigilantism seems to be characterised in terms of academic interpretations of what is perceived as forms of punishment. Such terms are evident in the concepts adopted by Yeboah-Assiama (2014:1) who consider vigilantism as a form of ‘jungle justice’ or ‘instant justice’ (commonly used terms in Nigeria, Cameroon, and Ghana). The author defines the concept of instant justice as individuals who, upon suspicion of a criminal violation, substitute the rule of law with their perceptions of what they consider as acceptable punishment (Yeboah-Assiama, 2014:1). Hence, it is vital to take cognisance of the fact that vigilantism occurs in different contexts, cultures, and societies around the world in which different languages are used to describe the concept. For instance, the term “*Justicia comunitaria*” most notably used in Bolivia has its roots in ‘community tribunals’ (forum of justice) who, legally mete out justice on suspected criminals (Yates, 2017:2). Authors, such as, Goldstein (2003:23) however argue that once the concept of “*Justicia comunitaria*” is performed outside the authority of the law, the concept can be linked to aspects of lynching. In this regard, the aspect of lynching is further connoted with lynch-mobs which are referred to as “*los vecinos*” by the Bolivian media and public citizens (Risør, 2010:467).

The terms people's courts, kangaroo courts (apartheid era), 'vimba' and mob justice (post-apartheid era) are commonly used in South Africa. For instance, people's courts and kangaroo courts were used in the apartheid era to refer to vigilantes who metered out harsh sentences on suspected criminals and supporters of apartheid (Peters, 1999:9, Buur & Jensen, 2004:142). Peters (1999:9) describes people's courts as vigilantes who apply the rules and customs of their community to carry out immediate punishment on suspected perpetrators. The term 'vimba' (meaning catch/stop him), however, is commonly used by public citizens referring to a suspected criminal running away from the mob after being accused of a crime (Mukwevho, 2013:1). Hence this study further aims to conceptualise this phenomenon concerning narrative accounts of the public perception of vigilantism. As such, public citizens seem to equate acts of vigilantism as a form of justice.

Furthermore, the explanations above seem to provide reasonable coverage of the term vigilantism as a representative of 'vigilantes' or 'mobs' that involve citizens who attempt to bypass the laws of the state to punish an alleged perpetrator (Hoekman, 2014:9) directly. Although each of these concepts appears to have distinct features, they are all interrelated in that they represent an acceptable definition of 'mob justice.' However, the fact that acts of vigilantism tend to occur within a group context makes the term 'mob justice' suitable for this study (operational definitions addressed in Chapter 1, sections 1.3.3 – 1.3.6). In this regard, the concept will be expanded by introducing the elements of mob justice with specific reference to mob justice related incidents.

2.2.1 Elements of mob justice

In light of the above definitions, the concept mob justice has been characterised by, among others, Little and Sheffield (1983); Johnson (1996); Abrahams (1998); Yeboah-Assiama (2014); and Krasner (2018) into the following elements:

- *Private*- mob justice is conducted by private individuals or 'autonomous citizens' who, voluntarily employ violent attacks for settling differences without involving the authorities (Krasner, 2018:101). These private individuals represent neighbourhood watches, lynch mobs, crowds or "*collective individuals more persistent and structured than mobs*" (Philips, 2017:3). Although neighbourhood watches (or community patrols) may appear to be non-violent, they may form

community mob groups that employ violent methods. Unlike lynch mobs and crowds, neighbourhood watches are often supported in the form of receiving funding or donations from the community. Critically, Super (2017:513) argues that instead of perceiving acts of mob justice as perpetrated by 'autonomous citizens', they should instead be perceived as individuals who are shaped and produced by the state to become vigilantes. According to Baker (2002:161), though some vigilante groups are small and loosely organised, there are larger ones which consist of community mob groups.

- *State-sponsored* – mob justice is perceived as an act carried out by state agents (Swanepoel, Coetzee & Duvenhage, 2011:124), although state agents, such as, the police may be perceived to be immune to such acts. Abrahams (1998:16), however, seeks to contradict this claim and argues that state agents tend to employ secure methods against the mob in their attempt to dispense justice. This means that just as private citizens perceive their actions as legitimate in the pursuit of order, state agents, in turn, perceive their acts against them as legitimate. For instance, police officers tend to use violence, such as, “*torture and deadly force on the streets*” similarly to private individuals, either for personal or political gain (Chevigny, 1996:26).
- *Premeditated or spontaneous* - whether voluntary or not - mob justice can be organised, pre-planned or may spontaneously arise from a mob group or group of passer-by's who witness a criminal act and decide to punish an alleged perpetrator (Yeboah-Assiama, 2014:5). In this case, mob justice groups tend to hunt down the suspects until they are caught and punished (Swanepoel et al., 2011:123). Although some authors may perceive these actions to be organised and premeditated, Yeboah- Assiama (2014:1) perceives mob justice as a form of disorganised crowds that uses violence and destruction on the precept of administering justice.
- *Threats of violence* - mob justice involves intimidation by violence by either private individuals or state-sponsored agents. The threats of violence tend to include torture, beatings, physical injury, or death of the victim (Yeboah-Assiama, 2014:5).
- *Goal-oriented*- mob justice acts are committed with the intention of protecting communities against a perceived threat or crime; attempts to establish order

against a perceived transgression; and aims to give assurances of peace and security (Johnson, 1996:224).

Abrahams (1998:9) seeks to categorise mob justice as representing a three-part equation including good citizens, the state, and the perpetrator. The author argues that good citizens tend to entrust their protection to the state when laws are in order. However, if the state's protection is lacking, and there is a perceived threat to that order, individuals attempt to deal directly with the alleged perpetrators. In order to expand on this phenomenon, this study attempts to provide a historical overview and juxtaposition of the experiences of victims and perpetrators of mob justice related incidents in countries worldwide.

2.3 A CRITICAL OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS

As mentioned above, this study seeks to expand on and address historical origins, such as, biblical accounts, ethnically and religiously motivated mob justice incidents. These historical origins are relevant to this study as it seeks to examine historical knowledge of the experiences of victims and perpetrators of mob justice related incidents. Furthermore, this study attempts to identify shared characteristics, differences, and similarities of these documented experiences of victims and perpetrators of mob justice related incidents worldwide.

2.3.1 Biblical accounts of mob justice incidents

The Bible is influenced by rules of conduct which can be found in the book of Deuteronomy. In the biblical scriptures, crime was considered a violation of God's command and disobedience of the laws written by Moses (Exodus 20:1-17, 19-34, Deuteronomy 4-10, 5:6-21). The violation of these laws was reprimanded by punishment, death, or exile (banishment or removal of the alleged perpetrator from the community) (Sadique & Stanislas, 2016:48). As such, incidents of mob justice can be found in biblical scriptures, such as, Genesis 34, Numbers 25, Numbers 35, Judges 17:6, 2 Samuel 13, and John 8: 1-11. An example can be found in John 8: 1-1, where the teachers of the Law and the Pharisees caught a woman in the act of adultery. The woman was then made to stand before the mob, who said to

Jesus: *“Teacher; this woman was caught in the act of adultery. According to the Laws of Moses, we are required to stone such women. Now, what do you say?”* Mob justice action, in this case, was justified following the Laws of Moses, which made people perceive such acts as legitimate. A similar incident was during the trial of Jesus when he was accused of sorcery, violating the law of the Sabbath, claiming to be the Son of God and King of the Jews (Luke 23:14-25). As a result, Jesus was persecuted, beaten, and crucified by the mob. These acts can be recorded as the earliest forms of mob justice related incidents. Moreover, mob justice is apparent in well-known statements in the Bible, such as, *“an eye for an eye”* (punishment should fit the crime) (Mathew 5:38-42) which was also part of the Laws of Moses. The statement seems to be misinterpreted by many for mob justice purposes, rather than being seen as a form of instruction to judges to impose punishment that is fair but lenient. As a result, the eye for an eye maxim has left scholars like Stone (2016:115) asking questions about whether it justifies personal vengeance. In this regard, this study seeks to expand on the biblical elements of mob justice as a contributory factor to religious-based mob justice.

2.3.2 Religiously motivated mob justice incidents

During the period 1933-1995, religious-based crimes were a common practice in countries, such as, Germany, Cambodia, Armenia, and Yugoslavia (Elias, 1996:299, Novick, 2000:379). In Germany, for example, the mass killings of 5.7 million Jews during World War II (1943-1945) by Nazi Germany sparked the beginning of hatred between different religions worldwide (Elias, 1996:299). The killings originated from the myth that the Jews were responsible for the death of Christ. Moreover, the Jews were persecuted and accused of certain ritualistic murders of Christians and natural disasters, like, plaques in Germany (Van Haperen & ten Have, 2012:17). Similar to countries, like, Cambodia and Armenia, the victims of Genocide in Nazi Germany came from various backgrounds, areas, and religious groups (Urgur, 2012:47). Victims of these religious-based crimes were members of particular religions, like, the Jews and the Muslims (Flatt, 2009:1). However, religious violence was not limited to the persecution of other religions but extended to disputing the practices of one’s religion (Perlmutter, 1959:1-3). For instance, the killing (by burning or hanging) of thousands of women in Catholic and Protestant countries, such as, Italy, France and Europe on charges of blasphemy (an offence of speaking against God or denouncing

one's faith) and witchcraft was also part of religiously motivated violence (Van Haperen & ten Have, 2012:19). Other forms of religious violence against women influenced by both religious and cultural factors include honour killings and female infanticide. According to the United Nations Populations Fund (2000:26) (UNPF), in countries, such as, Western Asia, North Africa and Pakistan, at least 1000 women and female children are murdered annually due to honour killings and female infanticide.

2.3.2.1 Honour killings and female infanticide

Honour killings are often committed against women and lesbians suspected of shaming the 'family name.' These killings are deeply rooted in the belief that women have the responsibility to preserve the honour of the family, particularly by being submissive to their male relatives (Chesler, 2010:38). Like female infanticide (the deliberate killing of female children due to preference for male children') (Jones, 2000:1), asserts that honour killings exist in patriarchal societies where women's actions are closely monitored. Victims of honour killings are often punished for condemned actions, like, divorce, sex outside marriage, being victims of rape, refusing to enter into forced marriages or refusing to wear a veil, and homosexuality (Foblets & Renteln, 2009:241-242).

Similar to female infanticide, the perpetrators of honour killings are predominantly family members or relatives. Moreover, some of the perpetrators in such incidents are often minor boys selected by the senior males in the family to carry out the violent acts (Academic Council on the United Nations System, 2018: 60). The victims are either shamed in public by being beaten, threatened, or killed by their family members or a mob of community residents (Chesler, 2010:38). Although women are perceived as the primary victims, men can also be the victim of honour killings based on their perceived homosexuality (Foblets & Renteln, 2009:242). Similar to mob justice incidents, honour killings are a collective behaviour often supported by either the families of the victims and/or the public (United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC), 2012:11-12). Religiously based crimes and honour killings are still practised today in countries, such as, India, Pakistan, and Nigeria. In Pakistan, the non- governmental Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (2017:50) reported that in 2017, 274 (with only 181 reported cases) women were murdered in honour killings.

However, these statistics only represent the cases that were reported to the police, since some of the cases are treated as a family affair. Another common phenomenon in these historical origins is ethnically motivated mob justice or the genocide.

2.3.3 Ethnically motivated mob justice

Ethnic violence is often apparent in countries that have different races, languages, cultural or religious beliefs (Lim, Metzler & Bar-Yam, 2007:317). Ethnically motivated mob justice or genocide expanded in the 1980s-1990s in an attempt to persecute members of an ethnic group through mass killing, deportation and displacement (Mamdani, 2001:516; Van Haperen & ten Have, 2012:97). Some of these acts were carried out as a form of lynching by mobs in order to punish or intimidate ethnic groups, particularly black people. For example, in the United States of America (during the year 1965) the lynching of black people by white mobs, such as, the Ku Klux Klan (an "*American white supremacist hate group*") was generally motivated by ethnic violence (Crouch, 1984:226). During these colonial times, the Ku Klux Klan attempted to enforce white superiority over black people by forcing them into slavery or by preventing them from taking part in elections. The black people were victimised were by hanging and sometimes humiliated by leaving their dead bodies on the streets (Du Bois, 1998:671; Quarles, 1999:100).

Ethnically motivated mob justice was not limited to racist hate groups but also included the persecution of members of an ethnic group. Mamdani (2001:516) recognises the 1994 civilian killings in the Rwandan genocide for the killing of Tutsi civilians by the Hutu mobs, the killings of Hutus by other Hutus, mainly for political reasons (Hutus supporting the Tutsis), as well as for material gain (such as, taking away the possessions or property of the Tutsis). Due to the increase in the extermination of the Tutsis by Hutus, 80 000 victims (mostly the Tutsis) were killed in the Rwandan genocide in just 100 days (Van Haperen & ten Have, 2012:97). The perpetrators of the genocide involved approximately 300 members of the Hutu clan, and soldiers and police officers. The victims were predominantly identified as women and children from an entire group identity, such as, the Tutsi's in Rwanda. Although men were also subjected to torture and killings, women and children were the primary victims due to their vulnerable nature. As such, the mass killing of women and children not only occurred in Rwanda but in countries, like, Indonesia, Bosnia, Somalia, Cambodia,

and Peru. During the mass killings in these countries, women became victims of rape, sexual humiliation and “*gender based defined roles, such as, taking responsibility for the safety of their children*” amid the violence (Pohlman, 2003:2-3). In Indonesia, for example, women were subjected to torturous acts, such as, inserting objects into their vaginas (particularly with a ‘sharpened bamboo pole’). Long knives or iron rods were also used to pierce the women’s stomachs (including pregnant women) or for cutting off their breasts and nipples. The similarities between the perpetrators of these acts - as identified by the victims include men belonging to a gang of a particular type or group of nationalists, such as, Christians or Muslim youths (Bertrand, 2008:435). In the context of South Africa, ethnic violence is rooted in the colonial and apartheid-era during the forced removals of black people to the informal settlements (discussed further in section 2.5.2.1). The forced removals resulted in divisions between races, cultures, religions, and languages (Irobi, 2005:1). For instance, there have been reported cases of ethnic clashes between SeSotho and IsiXhosa speaking residents of Sondela (Rustenburg), which left 12 victims dead (African News Agency (ANA), 2018:1).

Although the motives behind mob justice acts appear to be similar, they were all carried out under different circumstances, on different victims and perpetrators and for different ideologies. A common thread can, however, be identified between ethnically and religiously motivated mob killings in that they both involve persecution of certain ethnic or religious groups through acts of mob justice. Furthermore, the similarities of the countries mentioned above are that the perpetrators often employ violent acts of torture, intimidation, and murder of their victims. In such cases, violence is carried out, either on an ethnic group or an individual that is persecuted, or those perceived to have transgressed the law.

In light of the above discussion, the following section addresses the root cause of mob justice groups from both international and African perspectives.

2.4 INTERNATIONAL AND AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE EXISTENCE OF MOB JUSTICE GROUPS

In South Africa, mob justice groups in the townships and informal rural settlements are often characterised by socio-economic inequalities and crime (Gillespie, 2013:2). As

such, the existence of mob groups is not limited to South Africa. In countries, like, Russia, Mexico, Bolivia, India, Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania, and Kenya; high levels of violence and the formation of mob groups have been increasingly documented (Gillespie, 2013:2). However, this study will focus on Russia and Mexico (international perspectives), South Africa and Nigeria (African perspectives). The selection of these countries is based on the fact that they have been affected by their government's past resistance to protect specific communities and thus failing to provide safety and security to impoverished areas in particular. Moreover, mob justice related incidents tend to exacerbate in countries that have transitioned into democracy (Pratten, 2008:12). The selection of these countries further enables a more profound comprehension of mob justice by comparing international and African dynamics for the emergence of mob justice groups. These countries will be discussed below in this context.

2.4.1 Russia`

Mob justice-related incidents in Russia existed during the 1940s when German troops colonised the country in what was commonly known as the *Operation Barbarossa* (code name used for the German invasion) (Rich, 1973:204). The German troops instigated violence against ethnic minorities, such as, the Jews in various parts of Russia (such as, Ukraine and Lithuania) (Breitman, 1990:341-343, Piotrowski, 1997:164). Some of the Russian Nationals that were hostile and prejudiced towards the Jewish people supported the German invasion and their persecution of the Jews (Breitman, 1990:341-343). As a result, violent attacks against Jews spread throughout Russia perpetrated mostly by a mob group known as the 'Neo Nazis' which originated in the city of Yekaterinburg (Blee, 1996:682). The group involved young men and women who identified themselves as 'racist skinheads.' The establishment of the group was based on hatred towards the Jewish people, who were also held responsible for the German invasion. The group's attacks on the Jewish people involved threats and violent, sexual assaults, and acts of lynching and massacre (Stein, 2002:52). As a result, in 1941, approximately 25 000 Jews, including women and children, were murdered either by hanging, lynching, or execution (Hillberg, 1961:767).

Ethnic violence still exists in some regions of Russia, like, Vladivostok, Zelenograd and Sochi (Human Rights Watch, 2014:1-6). Attacks against foreign nationals have become rampant. For example, a study conducted by Yudina (2018:1) reported that in 2017, there were 11 immigrants from Central Asia injured and three killed. Many of the initiators of the violence have since been prosecuted, which has reduced the series of attacks (Yudina, 2018:1). In addition, the victims of ethnic violence in Russia was not limited to the Jews; the Neo-Nazis have also attacked homosexuals, like, openly Lesbian, Gay, Transsexual and Bisexual (LGBTQ+) people. This is also because anti-gay policies in Russia existed in the 1930s, in terms of which homosexuality was considered sodomy in terms of religious practices and became punishable by law (Deaderick & Turner, 1997:13). Religious traditions considered homosexuality as immoral and therefore spread hostile attitudes towards the LGBTQ+ community.

Consequently, hatred towards LGBTQ+ people gave rise to a mob group known as the 'Occupy Pedophilia' and the 'anti-gay purge' that predominately target LGBTQ+ persons (Juzwiak, 2014:1) openly. Both groups' motive is to enforce order and fear amongst the LGBTQ + community about the consequences of being openly gay (Chaudhuri, 2014:1). The victims are often paraded in the media and are taught to regulate their behaviour. This was done to send a message to others in the LGTBQ + community and teach them to regulate their behaviour (Kasra, 2017:183-184). As a result, in 2017, 71 openly LGBTQ + community members became victims of homophobic violence, during which six victims died while 65 others were injured. The group's methods of attack involve stripping victims naked and forcing them to pose with dildos, painting and drawing slurs on them and spraying construction foam on their groins (Armitage, 2014:1; Kasra, 2017:182). However, these statistics may be inconsistent as some of the incidents were not reported to the police. Moreover, these statistics may not cover all the regions in Russia but only some parts of the country.

Both the Occupy Pedophilia and anti-LGBT purge's attitude towards homosexuality is both religious, state-sponsored and internalised homophobia. For instance, a report submitted by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) (2018:1) concluded that the Russian police seem to support the perpetrators of these mob justice acts rather than the victims, based on their failure to prevent such crimes. Moreover, the Russian police have been accused of torturing and purging

approximately 100 men whom they had suspected of being gay (Human Rights Watch, 2019:1). Similar to Mexico, the mob groups in Russia have become increasingly powerful to manage, which poses challenges to the police in the administration of justice. Furthermore, the government in both Russia and Mexico tend not to attempt to arrest members of these mob groups despite their knowledge of the crimes. Mexico, however, is increasingly dominated by a mix of gangs operating in the form of mob groups (Blackwell, 2019:1).

2.4.2 Mexico

Mob justice-related incidents exist in Mexico due to a failure by the police to provide safety and security to the impoverished areas of Socorro, Michoacán, and Guerrero (Christiansen & Chester, 1965:23). During the years 1967-1990, these areas experienced a series of criminal issues, such as, robberies, kidnappings, and rape, which resulted in the formation of self-defense groups (Chevigny, 1996:24). Community policing organisations - such as, the Rural Defense Corps in the state of Guerrero - practiced through legal customs of self-governance. These community policing organisations took the form of neighbourhood watches (controlled by community leaders) which cooperated with the police by handing suspects over to authorities. However, the groups started to engage illegal activities which further exacerbated violence and mob justice killings in the City of Michoacán' (Goi, 2017:1). Initially, the group's initiative was to focus on keeping internal order in communities by punishing petty thieves. However, the rise of criminal organisations, such as, the Knights Templars, amongst others, threatened the security of the residents of Michoacán and Querrero (Althaus & Dudley, 2014:11).

Mob justice groups known as Civilian Militias, and Autodefensas were formed in order to fight the criminal organisations that have spread throughout Mexico in the states of Guerrero and Michoacán (International Crisis Group, 2013:1). For instance, the mob justice group, Autodefensas was formed in 2013 due to the state's failure to protect the local citizens of Michoacán from the local drug cartel, the Knights Templars. The group initially received training after recruitment, wears uniforms and carry weapons, like, rifles, pistols, and machetes (Taylor, 2014:1-3). The structure of the group consists of local citizens concerned with protecting their families against crime; businesspeople attempting to protect their businesses and livelihoods; and criminal organisations seeking to expand their power. Although the group has been accused of

certain criminal activities like gun smuggling and cooperating with drug cartels, they have been useful in their methods to dismantle trafficking organisations in the country.

Since the emergence of these organisations, Mexico experienced a series of mob justice incidents which spread throughout the country. Resultantly, mob justice has recently become disorganised with the perpetrators of such incidents being primarily the friends and families of the victims (Phillips, 2016:3). Between 2006- 2018, more than 80 000 victims have been killed due to drug-related violence and mob justice killings (International Crisis Group, 2013:1).

2.5 AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS

Based on a review of literature, the similarity between Nigeria and South Africa is that they both had the influence of colonialism in which the Germans established colonial rule over their local leaders (Van Haperen & ten Have, 2012:99). However, South Africa, in which the white race dominated the African majority, experienced a deeper form of oppression than that experienced in Nigeria (Irobi, 2005:1). The following section discusses the root causes of mob justice in African countries – in this case, Nigeria, and South Africa.

2.5.1 Nigeria

Mob justice in Nigeria consists of a variety of ethnic, religious, corporate, and community-based, and state-sponsored groups (Chukwuma, 2017:38-41). The Bakassi Boys, operating as an informal security group, was formed in response to rising crime. Similar to PAGAD and Mapogo a Mathamaga (discussed in sections 2.5.2.2.1 and 2.5.2.2.2), the group's activities involved the apprehension and punishment of perceived perpetrators. While this group was previously notorious for committing crimes, in the late 2000s, they were accused of several crimes involving torture and unlawful detention (Burchard, 2014:3). Violent acts were often directed at alleged perpetrators who were accused of committing crimes, like, rape, murder, theft, and witchcraft. For example, in the majority of violent cases, suspected witches were often younger women, who were then subjected to exorcism ceremonies involving beatings and public humiliation by their fellow community members (Human Rights Council of the United Nations (HRCUN), 2012:11). The perpetrators involved in torturing these women were often men, usually from the same biological background

as the women. Such attacks brought discrimination against women to the fore as women labelled as witches by their husbands or male relatives were subjected to murder. For example, in Zambia, husbands or male relatives accused of killing women for witchcraft were sentenced to only one to two years in prison. In this case, such perpetrators, after receiving impunity, violence against women would persist and be normalised (Rude & Kazunga, 1995:61). In Nigeria, there have been approximately 15 000 women accused of witchcraft, which has led to 1000 being murdered (Winterdyck, 2017:258).

Mob justice incidents in Nigeria are not only limited to alleged perpetrators accused of the crimes mentioned above but extend to the threat of terrorism posed by Boko Haram insurgents. Boko Haram, which is male-dominated and noted as the “*deadliest Islamic*” terrorist group emerged in 2002, in the northeast of Nigeria (Global Terrorism Index, 2015:1). The group’s violence dominated parts of Nigeria, such as the Borno, Adamawa and Yobe states, with people being killed, many displaced and schools forced to shut down due to fear (Agbibo, 2017:4). A study conducted by Hassan and Tyvoll (2018:13) indicated that males were the primary victims of torture and killing by Boko Haram insurgents, while empirical evidence suggests that women are the primary victims of rape, abduction, forced marriage, and forced conversion. For instance, in April 2014, the group became notorious worldwide, following the abduction of 276 school children in Chibok (Borno State), sparking fear for the safety of Nigerian civilians (Chiluwa, 2015:214). The rise of the Boko Haram onslaught, and the perceived inability of the police to guarantee the safety of Nigerian civilians, has led to an increase of certain mob groups in the communities (Global Terrorism Index, 2015:16).

Local communities have resorted to taking the law into their own hands in order to protect their communities against Boko Haram attacks. As a result, informal structures, like, the neighbourhood guards, the local hunters and the civilian joint task force have become prevalent (Idowu, 2016:1). The *Neighbourhood Guard’s* initiative was to protect their community from infiltration attacks by Boko Haram. As a result, the group mobilised, forming community patrols and policing forums. The group involved young men from the ages of 21-35 from the local communities (Falode, 2016:1).

Similarly, the *Local Hunters'* initiative was to protect their communities and apprehend Boko Haram members. The group involved local young men and women who joined voluntarily to assist the authorities in the apprehension of adversaries. Contrary to the neighbourhood guards, the group used weapons, such as, "*Dane guns, bows, arrows, machetes and amulets*" to protect themselves against Boko Haram insurgency. The *Civilians JTF*, also known as 'Kato Da Gora' (men with stick) adopted a similar initiative by assisting the police in the apprehension of Boko Haram adversaries (Idowu, 2016:1-2). This group armed themselves with an array of weapons, such as, bows, arrows, clubs, sticks, daggers and rifles (locally made), and took the form of street patrols and conducted house to house searches (International Crisis Group, 2013:11). Although the groups mentioned above were successful at disrupting Boko Haram and the increased risk of terrorism, there have been accusations of certain human rights abuses, such as, forcefully recruiting women and children to participate in counterattacks against Boko Haram (Chukwuma, 2017:38-41). As mentioned above, both South Africa and Nigeria's policing (South African Police Service and the Nigerian Police Force) have been damaged by oppressive regimes (Omeje, 2005:72-74). As a result, these countries focused more on regime maintenance rather than resolving the issues of crime in communities (Cooper-knock & Owen, 2015:358).

2.5.2 South Africa

The colonisation of South Africa by the Europeans in 1652, signified the beginning of the racial division between the white minority and black majority (Mamdani, 1997:177). During this period, violence became a method of control by the white government to oppress the black population (including the use of slave trade and forced labour). As a result, black victims suffered a series of police brutality, torture, racial discrimination, and oppression (Dissel & Kollapen, 2002:16). The oppression by the white government continued until the apartheid regime of 1930-1994, which is one of the contributing factors to the current cycle of violence in South Africa. Discrimination by the police during the colonial and apartheid-era created mistrust for the justice systems' willingness and ability to provide safety and security in black communities. As a result, community structures in the form of mob justice groups were established to prevent crime in both the rural and township areas (Super, 2010:167; Wagner, 2012:1-6).

2.5.2.1 Mob justice in the apartheid era (1930s-1994)

The emergence of mob justice groups in the African townships and rural areas dates back in pre-apartheid era (Hund & Kotu-Rammopo, 1983:179). During the 1930s, the forced removal of black people by the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 to the informal settlements created a separation of racial groupings. As a result, black people were relocated to Cape Town and Johannesburg townships, like, Khayelitsha and Alexandra (with the majority of black people forced to reside in the rural areas), while Coloured people were zoned in areas, such as, Manenberg and Mitchells Plain (Haysom, 1989:1). These forced removals produced lack of police support and control, which in turn resulted in the formation of gangs in the townships and rural areas (Mathews & Benvenuti, 2014:32). The fear of crime imposed by the gangs in the communities resulted in the formation of peace ordering structures, such as, the 'Makgotla' in both township and rural areas in the late 1970s (Super, 2010:50).

2.5.2.1.1 The 'Makgotla'

During the 1970s apartheid era, crime-related issues in the townships and rural areas were represented in the form of community structures, such as, the 'Lekgotla' or 'Makgotla' (part of the Soweto Community Council) (Hund & Kotu-Rammopo, 1983:184). The Council was deeply rooted in customary traditions held by tribal leaders and seniors (such as, Chiefs) in the communities (Sekhonyane & Louw, 2002:6). In other words, the Makgotla were representatives of unofficial 'peoples courts' and vigilante groups operating under the authority of tribal leaders and local ward committees. The tribal leaders rendered frequent verdicts and punishment on suspected perpetrators in the form of restorative justice or handed suspects over to the police for other interventions (Herbst, 2015:848). The punishments meted out on alleged perpetrators were fines, corporal punishment and community service. Although the Makgotla perceived their methods of reducing crime as useful, crime and violence continued to increase in the townships and the rural areas. During the 1976 Soweto uprising, the Makgotla had lost their credibility, and the Revolutionary Youth Organisations (like, the black consciousness movement) were considered more effective than the Makgotla (Glaser, 2005:139). This is also evident in the formation of peace ordering structures, such as, People Against Gangsterism (PAGAD) in the late 1990s and Mapogo a Mathamaga in 1996 (post-apartheid era).

2.5.2.2 Mob Justice groups in the post-apartheid era (1994-present)

In the post-apartheid era, many South Africans are still confronted by feelings of insecurity. Violence has escalated and become rampant in the townships and rural areas (Gross, 2016:3). Forms of mob justice consist of neighbourhood watches, community group patrols and Community Policing Forums (CPFs), mob justice groups in which some are represented by community leaders, and some even supported by the police (Super, 2017:333). The following renowned mob justice groups were commonly reported in the townships and rural areas of South Africa.

2.5.2.2.1 'People against Gangsterism' (PAGAD)

PAGAD existed in the 1995 regime changes (post-apartheid era) on the Cape Flats and was formed due to the criminal justice system's perceived incapability to address drug and gang-related issues. PAGAD was formed by members of the Pan African Congress (PAC) and community members from the Cape Town townships, organised by Abdus Salaam Ebrahim. During this period, Cape Town had an estimated 137 gangs - approximately 30 000 gang members which resulted in the formation of the group (Nina, 1992:25). In 1996, PAGAD marched to Parliament to demand immediate action against the spate of gangs and drugs in the Cape Flats within 60 days (Gottschalk, 2005:5). Initially, the marchers were a small group of Muslims and a Catholic Priest, Father Cristopher Colhessy, who later considered working with the government. However, perceived incapability by the government to effectively address their demands resulted in mob justice operating out of state authority. The group became involved in violent and aggressive actions, with drug lords being dragged out of their homes and publicly beaten (Pinnock, 2016:73).

Despite the violent methods of dealing with drug-related offending in the Cape Flats, the group's activities eventually led to the arrest of a well-known drug lord called Rashaad Staggie (belonging to the Hard Livings gang), who was blamed for the series of bombings and murders in police stations and restaurants (IOL News, 2000:1). PAGAD managed to reduce some of the gang's activities, and the leader of the group was later charged with terrorism and orchestrating bombings in the Cape Flats (Dixon & Marie-Johns, 2001:4). Moreover, however, PAGAD members were charged with serious crimes, such as, murder including the shooting of Wynberg magistrate, Pieter Theron. As a result, they were later branded by the police as a terror group and

alienated from its support base (Botha & Botha, 2015:23, Kynoch, 2016:76). Similar to PAGAD, Mapogo a Mathamaga another peace ordering structure generated media attention as their activities publicised the use of violence against alleged perpetrators (Harries, 2001:38).

2.5.2.2.2 The establishment of Mapogo a Mathamaga

The vigilante group, Mapogo a Mathamaga, was initially established in 1996 by rural businessmen of the Sekhukhune Region (Limpopo) in response to the high crime rate. The emergence of Mapogo a Mathamaga, coined “*if you are a leopard, I will be a tiger*”, was formed due to persistent car hijackings, housebreakings, and particularly the murder of six businessmen in the SeKhukhune Region (Schnitzler, Dithlage, Kgalema, Maepa, Mofokeng & Pigou, 2001:13). During this period, businesses were the particular target of criminal activity; mostly petrol stations, liquor stores and supermarkets (Oomen, 2004:156).

Similar to PAGAD (discussed in section 2.5.2.2.1 above), Mapogo formed a march to the provincial capital, Pietersburg where they submitted a memorandum to the provincial Member of the Executive Committee of Safety and Security, Seth Nthai, to attend to the killings and hand out heavy punishments to alleged criminals and if need be, provide ‘a death sentence’. The group continued to tour around the villages, speaking to traditional leaders and organising meetings with the local people using megaphones to inform perpetrators that ‘their days are numbered’ (Oomen, 2004:156). Moreover, Mapogo a Mathamaga became renowned nationwide as ‘sjambok vigilantes,’ who dragged alleged perpetrators from their homes and then beat them with whips before handing them to the police. In some cases, the suspects were killed and left at the doors of funeral parlours (Botha & Botha, 2015:26). Although the group became active in their attempt to eradicate crime; when the leader of the group John Magolego joined the rival United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1999, many members of Mapogo were arrested. In 2000, there was a total of 300 Mapogo members charged with 139 charges of common assault, 82 of serious assault, 19 for attempted murder, 9 for theft, 23 for kidnapping, 13 for murder and six for robbery (Schnitzler et al., 2001:13). The group was primarily accused of dragging their alleged perpetrators behind moving vehicles and throwing them in “...*crocodile infested waters*” (Monaghan, 2008:89).

Twenty-five years into democracy, violence and mob justice persist in South Africa, resulting in the emergence of more peace ordering structures, such as, 'Operation Wanya Tsotsi.'

2.5.2.2.3 Operation Wanya Tsotsi

The mob justice group 'Operation Wanya Tsotsi,' also called the DIY (Do it Yourself) is considered a brand of justice operating in Galeshwe (Kimberley), which was founded in March 2017. Operation Wanya Tsotsi is commonly known for its effectiveness in reducing crime in the communities. The group has gained support from other CPFs and the police because of its perceived effectiveness in addressing crime in Kimberly. For example, the group received support from the former police Minister Fikile Mbabula, who started the #Wanyatsotsi (in other words, 'criminals will defecate') as one of the political slogans used to symbolise the effectiveness of the group. The Minister used the support of social media and smear campaigns to share with followers which suspects had been caught (Clark, 2017:2). The public generally perceived the group as a mob justice group; however, the leader of the group (Pantsi Obusitse) and the Minister describes the group as a 'community crime initiative.' Similar to the attributes of PAGAD and Mapogo a mathamaga (discussed above), the police have recently accused Operation Wanya Tsotsi of administering illegal methods against suspected perpetrators (Clark, 2017:3). The group's methods involve community patrols armed with sjamboks, hockey sticks, and have been known to threaten victims with petrol dousing and being set alight. Alleged perpetrators, particularly gang leaders, are often beaten, stripped, and marched to the police station with tyres around their necks (Ground Up, 2017:1).

In light of the countries mentioned above, it is clear that mob justice is associated with mob justice groups that operate in crime-afflicted areas, which is generally a 'grass-roots crime-fighting trend', both in the pre and post-apartheid era (Nel, 2016:1-2). The common denominator in all the mob justice actions mentioned above is that most of the victims of mob justice are often young men between the ages of 18 and 30, caught either in the act of robbery and housebreaking, rape and murder or hunted down by mob justice groups. The perpetrators, in this case, are primarily community residents who seek to restore social order and crime-free environments. In some of these

incidents, the majority of the perpetrators were recently released from prison or awaiting trial (Super, 2017:335). In the following section, an examination of the antecedents of mob justice related incidents in South Africa, in both the rural and township communities will be discussed.

2.6 ANTECEDENTS OF MOB JUSTICE

Mob justice in South Africa is not limited to the manifestation of violence, but there are other economic and structural factors, such as, poverty, unemployment and substance abuse that also contribute to mob justice-related incidents (Sibanda, 2014:34). As a result, various researchers, like, Gyamfi (2014), Botha and Botha (2015) and Gross (2016) have proposed numerous factors that contribute to the incidents of mob justice. For this study, antecedents of mob justice, such as, political unrest related deaths, xenophobia and gangsterism will be discussed as key contributory factors to mob justice in South African communities.

2.6.1 Political unrest related to deaths

During the 1980s township uprisings, frequent inter-party clashes between, for example, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Black Local Authorities (BLA) signified the beginning of political struggle and mob justice activities in South Africa (Nina, 1992:2). Traditional leaders in township uprisings seemed to have had political rights in the homelands or local township councils. Traditional leaders, like, Mangosuthu Buthelezi (former leader and head of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe, meaning Inkatha Freedom Party), Lucas Mangope (former leader of Bophuthatswana) and Oupa Qgozo (former leader of Ciskei) were in rivalry with the ANC and UDF. The ANC, UDF and liberation movement groups perceived the local leaders to be collaborators (commonly known as 'Impimpis') with the apartheid government (Sekhonyane & Louw, 2002:7). As a result, local leaders used a range of vigilante groupings to control their communities against attack from the ANC and its associates. Victims suspected of being Impimpis were on occasion attacked and necklaced by vigilante groupings. These mob attacks increased in the period after 1994 due to changes in the political dispensation in South Africa (Abrahams, 2010:495). Most of the outbreaks of mob violence took place in Kwa –Zulu Natal between political parties. As a result, violence became a form of territorial, political supremacy in the region,

which resulted in further assassinations and mob justice-related murders (Abrahams, 2010:495).

The various methods of assassination by these parties indicate that violence often exceeded the traditionally accepted categories of mob justice. These include incidents where people were killed by beating, hacking and necklacing. Such incidents illustrate one of the earliest forms of necklacing against people suspected of collaborating with the white government. Some of these incidents occurred due to territorial violence amongst traditional leaders and political parties. As such, mob justice was not limited to political violence, but also the influence of witchcraft beliefs. This contributory factor will be discussed in detail below.

2.6.2 Influence of witchcraft beliefs

The practise of witchcraft is perceived as evil and against the Christian religion (Ally, 2015:27). Although witchcraft has its roots in historical discourse, the practice still exists, particularly in rural communities worldwide (Gottschalk, 2005:100; Adinkrah, 2015:10). According to Ally (2015:28), the notion of *Zombies or tokoloshes*, are believed to be created by witches and is a widespread belief in South Africa. This is because witchcraft is believed to represent misfortunes. In this case, the Zombies are perceived to be sent by witches to create misfortunes, such as, illness, accidents, and death (Ally, 2015:28-29).

Based on existing literature, victims of witchcraft seem to possess a gendered element against women, mostly elderly - who are often accused based on their physical characteristics (Meel, 2009:64). According to HRCUN (2012:10), women are six times more likely to be accused of witchcraft than men. Adinkrah and Adhikari (2014:314) recognise such acts as prejudiced against women who are poor, widowed, and unmarried who are resultantly treated as scapegoats for community misfortunes. Males accused of witchcraft, however, are often witchdoctors alleged to use body parts (particularly from children) for muti. In this case, the perpetrators may either be members of a specific mob group, but are primarily community residents, usually known by the victim socially or biologically (HRCUN, 2012:11).

In 1994, 250 middle-aged and older women were burnt to death on accusations of witchcraft in the Limpopo Province. The perpetrators of the witch hunts involved unemployed youth who allegedly threatened vulnerable older women by extorting their

pension money (Gottschalk, 2005:100). Over time, incidents of mob justice in South Africa have occurred from the killing of suspected witches to muti murders (which involve harvesting human body parts) (South African Law Reform Commission, 2014:9-10).

Adinkrah and Adhikari (2014: 317) concur with Meel (2009:64) about the physical characteristics of the elderly females accused of practicing witchcraft, but they (Adinkrah & Adhikari, 2014:317) take it further by indicating that these elderly women have wrinkled faces with facial hair, grey and reddish hair, are toothless and perceived ugly in appearance. Countries commonly documented for violent witchcraft hunts and killings are South Africa, Ghana, Nepal, India, Papua New Guinea, Tanzania and Uganda (Global Health Promotion, 2012; Adinkrah & Adhikari, 2014:314). In Nepal for instance, a study conducted by the Informal Service Sector Center (INSEC) (2012:1) revealed that victims of witchcraft are often young adult females between the ages of 21 and 40 years, followed by adults between the ages of 41 and 60, while females older than 61 years are rarely accused. However, these statistics may be different to other countries, like, South Africa – in respect of regions and communities. Meel (2009:61-64) highlighted that perpetrators of witch hunts tend to be between the ages 25-30, unemployed, illiterate, and often abuse alcohol and drugs.

The belief in witchcraft in South Africa can be associated with the prejudiced attitudes towards foreign nationals. The belief that foreign nationals are responsible for the lack of job opportunities and a high crime rate in South Africa has sparked hatred and discrimination against foreigners. As a result, attacks against foreigners sparked a rise of xenophobia in 2008, which further exacerbated mob justice activities.

2.6.3 Rise of xenophobia

There has been much debate by various researchers, like, Masenya (2017:81), Sebola (2017:89), and Nelson and Salawu (2017:104) on the phenomenon of xenophobia. These researchers have argued that the concept should be replaced with Afrophobia since the attacks are often directed at Africans more than any other racial grouping or country origin (Ndinda & Ndlovhu, 2016:131; Nelson & Salawu, 2017:104-116). Nevertheless, other researchers have disputed this claim by arguing that Bangladeshis and Pakistanis have also been attacked in the same way as Africans (Sebola, 2017:91).

The outbreaks of violence against foreign nationals from countries, such as, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Nigeria have increased the cycle of violence in South Africa. Violence has ranged from everyday street-level abuse to discrimination, harassment by the police and the killing of foreigners through mob attacks (Wose Kinge, 2016:12). This is because the social-economic conditions in the townships and rural areas have created misconceptions about foreign nationals in that they are perceived to be responsible for the lack of economic opportunities, relative deprivation, the rise of crime and the spread of HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) and AIDS (Acquired Immune deficiency Virus) (Hove, 2017:122). As such, the issue of xenophobia has resulted in a culture whereby a black person perceives another black person as a threat (Adam & Moodley, 2015:1-8). These perceptions have further resulted in other South Africans being attacked because of their dark skin colour (Masenya, 2017:85).

The attacks on foreigners by mobs can also be referred to as 'corrective violence' or 'hate crime' which involve taking matters into one's own hands as a way of showing disapproval for another's individual characteristics (Munusamy, 2015:1). According to Munusamy (2015:1), corrective violence is often committed by mob groups who attempt to rid their communities of violence, drugs, and unemployment, alleged to be caused by the presence of foreigners. The persistent hostile attitudes towards foreigners continue to exacerbate cases of murders, injury, and mob violence (Misago, 2019:444). For instance, in January 2015, a xenophobic attack occurred in Limpopo after local citizens threatened to burn their victims alive and had their shops looted after it was found that a foreign shop owner had a mobile phone belonging to a local man. The perpetrators commit these crimes (particularly looting) against foreign nationals because they know that foreigners are less likely to report them to the police, for fear of prosecution due to their illegal or absent documentation status (Piper & Wheeler, 2016:37). For this study, the fact that perpetrators of xenophobia tend to retaliate in groups and not as individuals can also be attributed to forms of mob justice. In such incidents, the perpetrators tend to be primarily young, black South African residents and in some cases, police officers (Carrien, 2009:1). For instance, police officers who search foreign national houses without following proper procedures indicate a form of state-sponsored (albeit un-procedural) mob justice.

Antecedents of mob justice are further influenced by motivations for mob justice activities, and these are the high crime rates, gangsterism and a climate of fear and insecurity.

2.7 MOTIVATION FOR MOB JUSTICE

The persistent cycle of violence has manifested into an attraction to crime which is perceived as the only acceptable method to solve conflicts in communities. This attraction not only advantages perpetrators but also disadvantages them in ways that they may become victims of violence themselves (Hinsberger, Sommer, Kaminer, Holtzhausen, Weierstall, Seedat & Elbert, 2016:3). The motivators of mob justice attacks in rural and township areas can be attributed to the following:

2.7.1 High crime rates

A study conducted by Lancaster (2016:2-3) found that South Africa has the highest murder rate, with 67 murders per 100 000 people. The murder rates have increased primarily due to armed robberies, car hijackings and gang warfare (Lancaster, 2016:3). South African Police Service (SAPS) statistics report that violence in black townships has resulted in approximately 14 740 protests between 2013-2016 (South African Crime and Safety Report, 2016). The increase in protests has affected various sectors and businesses, such as, the farming, mining, public transportation, and manufacturing sectors (South Africa Crime and Safety Report, 2016:8). Furthermore, conditions of living in poverty-stricken neighbourhoods increase the risk of people engaging in crime (Cilliers & Aucoin, 2016a:4). To stretch this argument further, Paret (2015:110) distinguishes between three types of violence to understand community violence and protests. The first type is *interpersonal attacks* which consist of physical assault or intimidation against victims and includes rape, xenophobia, and police brutality. The second common type of violence is the *destruction of property*, which involves burning public or private buildings or vehicles belonging to victims. The third type of action refers to *social disruption*, which consists of actions that challenge or threaten the social order, such as, road barricades that block traffic. These types of community protests are sometimes directed at local politicians, ward councilors, tribal leaders and foreign nationals perceived to be responsible for community suffering (Kynoch, 2016:68). As a result, the issue of crime has created permanent threats to

the safety and security of individuals and communities in black townships and rural areas. This, in turn, represents neighbourhoods where young men are always perpetrators or victims of crime and violence (Hinsberger et al., 2016:2). This is because young men are most at risk of being recruited into gang groups which lead them to become victims of mob justice activities. For example, the family of twin boys (16 years of age) who were killed in Etwatwa, Daveyton (Johannesburg) through acts of mob justice for being involved with a gang named the OVL (meaning Overloaded) (eNCA, 2015). This makes the issue of gangsterism a contributing factor to mob justice related incidents as the perceived victims of crime (community residents) decide to take the law into their own hands to protect their communities against gangsterism.

2.7.2 Gangsterism

Gangsterism is recorded as high in South African townships, particularly in Cape Town and at the Western Cape (Ndenze, 2018:1). According to SAPS statistics (2018:1), the Western Cape was recorded as the highest in gang-related murders in 2018 (808 murders), followed by the Eastern Cape with 807 murders. Gangsterism exists in areas where there is a lack of policing. As a result, gangs often assume territorial control and tend to dominate and intimidate community members in specific areas (Botha & Botha, 2015:21). This is because the gang groups in the communities are seen by neighbourhood youths, particularly males, as elements that provide safety, security, and income. Nevertheless, young people are often victims of forced recruitment into gangs. They are often recruited by being beaten, raped and forced to drop out of school as a form of initiating them into the gang (Olifant, 2015:2-3). As a result, the communities become interested in crime which makes it difficult for the police to maintain law and order. In this regard, mob justice and gangs may be contextualised as two interrelated concepts in that they all employ violence as an expression of disapproval and are perceived as criminal groups by law enforcement. Despite their use of violence in all actions, mob groups are perceived by the public as anti-crime initiatives, while gangs are perceived as criminal in nature (Petrus, 2015:29). As such, the issue of gangsterism not only exacerbates mob justice but creates a climate of fear and insecurity in the townships.

2.7.3 Climate of fear and insecurity

Economic and security inequality are two related mechanisms that may signify why mob justice related incidents occur (Phillips, 2016:2). This is because security constitutes an assurance of peace, social order, and protection from violence and abuse. Moreover, institutions of political stability, such as, economic growth, the rule of law serve in many respects as the security mechanisms to the state and the public citizens (Luckham, 2017:110). While the fear of crime constitutes an environment of fear and uncertainty about the future. This means that, even in societies, such as, the rural areas, where there is a low crime rate, people are still generally in fear of crime and victimisation. Hence, the fear of crime and victimization raises an individual's anxiety, and psychological stress, which gradually diminishes their health and wellbeing (Sulemana, 2015:852).

The issue of insecurity is evident in a study conducted on victims of crime, where residents in the townships of Khayelitsha (one of the urban township areas with high crime rate) reported on the 'fear of going out at night'. The fear of going out has risen to 4% in the past four years, while the proportion of parents who refuse to let their children out to attend school has risen to 28 % (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2016:10). Another study conducted by Piper and Wheeler (2016:36) reported that people living in shacks in the informal settlement, feel more vulnerable to crime than those living in formal housing. This is because the informal settlements are mainly located on vacant land with unpaved roads and no street lighting which makes residents vulnerable to muggings, sexual assaults and dumping of bodies (Gibbs, Govender & Jewkes, 2016:2). For example, in the interviews conducted by Piper and Wheeler (2016:36), one of the female participants said that she deliberately befriended gang members in order to get protection. While another woman stated, *"...we live in fear of someone kicking down the shack door and raping us"* (Piper & Wheeler, 2016:36). Moreover, despite attempts by the police to investigate crime, the problem of witnesses refusing to testify, owing to fear of reprisal by their fellow community members, compounds the difficulty of crime control (Conyngham, Trantraal & Trantraal, 2016:31).

Fear is coupled with a lack of trust in the police, as they are perceived as corrupt and ignorant (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2016:11). Furthermore, the fear of being regarded as an informant, and appearing disloyal to fellow community members, remains a disadvantage in reporting crime to the police. Mohamed (2015:2) argues that the fear of reporting crime may be caused by previous negative experiences with the justice system. Moreover, people have become accustomed to the injustices and ineffectiveness of the justice system, which has created a wary suspicion that perpetrators will not be punished swiftly (Cooper-knock & Owen, 2015:359). In addition to this, the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) seeks to reach the highest conviction rate and tends to neglect cases which are difficult to prove, which in turn leaves unsolved cases to be resolved by “...*alternative dispute resolution mechanisms*” (Gould, Mufamadi, Hsiao & Amisi, 2017:7). According to Lancaster (2016:1) public violence monitor report, there were 161 recorded cases of mob justice between 2013 and 2014, but only 7% were reported. This means that communities tend to legitimise mob justice as necessary and correct because there is a perceived threat to their communities which the state has failed to eradicate (Kruccken, Mazza, Meyer & Walgenbach, 2018:336).

In August 2014, the Khayelitsha community made submissions to the Commission of Enquiry on issues related to allegations of police inefficiency. Residents narrated that the police were lazy, inhumane, and corrupt. They addressed grievances of police brutality, under-resourced township stations, too few police serving too many people and failure to address gangsterism in the communities (Tyabazayo, 2014:20-21). South African statistics indicate that 48% of South Africans believe that the SAPS is corrupt, lazy (59%), under-resourced (34%) and fail to respond to crime on time (80%). This is evident when one considers that despite numerous requests by the police and government to the public to stop mob killings and report crime, such warnings seem to exacerbate the cycle of violence (Dixon & Roux, 2017:8). Therefore, to understand the increase in mob justice related incidents, it is necessary to determine and examine the profile of victims and perpetrators of mob justice related incidents.

2.8 PROFILE OF VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS OF MOB JUSTICE INCIDENTS

Given the limited literature on the profile of victims of mob justice related incidents, the study seeks to examine the available information.

2.8.1 Profile of victims

In profiling victims, it is necessary to determine their gender, age, race as well as repeat victimisation (Krasner, 2018:191). These are the “...*key individual-level risk factors*...” that determine susceptibility to violence (Lamb & Warton, 2016:13). Altbeker (cited in Schuld, 2013:68) emphasised that race, gender, and demographic context matter when profiling victims of crime. Victims of mob justice related incidents are not limited to suspected criminals but may also include the police, judges, and councilors (Goldstein, 2003:244).

2.8.1.1 Age

A study conducted by the Centre for the Society of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV), 2008:9) reported that young people in their 20s and 30s are more at risk of becoming victims of murder. The study highlighted that 41% of the murder victims were between the ages of 20-29, while 29% were between the ages of 30-39 (CSV) (2008:9). While Pieterse (2019:1-6) found that victims of mob justice incidents in the South African townships usually are between the ages of 21 to 30 years. Furthermore, a study conducted by Fokazi (2015:1) reported that the victims of mob justice incidents in Delft and Kraaifontein were between the ages of 14 to 62 years, with male youth represented mainly between the ages of 15 and 30 years. Super (2017:335), however, found that most of the victims of mob justice incidents were young men between the ages of 18-30 years.

2.8.1.2 Gender

Gender is also one of the critical aspects that increases an individual’s susceptibility to crime victimisation in South Africa (Lamb & Warton, 2016:13). In aspects of gender and crime, males tend to engage in criminal behaviour more than females (Piquero, 2016:21). In township areas of Johannesburg, Western Cape and Cape Town, the victimisation rate of young men killed in mob justice related incidents is more than twice the average for young men in the rural areas (Cape Town ETC, 2019:1). Furthermore, in all these incidents of victimisation, the majority of the young men were

victimised in public. The victims of such incidents were predominantly accused of rape, theft, murder, and robbery (Pieterse, 2019:1). From all the recorded mob justice killings in the areas mentioned above, only one female victim was recorded and suspected of witchcraft in the area of Kraaifontein (Jordaan, 2018:1).

Some victims are those perceived to have violated the rules of a certain religious group or its moral codes, such as, the LGBTQ+ community members (Sibanda, 2014:29). For instance, the LGBTQ+ community, particularly lesbians, are predominantly the target of corrective rape, more so than gay men. Hate crimes against the LGBTQ+ community exist in countries throughout the world. However, the contributory factors and the motivations for such attacks solely depends on the belief systems of a country or the perpetrators. For instance, in California, Latina lesbians are not only targeted for their gender identity, but because of their racial or ethnic identity (California Coalition against Sexual Assault (CALCASA), 2010:5). One of the primary motives of corrective rape is a form of punishment that attempts to 'cure' openly lesbian of their 'behaviour' via sexual assault. Corrective rape is often perpetrated by young men who perceive homosexuality as contravening the norms of society (Swartz & Scott, 2014:335). Victims are often targeted and attacked by mob groups, or members of their community after people learn of their sexual identity (Human Rights Watch, 2017:1). However, such acts of rape against women tend to be ignored, particularly if the woman is from a poor background, a prostitute, a lesbian or an alleged witch (HRCUN, 2012:19).

2.8.1.3 Race and ethnicity

Race has been the salient risk factor in determining an individual's susceptibility to victimisation (Stam & Spence, 1983:4). Race can be attributed to ethnicity in that they both involve the discrimination of people based on their skin colour or ethnic group (Miles & Brown, 2003:87). Historically, an example of victims of mob justice were people of colour, particularly the Jewish and the black people who were attacked for their ethnicity by the Ku Klux Klan and the Neo-Nazis (also discussed in section 3.3). Furthermore, the recent attacks on Christians and the farm communities in Nigeria (in the Zamfara, Kaduna and Katsina states) can be attributed to forms of ethnic violence (O'grady, 2018:1). In these states, six thousand Christians and farm community women and children were injured and murdered and maimed by the 'Fulani herders'

(Stone street & Riviera, 2019:1). While in South Africa, there have been reported cases of ethnic clashes between the SeSotho and IsiXhosa speaking residents of Sondela (Rustenburg) (IOL, 2018:1), yet there appears to be no literature that supports ethnic cleansing in a South African context.

2.8.1.4 Socio-economic status

The causes of mob violence can be attributed to the socio-economic setting (Schuld, 2013:68). Literature confirms that violence exists in communities with elevated levels of economic inequality (Ward, Artz, Berg, Boonzaier, Crawford-Browne, Dawes, Foster, Matzopoulos, Nicol, Seekings, Van As & Van der Spuy, 2012:217). Economic inequality further creates communities characterised by poor infrastructure, unemployment, and poverty (Swanepoel et al., 2011:115). Moreover, the fact that the majority of South African families are relatively poor leads to young men becoming victims and perpetrators of mob justice killings (Cilliers & Aucoin, 2016b:3).

2.8.1.5 Demographic context

Violent practices tend to occur in black residential areas, like, townships, shack settlements and the rural areas (Cilliers & Aucoin, 2016b:3), while Super (2016:328) pointed out that mob justice killings occur in poor informal settlements. Singh (2009:17) argued that the environmental design (no streetlights or proper roads) of some rural areas or informal settlements remain great disadvantages for the police to patrol such areas. These lead to feelings of insecurity and an “*at-risk society*” where fear generally rules people’s daily lives (Doran & Burgess, 2012:31).

2.8.2 Profile of perpetrators

Perpetrators of mob justice and ethnic violence can be community residents, bystanders, passers-by, or a certain mob group on a search for suspected criminals (Ritchey & Ruback, 2017:1). Lancaster (2019:1) highlighted that, just as young men are at risk of becoming victims and perpetrators of a crime, they are also at risk of becoming victims and perpetrators of mob justice. Given the above, Mann (2005:29-30) distinguishes between nine common motives found among perpetrators of ethnic and mob violence.

2.8.2.1 Ideological perpetrators

Ideological perpetrators can be found in the highest rank of perpetrators. These perpetrators tend to assume the identity of a victim, which at the same time will self-righteously justify their actions as a form of self-defense (Mann, 2005:29-30). This meant that every *“Hutu in the Rwandan genocide was either an active participant or a passive onlooker in the genocide”* (Mamdani, 1997). Another example of ideological perpetrators is during the Holocaust (1941-1945), where allies of Nazi Germany were pressured from higher ranks to persecute Jews. People were made to believe that the Jews were responsible for all the challenges the Germans experienced (Van Haperen & ten Have, 2012:17-26). Ideological and fearful perpetrators (see below), however, may be more individualised than a group. This may be due to retaliation (such as, self-defense mechanism) or spontaneous acts unprovoked by the pressures of a group.

2.8.2.2 Fearful perpetrators

Fearful perpetrators are also called reluctant perpetrators. These perpetrators are coerced by fear and intimidation. The motivation is increased by the belief that the group poses a threat to their people or country. The perpetrators attempt to justify the attacks as self-defense, or that if they do not kill, they will be killed themselves for not obeying instructions (Mann, 2005:29). These perpetrators can be found represented in the Rwandan genocide in which residents were compelled by the military to join the attacks, while those who refused were threatened with death. Moreover, the Hutus were given assurances by the authorities that their actions were a form of self-defense (Hann as cited in Mann, 2005:30).

2.8.2.3 Violent perpetrators

This rare motive can be found among perpetrators driven by their goal to murder. Violence is perceived as emotionally pleasurable and the best way to resolve political conflict. This can be related to the ethnic cleansing in Rwanda, in which a certain group perceived the other as a threat. For example, Hann (as cited in Mann, 2005:30) describes the *“...threat humiliation- rage in which the Hutus felt threatened and humiliated by Tutsi power, they striked out, enraged by any Tutsi”*. These types of perpetrators show no remorse for their victims since their main objective is murder. The perpetrators can also be found in mob justice related incidents during which violent attacks are carried out, such as, stoning, necklacing and burning.

2.8.2.4 Bigoted perpetrators

Bigoted perpetrators are often motivated by a prevailing attitude or prejudice against certain ethnic minorities. For instance, the mistreatment and hatred of foreigners or members of a religious group, such as, Muslims and Jews in Russia (Perlmutter, 1959:5). Bigoted and materialist perpetrators are motivated by the impulse to rid their communities of ethnic minorities perceived to be a threat to their well-being. Similar to mob justice incidents, the perpetrators attempt to rid their communities of alleged criminals, perceived as a threat to their safety.

2.8.2.5 Careerist perpetrators

Careerist perpetrators are members of certain organisations, commonly known for murderous ethnic cleansing. They perceive this method as advantageous to their career prospects. For example, in the Rwandan genocide, subordinates were promised positions of a higher rank in both civilian and military spheres, if they showed commitment and zeal to the genocide (Desforges, 1999:12). As mentioned in section 2.8.1.3 above, there is limited literature on ethnic cleansing in a South African context. Careerist perpetrators are more common in ethnic cleansing and genocide incidents.

2.8.2.6 Materialist perpetrators

Materialist perpetrators are motivated by economic gain. This involves looting and taking away businesses belonging to their victims. These perpetrators are commonly found in xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals. The perpetrators seek to benefit from the act by taking the personal property of their victims, to sell or use (Sebola, 2017:91). For example, the looting and burning of foreign-owned businesses in Pretoria indicate how these perpetrators seek to benefit from crime (Tolmay, 2019:1).

2.8.2.7 Disciplined perpetrators

Disciplined perpetrators can also be referred to as 'caged perpetrators. These perpetrators are conformists, caged by orders from their superiors in which non-compliance is considered punishable. As a result, the killing may become habitual. For example, soldiers, former soldiers, national police and communal police played a significant role in the Rwandan genocide and the holocaust in Germany (Desforges, 1999:11). Such perpetrators are also common in the gang subculture, where the

informal grouping may expect conformity and threaten withdrawal of support where a member fails to meet gang expectations which often involve violence and crime.

2.8.2.8 Comrades or 'amabutho' perpetrators

Comrade perpetrators can also be attributed to the mob justice group, Mapogo a Mathamaga. Comrades in South Africa represented township youth who fought for democracy during the apartheid era (Haysom, 1989:2-7). The group used necklacing as a form of punishment. Similar to Mapogo a Mathamaga, the group coined themselves as comrades or *amabutho* which represent 'a sense of belonging'.

2.8.2.9 Bureaucratic perpetrators

Bureaucratic perpetrators may involve ordinary people, "...caged inside the bureaucracies of modernity..." – which comply with orders and instructions from their leaders (Mann, 2005:29-30). Similarly, to disciplined perpetrators, their actions may become habitual and impersonal. These perpetrators tend to include armies, paramilitaries or police forces who, for example, participated in mass lynching in the Rwandan genocide. Bureaucratic perpetrators, however, are also described as fanatics, thrill-seekers or sadists that enjoy torturing their victims. There may be sceptics in this group that may be fearful or doubtful of getting involved.

Gupta (2001:103) provides another dimension and identifies three kinds of participants in collective violence, which are individuals motivated by ideology ('group preference'), mercenaries motivated by their selfish interests (primarily greed), and captive individuals motivated primarily by fear (consequences of not participating). These types of motives are not only found in leaders of ethnic violence but in perpetrators of mob justice as well. Although the motives are common in perpetrators involved in collective violence, they all solely depend on personal characteristics of the perpetrators. However, for this study, Mann's motives are applicable as they indicate the real motives behind an individual's involvement in mob justice or genocidal acts. Mann (2005:30) expands his argument by highlighting that the decision to participate in collective violence rests upon four types of social power – "ideological, political, military and economic". Political and ideological power participants are critical individuals involved in ethnic cleansing attacks, while military power is more of a vital resource. Mann's argument clearly correlates with perpetrators of mob justice in that

individuals participating in such acts merely act out of free will. However, motives, such as, disciplined, careerist and bureaucratic killers do not apply to mob justice related incidents, because in this case the perpetrators ultimately choose to participate without any force or coercion, or for career purposes. In view of the discussion above, this study sought to examine the victim-perpetrator relationships. Various researchers, like, Sampson and Lauritsen (1990), Barnes and Beaver (2012), and Decamp Newby (2015) - who observed and reported that perpetrators might frequently become victims - have addressed the victim-perpetrator overlap. Their views attempt to identify the interchangeability and likelihood of becoming either a victim or a perpetrator (Haverkamp & Kilching, 2017:414).

2.9 VICTIM-PERPETRATOR OVERLAP

The victim-perpetrator overlap exists when victims of crime become perpetrators (where the injured party (victim) is actually the lawbreaker (perpetrator) (Winterdyck, 2017:413-418). Sampson and Lauritsen (1990:110) reported that perpetrators who engage in all types of criminal behaviour are more likely to become victims of crimes. Siegel (1985:10) perceives these habitual perpetrators as vulnerable to victimisation because of their fear of reporting the matter to the police as they may implicate themselves. Furthermore, habitual perpetrators are more at risk of victimisation due to their constant engagement in violence and association with criminal others (Siegel,1985:10). Jennings, Higgins, Tewksbury, Govern and Piquero (2010:6) concur that perpetrator engagement with delinquent peers places them in situations where there is a high risk of victimisation. A study conducted by CSVR (2008:39), demonstrated that the victim-perpetrator overlap tends to exist among youths between the ages of 20-29 years, while older people tend to become victims rather than perpetrators.

Contrary to the view above, Cuevas and Renninson (2016:1) point out that whether a perpetrator is considered a victim solely depends on how an individual (the police or the bystander) frames the incident. Hence, Felson (2009:29) expands on this view by emphasising that in order to understand the victim-perpetrator overlap, certain situational factors must be considered. For instance, victims of poor service delivery and crime tend to do acts of mob justice to defend themselves against perceived

injustices (Pieterse, 2019:1). This means that communities are generally victimised by those responsible for providing proper public services, such as, necessary infrastructure and prevention of crime. Therefore, a failing government and policing system make them vulnerable to the fear of crime which makes their reaction to crime justifiable (Knox, 2001:9). This makes the distinction between the victim and the perpetrator complex when the perpetrator becomes the victim. In cases of mob justice, the victim being punished is being labelled as a perpetrator of a certain crime in the community. For example, a group of community members whose houses have been frequently burgled or robbed may decide to band together and punish the perpetrators.

2.10 INCIDENTS OF MOB JUSTICE

In a survey conducted by Wickfield (cited in Pinnock, 2016:75), it was found that mob justice is widely accepted as the only method of punishment to reduce crime. The survey reported that 79% of the respondents perceived mob justice as acceptable, while 39% blamed the courts for lenient punishments, and 16 % perceived the courts as taking too long to administer justice on perpetrators. For example, in interviews conducted by Zondi (2017:1), to find out the views of victims and perpetrators of mob justice, one of the respondents (perpetrator) stated:

“It is better if we kill him. It is painful having something done to you that you don’t want. The worst part is that there are diseases. Imagine they rape your child, and he gets Aids. I won’t get someone arrested. If a person does something bad, what they did must also be done to them. A rapist deserves the death penalty. I would kill a murderer because if you call the police, tomorrow they are out. Today’s justice, with this government, you can do nothing. As long as you have money, you won’t be arrested. Government is also not strict with perpetrators.”

Furthermore, in Johannesburg (Protea South, Soweto township), two men were brutally attacked by a mob in which one of the victims made the following statements on their hospital bed:

“I thought I was dying at the moment. I was in the wrong place at the wrong time. I won’t go back to Protea South [the place he was attacked]. My stepfather

told me I'll be beaten up if I come back. I want to open a case because one guy died, and these other guys were beaten for nothing, but I am scared because I'll become a target."

Another incident is that of the murder of a teacher in Limpopo (Diphale village) where a woman around the age of 40 years was burnt to death by a group of community residents. This incident followed after the murder of a 36-year-old man who was allegedly shot by unknown suspects. The community residents accused the woman of being involved in the murder of the man (Pontsho, 2017:1). These incidents serve as indications that mob justice has become dangerous, spontaneous, and used to punish based on suspicion. Furthermore, many of the communities support such mob justice acts and therefore never report such crimes to the police. In addition to this, the SAPS do not have a detailed background of how many of these incidents are reported and cannot clearly distinguish between mob justice incidents and 'ordinary' murders. In order to expand on this phenomenon, this study seeks to determine the impact of mob justice incidents on both victims and perpetrators.

2.11 IMPACT OF MOB JUSTICE INCIDENTS ON VICTIMS

Victimisation can be classified into two categories to wit primary and secondary victims. Primary victims consist of direct individuals who suffered harm or injury due to crime, while secondary or indirect victimisation refers to individuals affected by the harm caused to the victim (Bannister, 2013:4). These categories are prevalent in mob justice related incidents. This is because mob justice causes physical, emotional, and psychological harm on both primary victims and indirect victims (Herbst, 2015:22).

2.11.1 Primary victims

The harm caused to victims of mob justice can be physical, such as, killing, maiming, torturing and displacement - which all result in psychological, cultural, and symbolic traumas (Davies, Francis & Greer, 2017:37). According to a study conducted by Herbst (2015:22) on mob justice, it was found that 42% of injuries sustained by victims led to fatal cases, followed by 22,9% of "head injuries, blunt force trauma and 13% soft tissue injuries". The bodies of the victims are frequently found in open fields, with no witnesses to the crime (Herbst, 2015:22-23). Baloyi (2015:4) further reported that the

objects usually found at the scene of mob attacks are blunt objects, such as, stones, wooden sticks, bricks, *sjamboks* or whips. In 10% of cases, the victim's hands and feet are found bound (Herbst, 2015:23). However, in most cases, the victims admitted to the hospital cannot be interrogated by the police due to injuries sustained, which makes it difficult to arrest the perpetrators.

2.11.2 Secondary or indirect victims

The manifestation of mob justice has severe implications for the livelihoods of people in a community, particularly children, as it undermines their values and human rights (Sibanda, 2014:1). Children are often exposed to violence in the communities by witnessing gang rivals being killed and attacked by mob groups. The impact of such attacks causes anxiety disorders, such as, trauma and aggression - thus giving rise to the cycle of violence. Children may experience post-traumatic stress, such as, nightmares, learning and concentration problems and possibly anxiety disorder (Mathews & Benvenuti, 2014:28). Furthermore, the cycle of violence impacts on the economy and the assertion of social hierarchies and induces fear and terror in the communities (Luckam, 2017:102). The experience of such traumatic situations may further impact on the psychological wellbeing and mental functioning of young people (Hiller, Halligan, Tomlinson, Stewart, Skeen & Christie, 2014:1).

According to a study conducted by Hinsberger et al. (2016:6), the self-experience of violence and observing it, is a strong predictor for attraction to violence and future criminality. Mob justice actions further increase the normalisation of community violence as a way to solve crime (Lamb & Warton, 2016:33). Consequently, the practise of mob justice has led to the deaths of innocent people who were either wrongfully accused or punished without evidence. This means that the lives of family members and breadwinners are left traumatised by the attacks, leaving them with significant property losses (Baloyi, 2015:4). In order to further understand mob justice, it is vital to address methods of attack on victims.

2.12 MODUS OPERANDI IN MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS

Although the motive behind these attacks appears to be similar, each group tends to employ their methods and possess a unique way of administering justice on suspected

perpetrators. The modus operandi of perpetrators of mob justice can be categorised into the following:

- *Necklacing* is an act of placing a tyre around a person's neck and douse the tyred-person with petrol and set the person on fire, often resulting in painful deaths. The act of necklacing was practised during South Africa's apartheid era against suspected black collaborators (informants) and is still practised today (Haysom, 1989:1, Mawere & Marongwe 2016:97). The first victim of necklacing in South Africa (in a township of Duduza- in Nigel) was a young girl named Maki Skosana, who was necklaced by a mob of anti-apartheid activists in 1985. "*Skosana was burned to death with a tyre around her neck based on accusations of being an informant for the white government. It was reported that broken pieces of glass had been inserted into her vagina before she was set alight. After that, a big rock had been thrown at her face after she had been killed*" (South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1997:1). The case study represents one of the earliest forms of mob justice and the first woman that was necklaced in South Africa.
- *Lynching* involves beating or hanging, which may result in death. Lynching is aimed at the body of the individual and not the property; therefore, any attack aimed at the body is regarded as lynching (Arnold, 2016:10). Furthermore, Bailey and Tolnay (2015:3-5) argue that an incident is considered lynching if there is evidence that a person was murdered; a group of three or more individuals were responsible for the murder, and the group acted under the pretext of justice or tradition. Acts of lynching were a widespread practice in the United States of America in the late 1800s, particularly on blacks, and motivated by racism (Crouch, 1984:217:226).
- *Stoning* generally involves punishment by stoning until the victim dies from the injuries. This method dates back to ancient times when stoning was a method of execution in religious references, such as, Judaism. The punishment of stoning can be found in biblical scriptures, such as, amongst others, Exodus 21:28, Numbers 15:32, and Deuteronomy 22:22 where Christians perceived to have transgressed the Laws of Moses faced execution by stoning. However, the practice of stoning remains prevalent to this day, frequently practised in rural areas (Pieterse, 2019:1).

- *Torture* occurs when the victim is held captive, mistreated, and abused. The victim may be held at any place, such as, private houses, containers or in custody of some kind. This method may include the victim being dragged behind a moving vehicle or being beaten or flogged, which may later result in death (Sibanda, 2014:28).
- *Public disgrace and shaming* involve stripping the suspected perpetrators naked, *sjambokking* or flogging in public, painting and drawing slurs on the suspect's body, forcing victims to pose while naked, or exposing victims through social media (Kasra, 2017:184). According to Chaudhuri (2014:1), this method not only operates outside the rule of law but forms a regressive mindset adopted by the mob, which often fuels anarchy (often targeted at the LGBTQ+ community).
- *Arsonist vigilantism* (destruction of victims' property) is the act of burning or torching the victim's house. This method is standard in the rural areas and perpetrated by community residents due to complaints against witchdoctors, local Chiefs and Councilors (Pretoria News, 2017:1).

The similarity in the above violent acts is that they are often targeted at a specific group of people or an individual who is held responsible for criminal behaviour (Kucera & Mares, 2015:177). These methods, however, may also differ depending on the context, environment, circumstances, or country. For instance, historically in the United States of America, victims of mob justice were subjected to humiliation by being dragged behind speeding cars and hanging (discussed in section 2.3.3). The Occupy Pedophilia group in Russia tended to use public disgrace and shaming which involved stripping their victims naked and torturing them to death (see section 2.4.1), while the rifles, pistols and machetes are frequently used in Mexico (see section 2.4.2). In South Africa, however, conventional methods of attack are necklacing, stoning, looting and arsonist vigilantism.

2.13 CONCLUSION

The persistent issue of mob justice gives compelling reasons to expand it further by examining the experiences of victims and perpetrators involved in mob justice. This

Chapter provided a critique of terminology and the elements of mob justice to better comprehend the conceptualisation of the terms. Furthermore, it sought to expand the phenomenon by addressing historical origins of mob justice, such as, biblical accounts, religiously and ethnically motivated mob justice. The phenomenon of mob justice groups was also discussed in order to provide a historical outline of the formation of mob justice groups in Russia, Mexico, Nigeria, and South Africa. Moreover, the antecedents of and motivations for mob justice were further explored. Most importantly, the chapter attempted to provide a synoptic profile of typical victims and perpetrators of mob justice based on available information from existing literature.

CHAPTER 3:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to provide a critical overview of theoretical perspectives, such as, social cognitive Theory, Deindividuation Theory and Social Disorganisation Theory. Social Cognitive Theory focuses on observation and imitation of role models which leads to aggressive behaviour. Deindividuation Theory seeks to explain crowd behaviour. The premise that individuals often lose their 'self-identity' when in a crowd generally explains why individuals tend to behave differently in a crowd. Furthermore, Social Disorganisation Theory seeks to determine circumstances that lead to individual aggression and the formation of crowds. These theories were employed in this study to examine and understand victim and perpetrator involvement in mob justice. Criminological theories are necessary to determine and identify circumstances that lead to criminal behaviour (Lilly, Cullen & Ball, 2019:3). Therefore, it is vital to address criminological theories that provide fundamental theoretical explanations suitable to the phenomenon under study.

3.2 BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL COGNITIVE THEORY

Stanford psychologist Albert Bandura advanced Social Cognitive Theory in 1989 as an extension to his 'social learning theory' perspective from 1961. Social Learning Theory was illustrated by the 'Bobo Doll Experiment' which described individuals as observers of models. The foundation of Social Learning Theory is that although individuals observe their models behaviour, cognitive processes also play a role in imitating that behaviour. Hence, Social Cognitive Theory was further advanced by Albert Bandura (1986:23) who regarded an individual's behaviour as learned directly through observing their models. Social cognition, in general, refers to the conscious mental processing of knowledge and experiences through thought and perception (Huesmann, 1998:73). Hence, Social Cognitive Theory supports this cognitive thought and views violence as being learned through knowledge acquisition and modelling of

certain behaviours (Bandura, 1986:23). The Social Cognitive Theory is discussed in detail below.

3.2.1 Social cognitive theory

According to the theory, people actively learn criminal acts from their environments and their social interaction with criminals (Bandura, 1986:23). However, the individual's cognitive thought will be conditioned by the rewards or punishment they observe from their social interactions (Akers, 1990:666). These social interactions increase a person's likelihood of learning and accepting behaviour that looks favourably on criminality (Bonta & Andrews, 2016:19). Farrington (1998:421) further postulates that people's behaviour towards crime depends on their cognitive functioning. Therefore, the central premise of the theory is based upon theoretical components, such as, modelling and self-efficacy.

3.2.1.1 Modeling

The proposition of modelling in social cognitive theory is that individuals' study behaviour through observation of models. The models can be from interpersonal relationships, such as, parents and peers, or they can be media sources (such as, television or social media platforms) (Bandura, 1986:23). For instance, people may learn criminal skills by associating with role models (peers) that engage in criminal behaviour. The behaviour is learned according to the responses and consequences the role model receives from engaging in that behaviour.

Furthermore, the theory describes the behaviour of children as an example of modelling by which children learn values, attitudes, and norms by observing and modelling the behaviour of adults. Research conducted by Farrington (1998:421) highlighted that children's association with criminal others, such as, delinquent peers, criminal parents or inadequate parental supervision increases their likelihood of engaging in violent behaviour. However, interaction with these significant others depends on the individuals' social cognitive capabilities (Bandura, 1986:23).

Ross and Fabiano (1985:53) emphasised that individuals with poor social cognitive capabilities, such as, 'lack of self-control' and 'strong ties' to criminal models are more susceptible to crime and violence. Bandura (1986:33) emphasised that individual's

human functioning is dependent solely upon self-interests, capabilities and chosen paths observed through gender roles. The author further argues that individuals tend to be stereotyped into thinking that a gender's experiences and capabilities are per societal gender roles. As a result, people model the activities and behaviour performed by a certain gender and become influenced by the characteristics of that gender. According to Bandura (1989:33), gender differentiation is observed through perceived differences between male and female identity. Daly and Wilson (1988:159) point out that males and females have different social cognitive abilities. This is because males tend to experience "*earlier cognition associated with life-course-persistent antisocial behaviour*" than females (Bennett, Farrington & Huesmann, 2005:275). Furthermore, Bennett, Farrington and Huesmann (2005:275) add that social cognitive capabilities increases with age and depend solely on an individual's self-efficacy.

3.2.1.2 Modelling and self –efficacy

In general, self-efficacy is an individual's belief in themselves, that they are capable of achieving a specific goal or task (Axtell & Parker, 2003:114). According to the social cognitive theory, whether an individual has a good or bad self-efficacy is dependent upon the relationship between the observer and the model (Schunk, 1989:173). Schunk (1989:179) further perceives the comparison between the model and the observer as consequential to modelling. The author argues that the "age similarity between the model and the observer" should also be taken into consideration. Most importantly, the age similarity between the model and observer depends on the competence of the model. For instance, when a model perceives the same age model (particularly children) as more competent in a task than the older model, they are more likely to model the behaviour of the same-age model (Bandura, 1999:28).

Furthermore, viewing the same-age-model perform a task may increase the observer's self-efficacy since they are more inclined to believe that if the model can do it, so can they (Pajares, 2002:4). In this instance, social cognitive theory expands on the concept of collective efficacy. As such "individuals do not live in isolation"; the desire to work together to achieve shared values is crucial to human agency. Social cognitive theory highlights the beliefs that individuals have about their 'collective capabilities' and signifies their desire to achieve more (Bandura, 1999:28-29). In this instance,

individuals are further governed by the media through social networks in which individuals are exposed to a range of models (Pajares, Prestin, Chen & Nabi, 2009:4).

3.2.1.3 Modeling and the media

Media plays a significant part in encouraging and guiding observable behaviour (Bandura, 2001:265). The widespread transmission of information to a variety of populations through social networks makes the media a powerful influence on crime (Caban, 2008:16). For instance, media models in films and serials often demonstrate violent methods that can be easily imitated. Social cognitive theory emphasises that people are often exposed to such incidents where the lead character portrays violent actions which are deemed acceptable (Bandura, 2001:265). For example, when a lead character in a film often uses violence in his actions but never faces legal consequences for that behaviour, such violent incidents are then observed and imitated, which then influences violent behaviour in people's daily lives (Hogg & Cooper, 2003:309).

3.2.2 Critical evaluation of social cognitive theory

Critics of the social cognitive theory have reflected on the issue of cognitive skills and modelling. For instance, Van Lange, Kruglanski and Higgins (2012:350) argued that since models can differ in their ways of thinking and behaviour, it is highly unlikely that the observers will imitate every pattern of behaviour after a single observation. Thus, observers choose to imitate behaviour that is perceived to be effective, favourable and then improve upon that behaviour (Van Lange et al., 2012:350). The view was emphasised by Schunk (1987:149), who argued that models tend to be influential in situations where the observer familiarises with their abilities and what they perceive as appropriate behaviour. Hence, it is important to take note that what an individual perceives as appropriate may not be perceived as such by another. This view strengthens the role of observation as the main predictor of what an individual may perceive as behaviour worthy of imitating. Social cognitive theory cleared this critique by arguing that though environmental outcomes influence human behaviour, it all depends on how an individual "...*cognitively processes and interprets those outcomes...*" (Parajes, 2002:2).

As such, the theory fails to adequately address the issue of behaviourism relating to the biological and psychological traits of an individual. Hence, Jewkes (2011:16), argues that the endeavour to determine the consequences of modelling criminal behaviour creates misconceptions that crime is not a rational choice, but influenced by biological, psychological, or environmental factors through which an individual learns behaviour. An individual's identity is rather governed by rationality and controlled behavioural standards. It is only when these standards are obstructed that it can lead to uncontrollable behaviour (Zimbardo, 1969; Diener, 1980; Le Bon, 1960). Social cognitive theory should perhaps take into consideration that human behaviour cannot be determined by a single factor but rather a variety of influences that are present in an individual's social life. For instance, the theory did not adequately address various behavioural conducts, like, perception, motivation, and attitude, which may determine how an individual observes and reacts to criminal behaviour. Perhaps, it is likely that individuals will weigh the advantages and disadvantages prior to imitating criminal behaviour. Moreover, the motivate behind imitating criminal behaviour should also be taken into consideration.

The theory further emphasised media violence as the cause for aggressive behaviour (Smith and Donnerstein, 1998:168). Therefore, it is vital to comprehend the existence of violence in the media that illustrates and poses risks to viewers. As such, it is not every violent act in the media that will be imitated by every child or adult. For instance, the observer could already possess some characteristics that are hereditary or have a history of violence, which makes them susceptible to adopting criminal behaviour.

3.2.3 Application of the social cognitive theory

Social cognitive theory serves as an essential mechanism in the study of aggression and criminal behaviour (Anderson & Huesman, 2003:296). Social cognitive theory is applied in this study to contribute to an understanding of the impact of modelling aggression in mob justice incidents at the Diphale village. This theory emphasised that Social cognitive thought influences an individual's motivation to learn and imitate aggressive behaviour. This view explains the persistent mob justice incidents at the Diphale village. Mob justice incidents in this case are inspired by models (perpetrators) who motivate others to imitate their behaviour. For instance, the model's motivation to

commit crime, like revenge, influences others with similar attitudes to learn criminal behaviour. While imitation can be through incorporation of the model's criminal behaviour into their own, like the methods they used on the victim. These attitudes inspire individuals to learn and develop behaviour that supports mob justice incidents at the Diphale village. Furthermore, the self-experience of children observing and witnessing mob violence is a stronger predictor of attraction to violence and future criminality (Hinsberger et al. (2016:6). For instance, the historical (apartheid) and current (post-apartheid) establishment of mob justice groups, such as, the Operation Wanya Tsotsi (discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5.2.2.3) indicate how exposure to violence (through observational learning) further exacerbates the culture of mob justice. The participants at the Diphale village indicated that they have witnessed mob justice actions at a young age, which means that violence may be passed on from generations to generations. Social cognitive theory concurs that aggressiveness tends to increase with age when children observe the aggressive behaviour of adults throughout their childhood (Schunk, 1987:149).

Social cognitive theory further expanded on the notion of collective efficacy (Bandura, 2000:75). According to the theory, individuals with shared beliefs, values and interests have a sense of being able to achieve collective tasks. Hence, an individual's functioning is predominately influenced by personal, behavioural (self-efficacy) and environmental (collective efficacy) factors (Bandura, 2000:75-78). This expansion of the theory makes it useful to this study as perpetrators of mob justice at the Diphale village represent a collective functioning of individuals with shared values, perceptions, and attitudes. For instance, modelling others perform violence in the mob, observing how the violent acts become normalised and observing the outcomes of that behaviour, leads to the increase in mob justice incidents at the Diphale village. Gobodo- Gobodo-Madikizela (2014:4) points out that persistent participation in collective performances, such as, riots and protests indeed lead to the normalisation of criminal behaviour. This view shows a clear connection between modelling and crime at the Diphale village. Perpetrators of mob justice tend to imitate significant others in the mob, through firsthand experiences of such incidents as a bystander, through participation or media reports. In this case, the perpetrators become inspired by the crime and typically incorporate some of the actions or methods used by the significant others.

According to the theory, individuals and mass media should serve as positive role models to prevent criminal behaviour (Falodun, 2015:9). Instead, the media plays a significant role in influencing people to participate in mob justice (for instance, vigilante or revenge films, such as, amongst others, *Eye for an Eye*, *Execution Squad*, *The Purge: Anarchy*, or *the Punisher*, where the lead characters usually take the law into their own hands but never face legal consequences). Although violence portrayed in these films might appear as ‘fantasy violence’ or the lead actors as superheroes, they may influence imitation of violent behaviour (Caban, 2008:16). Furthermore, South Africa is often plagued by reports and incidents of increases in violent crime. Media reports and academic scholars often report on increasing incidents of mob justice related crime in both the rural and township areas. For instance, there have been reports on alleged victims being killed for suspected theft, rape, murder, and sexual assaults (Petersen, 2018:1, Wilson, 2019:1). As reported in the media, there is clear evidence that excessive exposure to these violent incidents further exacerbates violence at the Diphale village.

Although the theory seems applicable for addressing the issue of mob justice, the study is yet to examine the narrative accounts of victims and perpetrators and their role and experiences in and with mob justice. As such, there is little research on the narratives of perpetrators that participate in mob justice incidents, such as, the perpetrator roles and influences in the mob. Hence the study has employed the Theory of Deindividuation to examine the role and experiences of perpetrators in mob justice related incidents.

3.3 BACKGROUND OF DEINDIVIDUATION THEORY

The Theory of Deindividuation has caused broader debates among various scholars which prompted additions to the Theory. For instance, the theory was initially formulated by Gustave Le Bon in 1895 to explore the functions of crowd mentality (crowd behaviour). In his theory, Le Bon (1960) emphasised that individuals tend to behave aggressively under conditions of anonymity, associated with a lack of self-awareness and self-regulation. Deindividuation was further explored by Festinger, Pepitone and Newcomb in 1952, who perceived deindividuation as the state of

reduced inner restraint and lack of self-regulation within a crowd (Festinger et al., 1952:382).

Additions to the Theory were further proposed by Zimbardo in 1969, who attempted to provide a more concrete specification of deindividuation by proposing the model, 'Zimbardo's Deindividuation Model'. Similar to Le Bon (1960:9) who traces deindividuation to ancestral traits, such as, the race and ethnicity, Zimbardo (1969:249) traces the term 'deindividuation' to cultural practices by claiming that it signifies "...*the cycle of nature, the blood ties, the tribe, the irrational, the impulsive, the anonymous chorus, and the vengeful furies*". These are intra-individual processes (positive and negative) influenced by the group as an act of demonstrating love and acceptance (Zimbardo, 1969:249).

Diener and Wallbom followed in 1976 and expanded on the intrapsychic aspects of deindividuation by focusing on self-awareness and antinormative behaviour. According to Diener and Wallbom (1976:209), individuals tend to lose their self-awareness within a crowd due to elements of deindividuation, such as, antinormative behaviour. Diener (1980:209) further highlighted that the loss of self-identity further causes individuals to deviate from acceptable norms, which may encourage people to behave aggressively. In this regard, when an individual has heightened self-awareness, he/she can gain control of their behaviour. However, heightened self-awareness tends to decrease within a group setting. Another model called differential self-awareness with regard to deindividuation was proposed by Prentice-Dunn and Rogers in 1980. The authors found that individuals in a state of deindividuation are induced by certain elements, such as, anonymity and lack of accountability which leads to aggressive behaviour (Prentice-Dunn and Rogers, 1980:104). Reicher (1984:1) however, expanded more on antinormative behavioural aspects and therefore proposed the Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects (SIDE). Contrary to the theories above, the SIDE model provides fundamental explanations on the effects of anonymity and deindividuation factors, such as, group norms (Reicher, Spears & Postmes, 1995:238). The basic premise of the Theory of Deindividuation is discussed below.

3.3.1 Deindividuation theory

According to Reicher (1984:3), individuals are influenced by norms in the group, either social or group norms that characterise their personality. Furthermore, the sense of anonymity in the crowd causes people to become irrational and lack self-awareness, which makes them susceptible to antinormative behaviour (Reicher, Spears & Postmes, 1995:238). Hence, Le Bon (1960:12) emphasises that the sense of anonymity in the group provides individuals with the strength to express emotions that may have been kept under control. Research findings provided by Silke (2003:497) reported that individuals that feel anonymous within a crowd tend to be extraordinarily aggressive and generally adopt a wide range of aggressive behaviours. Furthermore, anonymity in the group creates the assumption that individuals will not be punished for behaving violently or illegally (Eysenck, 2004:757). The presumption of anonymity in deindividuation primarily influences negative social behaviour (Chang, 2008:3). For instance, the fact that an individual's immersion into a large crowd makes them feel unidentifiable. In this case, individuals are more likely to transgress social norms when in a crowd due to feelings of anonymity (Diener, 1977:146). Reicher, Spears and Postmes (1995:192) argue that individuals are inclined to adopt the actions of a crowd because it is only when they are within a crowd that they can fully express their understanding of the world without fear.

3.3.2 Critical evaluation of the theory

As mentioned above, the theory of deindividuation was widely revised by various scholars who have promoted additions to the theory. For instance, Zimbardo's (1969:248) expansion of the theory demonstrating deindividuation in a model attempted to signify influences of a group to an individual which he described as impulsive and irrational (Zimbardo, 1969:248). Diener and Wallbom (1976:209) argued that deindividuation represents a reduction of personal restraints and causes antinormative behaviour. Chang (2008:6) perceives these authors as focusing more on the negative aspects of deindividuation in crowd behaviour rather than on the positive experiences of being in a crowd. Furthermore, crowd behaviour should be perceived as a crowd's reactions to a perceived social injustice, instead of a group of "*deindividuated individuals*" who lack moral culpability (Chang, 2008:6).

Johnson and Downing (1979:1532) criticised Zimbardo's theory as using manipulation to report on the findings that there is a traditional association between deindividuation, anonymity and aggressive behaviour. This is because such research findings depend on the contextual features, such as, "*what subjects do when they lack self-awareness*" (Diener & Wallbom, 1976:107). Furthermore, failure to address these manipulations results in problems, such as, lack of clarity regarding psychological changes that induce deindividuation, and lack of evidence as to which factors bring about the state of deindividuation (Diener & Wallobom, 1976:107).

Reicher et al. (1995:192) challenged the traditional theorists of deindividuation for not taking in to account the "*cognitive salience of social identity.*" As a result, these authors perceive the social identity model of deindividuation as more suitable than the deindividuation theory. Proponents of the social identity theory have advanced the views of deindividuation theory by arguing that individuals in a crowd tend to assume a new identity. Therefore, as the theory of deindividuation perceives immersion in a crowd as resulting in occlusion of social norms, social identity theory perceives the actions by the crowd as a guided by behavioural norms that come with being in a crowd (Reicher et al., 1995:192).

3.3.3 Application of the theory

Deindividuation theory is the most applicable theory for explaining antinormative or disinhibited behaviour in groups, such as, 'violent crowds and lynch mobs' (Postmes & Spears, 1998:238). Le Bon's (1960:114) study of crowd behaviour emphasised that the 'crowd or mob' tend to think and behave the same way while proceeding in a uniformed manner. The lack of rationality within the crowd causes individuals to behave in violent and extreme manners that become uncontrollable. However, due to a limited evidence in Le Bon's theory of crowd behaviour, it is perceived as not appropriate for this study.

Zimbardo's Deindividuation Model describes deindividuation as characterised by various forms of behaviour that is irrational, irresponsible, and impulsive. The author further postulates that society is invaded by dark forces that lead to senseless murders and spontaneous mob violence (Zimbardo, 1969:248). Diener and Crandall (1978:497)

supported the view by highlighting that deindividuation theory aims to explain “*what forces crowd members to behave in violent ways*”. Hence, these theories have been linked to incidents of genocide, lynch mobs and crowd violence (Postmes & Spears, 1998:238). However, as mentioned above, these theories do not adequately address other deindividuation factors, such as, group norms and collective aggression which are fundamental to this study. In this regard, this study seeks to further employ the SIDE model as a theoretical background for the study.

This study perceives deindividuation as appropriate for understanding issues of mob justice (including ethnic violence, genocide, and religious violence - discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3). The central premise of the SIDE model is the tendency of deindividuation that provokes individuals to follow group norms that do not support prosocial behaviours that are normative within the group (Villanova, Beria, Costa, & Koller, 2017:21). Moreover, deindividuated individuals in a crowd often disengage with their self-awareness and therefore behave in ways that contradict with their moral standards. In this regard, collective aggression arises because the social-identity deindividuation transforms individuals from their identities to the identity of the group (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick & Esses, 2010:187). The assertion by Postmes and Spear (1998:238) that individuals incline to adopt the actions of a crowd because it is only when they are within a crowd that they can fully express their understanding of the world without fear, reflects the applicability of the theory to the study. For example, the victim participants indicated that mob justice perpetrators tend to participate in a group rather than as individuals. The participants further mentioned that there are instigators in the mob who empower individuals to attack or perform mob justice activities. This means that community members of Diphale village need motivation from others in the group to perform mob justice activities.

A study conducted by Leader, Mullen and Abrams (2007:1342) found that when mob lynchers paid less attention to their self-identity, there was an increase in their aggression. Central to the operations of mob justice at Diphale village, perpetrators often participate in collective groups in an attempt to punish a suspected criminal without taking into consideration the harm caused to the victims, or the consequences of their actions. Furthermore, the fact that the perpetrators have no considerations for

the harm caused to the victim shows that they lack human qualities. Mathews and Benvenuti (2014:33) however, highlight that cultural and social norms become highly influential within groups which generally shapes an individual's behaviour, including violence. For example, the use of violence legitimates mob justice actions as the only norm to solve conflicts and disputes at the Diphale village. As a result, the norms are transmitted from generations to generations, in which children observe through social interaction with adult perpetrators in the mob.

Regarding the role of anonymity in deindividuation theory, it can also be associated with mob justice related incidents at the Diphale village. The lack of consideration for the harm caused to the victim shows how the perpetrators lack self-awareness, display loss of self-reflexivity and demonstrate enjoyment of anonymity in the crowd (Gobodo-Madikizela,2014:4). Furthermore, individuals within a group tend to disengage with "their moral standards through moral justification" and by dehumanising the victim (Hogg & Cooper, 2003:309). Moral justifications, like, 'it is for the good of the victim or the society' or 'to protect the family honour', ensure that individual moral standards are not applicable. For example, the perpetrator participants indicated that they participate in mob justice incidents in order to protect their community from crime.

A study conducted by Gobodo-Madikizela (2014:4) on crowd violence seems to concur with this study and highlighted that there are certain similarities in violence committed collectively either by small or large crowds, to wit: there is often a trigger event that causes people to gather into a crowd; the trigger event might cause violent actions that are spontaneous and lack premeditation; the violence is often impulsive, irrational, and out of proportion; some crowds have no evidence of a leader, although some are more prominent than others; some people in the crowd participate in inflicting injury on the victim, while others are spectators; nobody in the crowd attempts to stop the actions, but all have one goal in mind, which is to punish the suspected perpetrator. Therefore, the study deems it necessary to relate these similarities to mob justice related incidents at the Diphale village.

Kruccken et al. (2018:336) add on this phenomenon and highlight that in mob justice related incidents, there is the so-called middle mass of the crowd, - the back rows (generally bystanders), and demonstrative extremists who arrive after the incident. The middle class are naturally described as the violent majority with a common goal,

confident that the act will only be carried out successfully, once they back them up. The back rows are motivated by the thrill of being in a crowd and feel comfortable in observing as the actions are carried out. Although they do not participate in the mob, they tend to show moral support by way of verbal encouragement and not intervening to stop the act. The demonstrative extremists, who only arrive after the incident, attempt to raise awareness by standing next to the dead victim (Collins, 2008:429-430). Templeton, Drury and Philippides (2015:216) argue that any behaviour present in a group influences crowds to behave in the same way. The statements above can be applied to mob justice incidents at Diphale village as some of the participants indicated that children often participate in mob justice as bystanders, while some of the participants indicated that some participate but stand at the back of the crowd and give instructions to kill the victim. In relation to demonstrative extremists, one of the participants mentioned that some of the community members including children tend to arrive after the incident, only to witness what had happened.

In order to expand on the explanation for mob justice at Diphale village, this study intended to apply the Social Disorganisation Theory to determine circumstances that lead to mob justice-related incidents.

3.4 BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL DISORGANISATION THEORY

Chicago sociologists, Henry Mckay and Clifford R. Shaw developed Social Disorganization Theory in 1931 and emphasised that crime is a result of characteristics in the community. According to the Theory, social disorganisation occurs when neighbourhood members fail to achieve united values. Hence, Shaw and McKay (1931:141) linked social disorganisation with crime by demonstrating how crime is a response to the social, structural, and cultural attributes in the community. Shaw and Mckay based their analysis of the Theory in Chicago, which was undergoing a period of transition at the time due to the influx of immigrants and migration of families which resulted in residential instability (Siegel, 2003:183). Shaw and McKay (1931:141) analysed the Theory within the context of this changing urban environment in the city (where some environments became affluent and the others plagued by extreme poverty). In their analysis, the theorists found that community breakdown and 'slum conditions' paved the way for crime. The Theory is discussed in detail below.

3.4.1 Social disorganisation theory

Bursik (1988:535) perceives social disorganisation as a failure by the local community to maintain social order and regulate the goals attained by the residents of that community. Therefore, the primary point of departure in this theory is that communities characterised by poverty, unemployment and elevated levels of residential mobility break social relations, which in turn leads to crime (Kornhauser, 1978:38). Bursik (1988:535) further opined that the structure of informal social control generally shapes the lives of residents in a community. However, social disorganisation leads to the breakdown of informal social controls in communities and thus weaken the structure of the community to prevent crime (Emmett, 2001:4). The emergence of conflict in the communities can be better understood by examining the relationship between social inequality and social cohesiveness. Social cohesion can be devised in the absence of social inequality, racial or ethnic conflict. Hence, weaker social cohesion reinforces weak channels of socialisations and informal social control (Cullen, 2008:667). Groff (2015:91) identifies informal social control as consisting of a broad spectrum of actions taken by communities against unacceptable behaviour. Since informal social control is associated with communities, it is necessary to expand on the concept in the sections that follow.

3.4.1.1 Informal social control

The basic assumption of informal social control is that communities can only maintain social order by engaging and working together towards solving conflicts (Silver & Miller, 2004:553). Furthermore, neighbourhood ties and satisfaction with the criminal justice system are essential to prevent social disorganisation in communities. Therefore, it is imperative that informal social control, such as, mob groups and the police, adopt preventative measures to maintain law and order in communities (Wilson & Kelling, 1982:32). Silver and Miller (2004:555) highlighted that factors contributing to informal social control include social organisation and ties, social and group norms, neighbourhood attachment and satisfaction with the police.

3.4.1.1.1 Social and organisational ties

Informal social controls generally include social ties, such as, family, friends, and community networks. Strong bonds maintained within these social ties create high levels of trust and shared values among members of a community (Groff, 2015:91).

However, social, and physical disorder influences the breakdown of informal social controls as well as the mechanisms for maintaining social interaction in communities. This is mainly because when crime escalates, fear becomes the leading withdrawal mechanism of social organisation (Wilson & Kelling, 1982:32). Skogan (1990:13) argues that this kind of withdrawal causes a lack of community cohesion, lack of supervision of youths and a breakdown in mutual understanding of community affairs.

Consequently, social bonds and informal social controls weaken. This may lead criminals to regard such withdrawal as opportunities for criminal behaviour with impunity. Lombardo and Lough (2007:121), in their theoretical explanation of community policing, highlighted that informal control mechanisms assist those who have withdrawn from their communities due to crime, to reclaim their neighbourhoods by regaining social order.

3.4.1.1.2 Social and group norms

In general, social norms are defined as patterns of behaviour shared in a group, community or culture which are commonly accepted as normal. Group norms consist of patterns of behaviour characterised by certain behavioural norms which vary from other groups (McDonald & Crandall, 2015:147). Norms represent shared feelings, attitudes, and behaviour that prescribe moral obligation (Lindenberg, 2015:436). According to Kornhauser (1978:78), the reduction of neighbourhood crimes rates depends solely on the strength of social and group norms. However, a lack of shared values causes uncertainty among residents on the strength of these norms. The uncertainties can be found in communities characterised by structural factors, such as, poverty and unemployment (Silver & Miller, 2004:557). Muller, Werner & Kelcey, 2010:360 posit that it is important for community members to possess common values and norms to promote togetherness. When these values and norms are shared, residents have a responsibility to enforce and strengthen their norms which will contribute to safer communities.

3.4.1.1.3 Satisfaction with the criminal justice system: police

Another factor highlighted by Silver and Miller (2004:558) that contributes to informal social control is satisfaction with the police. The assumption is that residents prefer to live in organised and safe environments according to their perception and satisfaction

with the police. Therefore, informal social control will increase the likelihood of residents being able to identify the criminal and assist the police in the event of a crime (Warner, Beck & Ohmer, 2010:356). However, elevated levels of crime tend to undermine the effectiveness of the criminal justice system and therefore weaken relationships between the justice system and community residents (Manaliyo & Muzindutsi, 2013:121).

3.4.2 Critical evaluation of the theory

Social disorganisation theory emphasises that disorganised communities lack the resources to maintain social order effectively. As a result, residents choose to isolate themselves from danger, which makes it impossible to become a united community (Bursik, 1988:535). Assuming this view as appropriate to understand social disorganisation in the communities requires further scrutiny. It is vital to take cognisance of the fact that the theory may have been applied in a different context in time and space and may differ from community to community and country to country. For instance, social disorganisation theory was criticised for not considering the role of ethnicity and cultural factors in communities. The notion that 'what a country considers illegal may not be the same case in other countries', considering the specific social and cultural beliefs of that specific country should be taken into consideration (Wong, 2007:1-6).

Furthermore, social disorganisation theory becomes problematic for other theories, such as, strain theory which associates poverty with crime as authors may not be able to address both these theories in a single study. Some studies, however, found that informal social control and social ties may not adequately address and prevent crime in communities. For instance, Mathews (1992:23-24) criticised the notion of informal social controls as lacking empirical evidence and perceives it as fostering the relationship between the public and the police in working together to address crime. As such, informal social controls depend solely on the willingness of community residents to work together towards promoting effective social order (Kubrin & Wo, 2016:126).

Moreover, the theory's notion of informal social controls and social ties seems to contradict issues of mob justice related incidents further. This is because social

inequality, such as, social class, race, religion, and gender, tends to increase issues of ethnic and religious violence further (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3. and 2.3). Hence, Kubrin and Wo (2016:133) suggest that the social disorganisation theory can be improved by linking it with other theories that go beyond the notion of informal social control and social ties. Colleta and Cullen (2000:6) argue that conflict resulting from social inequality does not necessarily contribute to widespread hostilities of ethnic/religious conflict and crime. According to the authors, structural conditions, such as, lack of coping mechanisms by the poor, and an uncivil society coupled with state weakness further intensifies crime in communities (Colleta & Cullen, 2000:6).

Mathews (1992:23-24) further criticised assumptions that physical and social disorder in the environment exacerbate crime. Moreover, applying informal social control methods will prove to be inadequate as it may impair the justice system's crime control mechanisms. Hence, it is illogical for the social disorganisation theory to assume that informal social controls can reduce crime (Mathews, 1992:23-24). Furthermore, a literature review conducted by Sampson and Wilson (1995:37) on the relationship between communities and crime, found that poverty is not entirely related to crime causality, but rather, poverty combined with high levels of residential mobility can be linked to crime. Xiong (2016:50) criticised the theory for claiming that there is a link between crime and social disorganisation. According to the author, it should be noted that there might be a bilateral relationship between crime causality and social disorganisation. The fact that social disorganisation causes high crime rates could also be interpreted as increasing crime rate exacerbating social disorganisation (Xiong, 2016:50).

3.4.3 Application of the theory

Social disorganisation theory is most "appropriate when the unit of analysis is the community" (Salamon cited in Gorham, 1997:168). Xiong (2016:47) adds that social disorganisation theory is appropriate in a study that aims to find the connection between crime and the community. These authors argue that social disorganisation theory is premised on economic class as the primary cause of crime in the communities. Hence, this study seeks to apply the theory of social disorganisation in order to understand victim and perpetrator involvement in mob justice related incidents at the community of Diphale. Social disorganisation theory states that social

environments characterised by poverty, deviant peers, lack of good parenting and limited social support lead to the development of aggressive behavioural personalities (Hogg & Cooper, 2003:311).

This theory, therefore, is applicable to this study to emphasise circumstances, such as, negative community characteristics that lead to crime and mob-related incidents in the Diphale village. In this regard, this study is strengthened by the work of Mathews and Benvenuti (2014:32) who emphasised that many South African communities are plagued by social disorganisation due to poverty and deprivation. For instance, the Diphale village is generally ruled by poverty and unemployment with high illiteracy rate. This has resulted in many people resorting to working in the mines due to lower qualifications. As a result, lower qualifications lead to lower-income rates which increases the high crime rate in the community (mentioned in Chapter 5, section 5.2). Mathews and Benvenuti (2014:32) further emphasised that social disorganisation is a consequence of apartheid strategies, such as, involuntary removal of black people to the informal settlements which contributed to family breakdowns and social inequality.

Poverty, unemployment, and social injustice breeds dysfunctional families and leads to the persistent cycle of violence. Poverty and unemployment further create feelings of disappointment and frustration, accompanied by a sense of social injustice amongst community residents (Van der Westhuizen & Swart, 2015:738). Contributory factors like unemployment, poverty, lack of infrastructure (water and housing) were highlighted by some of the participants at the Diphale village (See Chapter 5, section 5.6.4). The participants further indicated issues of dissatisfaction with the police like corruption, bribery and their failure to address crime. As a result, victims of social injustice in the Diphale village become dissatisfied with the criminal justice system, which results in persistent mob justice activities. Apartheid policies have created a highly unequal society in South Africa (Swanepoel et al., 2011:119). These factors disadvantaged community residents in ways that people may become both victims and perpetrators of the 'culture of violence' (Hinsberger et al., 2016:3). Phillips (2016:2) highlighted that economic inequality explains why other communities experience mob justice incidents than other communities. While Lancaster (2019:1) argued that mob justice incidents become normalised in societies where ordinary citizens commit horrific acts due to perceptions that the police and the government have failed to

eradicate crime. Therefore, economic inequality further contributes to the formation and heterogeneity of mob justice groupings (Phillips, 2016:2). Mob justice group formations tend to exist in crime afflicted townships and rural communities that seek to prevent crime (Nel, 2016:1-2). Furthermore, the Diphale village mob group consists of community residents who voluntarily seek to establish a social order in their crime afflicted community. Hence, the social disorganisation theory's notion of informal social control represents social cohesion but through mob justice controlled by residents to protect their community against crime and disorder. These informal social controls apply sanctions that include corporal punishment and condemnation of suspected perpetrators which is not specified or sanctioned by formal law (Benson, 1989:465).

The study concurs with Muller, Werner and Kelcey (2010:360) who posit that it is important for community members to possess common values and norms which will contribute to safer communities. The study found that the residents of Diphale village seem to possess common goals and objectives, that is to punish suspected criminals and protect their community from crime.

SUMMARY

Based on the discussions above, social cognitive theory focuses on observation and imitation of role models. According to the theory, social interactions, experiences, and media influences and shape an individual's behaviour. Although these may influence an individual's behaviour, they are still capable of resisting behaviour that looks unfavourable for acceptable behaviour. However, such resistance to unacceptable behaviour depends on cognitive thought. This means that the ability to observe and think rationally or irrationally is highly dependent on one's self-efficacy. Hence, the theory highlights that individuals with high self-efficacy tend to adopt favourable behaviours from their role models as opposed to individuals with low self-efficacy. The theory can be linked to mob justice in that through observation of significant others; crime can be transmitted from one generation to another.

Although the theory of deindividuation was explored and expanded by many authors, the emphasis was placed on group cohesiveness. The notion that people tend to act differently within a group context makes deindividuation theory suitable for

understanding mob justice. Notably, deindividuation theory is centered around the following: what causes a group of individuals to become an unruly mob? The theory emphasises that being in a group tends to cloud one's judgement in deciding between right and wrong. Hence individuals tend to lose their self-identity, self-awareness, and propensity towards rational behaviour in a group. The theory further advanced the notion of anonymity. The concept of anonymity postulates that being in a group setting provides the person to be unrecognised and non-identifiable, which creates perceptions of impunity. While deindividuation theory focuses on individuals and their conformity to groups, social disorganisation focuses on social circumstances. This means that the Theory is based on community characteristics instead of individual characteristics. Hence the theory is centered around the variables of: relative deprivation, poverty, unemployment, residential mobility, and the breakdown of family relationships. According to the theory, these variables lead to weak or disorganised communities which leads to elevated levels of crime. The perceptions that mob justice tends to occur in disorganised communities characterised by poverty and unemployment, makes the theory applicable to the study.

The similarity in all these theories is the premise that an individual's behaviour is a consequence of circumstances in the environment such as, peers, role-models, and economic pressures (such as, relative deprivation). These circumstances are responsible for shaping an individual's propensity to engage in crime and criminal behaviour within a group.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter addressed three theoretical perspectives in order to examine and understand victim and perpetrator involvement in mob justice incidents. The social cognitive theory states that individuals are influenced into crime due to observation and imitation of role-models - family, friends, school, or the media. The impact of observation and imitation is that individuals cognitively process aggressive behaviour by role-models which further leads to more aggression. Deindividuation theory was used to explain crowd behaviour. The fact that individuals in a crowd lose their self-identity explains why individuals behave differently in a crowd.

Furthermore, individuals in a crowd tend to adopt a wide range of behaviours due to feelings of anonymity. In this regard, this study further utilised Social disorganisation theory to determine circumstances that lead to individual aggression and the formation of crowds. As a result, circumstances, such as, social inequality, poverty, unemployment, and crime were highlighted as the leading cause of social disorganisation in communities.

CHAPTER 4:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to address the research approaches that explore and explain people's experiences in their social contexts, without the use of statistical procedures. The qualitative research approach is appropriate for this study as the researcher examined the experiences of both victims and perpetrators in mob justice related incidents. Qualitative research further relies on a variety of research strategies and procedures to gather and analyse data. These strategies include research design, such as, the research goal, sampling strategies, and data collection as well as data analysis and interpretation.

4.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methodology consists of a framework or strategy on how the researcher plans to conduct a study (Bergin, 2018:53). This plan is followed by research design which is described as a clear research framework that guides decisions, such as, the methods and techniques the researcher plans to accumulate in the study. This study developed a plan to address the research objectives and solve the research questions (Vosloo, 2014:316). In this section, qualitative methods of enquiry, such as, case study analysis, data collection instruments and sampling strategies were addressed.

4.2.1 Qualitative approach

This study employed qualitative research to determine and understand participant experiences of the phenomenon under study. Qualitative research aims at discovering the meaning that people ascribe to in their real-life experiences (Davies & Francis, 2018:96), while, quantitative research is an objective process that focuses on statistics or numbers to generalise findings (Bergin, 2018:1). Furthermore, qualitative research aims to find out 'what kind of things (material or symbolic) to which people in this setting orient as they conduct their everyday life?' In quantitative research, the researcher asks, 'how many instances of a certain kind are there here?' In this study, however, the goal is not to conduct a statistical analysis but to provide an understanding of how

participants perceive their social world and make sense of their lived experiences. For qualitative research to be appropriate in this study, the following characteristics highlighted by Jennings and Gonzáles (2019:7) were essential: firstly, qualitative research seeks to understand real-life experiences through the research participants points of view - in this study, the researcher determined and understood the experiences of victims and perpetrators of mob justice incidents through their narratives. Secondly, qualitative research entails in-depth understanding through the collection of rich and detailed data - in this study, data was collected through interviews to understand the phenomena in its context. For this study, qualitative data collection methods were addressed, as explained in the discussion that follows.

4.2.2 Case study

A case study can be defined as the study of a case within its natural or real-life setting (Creswell & Poth, 2018:96). In qualitative research, a case study approach is described as the 'systematic investigation' of a case involving individuals or a group where the researcher attempts to explore in-depth information within their real-life situations (Heale & Twycross, 2018:7). The in-depth collection of data in case study research involves the most common sources of information, such as, observation, interviewing, documenting, or reporting (Creswell & Poth, 2018:96). The case study analysis was applicable in this study in that the participants were direct victims and perpetrators of mob justice related incidents. The aim of employing a case study analysis was to capture the real-life experiences of the victims and perpetrators in a context of mob justice. Data collection techniques that are used in case study analysis usually include interviews, observations, focus groups, and document analysis (Harrison, Birks, Franklin & Mills, 2017:1). The study seeks to apply qualitative data collection methods to collect data from the victims and perpetrators of mob justice incidents.

4.3 SAMPLING PROCEDURES

Population is a study of objects or things which includes persons, groups, organisations from which information is collected (Dantzker, Hunter & Quinn, 2018:68). A sample consists of a group of people or objects that have been chosen from a suitable population for participation in a study (Creswell & Poth, 2018:157). In this regard, a sample of fourteen perpetrators and six victims from the Diphale village were

chosen. While a sample cannot represent everyone in an area, the researcher utilised the following criteria: direct victims and perpetrators, males, and females between the ages of twenty-sixty who had participated in mob justice related incidents in the Diphale village. As mentioned above (section 4.3.1), the reason for the smaller sample of victims was due to their lack of availability. Moreover, since qualitative research does not draw representative samples from the entire population, the chances of selecting relevant individuals for a study is unknown (Bell, Bryman & Harley, 2019:197). Therefore, in order to meet the above-mentioned sample criteria, this study employed non-probability sampling techniques, such as, snowball and convenience sampling.

4.3.1 Composition of the sample

Initially, convenience sampling was used for easily accessible participants (known to the researcher). Convenience sampling is used when the units selected for inclusion in the sample are easily accessible (Flick, 2018:88). The researcher approached a relative who was a resident of the community in which the study was being conducted. The researcher interviewed the relative since she met the criteria for this study. The researcher further used snowball sampling and asked the relative to recommend other community members whom she knew would be able to participate in the study. King, Horrocks and Brooks (2019:62) define snowball sampling as the recruitment of a few participants that then recommend other participants that fit the sample criteria.

After the relative recommended the community residents (six perpetrators), the researcher approached them, and they agreed to participate in the study. The researcher further requested the other participants to recommend community members that met the criteria for the study. When the perpetrators were contacted and met with the researcher, the researcher further utilised the snowball technique, for it is difficult to identify an unknown or a sensitive sample who was or is a victim of a mob justice related incident). For example, the victims and the perpetrators were encouraged to recommend the study to others or their acquaintances who participated in mob justice related incidents. One of the victims suggested that it was only convenient to participate in a group with other victims as they had the same experiences (discussed in detail in Chapter 5, section 5.2.1).

The snowball sampling process was also utilised when conducting the focus group interviews. In the focus groups with victims, one of the participants advised that she knew other community members (five) who were willing to participate in this study. The victim decided on a venue where she would contact the five victims to meet with the researcher. The process was successful as all six of the victims were present at the venue, and the interviews were conducted successfully. The focus group interview with the victims took place on the 23rd of August 2018. In the focus group interviews with the perpetrators, the relative further accompanied the researcher to meet some of the community members who participate in mob justice incidents. In this case, two of the perpetrators also suggested that the researcher interview them in a group. The focus group interview with perpetrators took place on the 30th of October 2018.

4.3.2 Description of the sample

The researcher used semi-structured questions that encompassed biographical information (see Annexure C) to determine the age, marital status, and employment status of the participants. The biographical details were necessary to determine the age, gender, educational status, marital, employment status, race and ethnicity of the victims and perpetrators. The study sampled twenty participants, in which nine perpetrators were interviewed individually, as well as two focus groups including six victims and five perpetrators. This is illustrated in the table below:

TABLE: 1

Semi-structured interviews-Perpetrators	Focus group 1- Victims	Focus group 2- Perpetrators
09	06	05
Total	20	

All the participants were black, males and females, Sepedi speaking and from the village of Diphale (Limpopo), and can be identified as perpetrators of mob justice related incidents. Zacharia is a male aged 44, who is single, unemployed and has a primary school education; Loraine is a female aged 29 who is single, employed with

qualifications up to matric; Tshwarelo is a female aged 33, who is single and unemployed with schooling up to Grade 11; Maria is a female aged 36, who is single and employed with qualifications up to matric; John is a male, who is single and unemployed with a matric qualification; Kate is a female aged 27, who is married, unemployed with a matric qualification; Moloto is a male, who is single, unemployed with a matric qualification; Patricia is a female aged 33, who is single, unemployed and has no matric qualification; and Peter is a male, who is single, unemployed with a primary education.

The focus groups consisted of five perpetrators and five victims. All the participants in the focus group with perpetrators were black, Sepedi speaking and from the Diphale village. Jane is a female aged 30, who is single, unemployed and with no matric qualification; Portia is a female aged 28, who is single, unemployed with no matric qualification; Thabiso is a male aged 23 who is single, unemployed with a matric qualification; Andries is a male aged 26 who is single, unemployed with no matric qualification; and Tshepang is a female aged 48 who is single, employed with no matric qualification.

In the focus groups with the victims, all the participants were also black, Sepedi speaking and from the Diphale village. Melita is a female aged 48, who is married, self-employed as a street vendor and has qualifications up to matric; Nancy is a female aged 49, who is widowed, employed and has a Diploma; Rosina is a female aged 36, who is single, self-employed as a street vendor and has no matric; Dikgale is a male aged 76, who is single, unemployed with no matric; Sekgoila is a male aged 65, who is married, unemployed with no qualifications; and Petrus is a male aged 45 who is married, employed with a matric qualification.

4.3.3 Preparing participants for the process of interviewing

Piloting was utilised in the study to refine data collection tools, such as, a semi-structured interview schedule. For this study, piloting helped to highlight gaps and questions that were considered broader and other significant issues. Piloting further assisted in determining whether the methodology and analysis were appropriate and consistent (Marshall & Rossman, 2016:105). Therefore, the researcher piloted the study by interviewing a victim and a perpetrator to test the validity and reliability of the study. These interviews were posed by asking the same questions to the victim and

perpetrator to ensure consistency in the data collection tool. To ensure consistency, the study further assessed the validity and reliability of the collected information.

As mentioned above, the researcher contacted and made appointments with the participants after explaining the purpose of the research and them agreeing to participate willingly in the study. Before the interviews, the researcher addressed the issue of anonymity and confidentiality (discussed in detail in section in 4.7.3) in which rapport was established with the participants. The participants were informed that a tape recorder will be used and that notes would be written during the interviews.

4.4 QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION METHODS

For data collection methods in the study, the experiences of the victims and perpetrators of mob justice incidents were examined through semi-structured (face-to-face interviews) and focus group interviews. Bergin (2018:34) defines qualitative data as information collected from research subjects through interviews, observation and focus groups, where interviewing consists of a process whereby the researcher seeks determine and analyse the interpretations of participants' views (Yin, 2016:339). In qualitative research, techniques of collecting information and the procedures of gathering the data are “...*fundamental to answering emerging research questions*” (Creswell & Poth, 2018:148). The following data collection instruments were utilised to gather data from the participants.

4.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

For case study analysis in this study, semi-structured interviews (see Annexure C) were conducted with fourteen perpetrators and six victims from Diphale village(Limpopo province), who had participated in mob justice related incidents. In this regard, nine perpetrators were interviewed face to face, while the other five were interviewed through a focus group. For the interviews with six victims, a separate focus group was conducted. Due to the death of some of the victims, only limited victims were available to participate in the study. Semi-structures interviews are generally used in all disciplines within qualitative research (Flick, 2018:220). The author further highlighted that semi-structured interviews empower participants to produce rich narrative accounts. In this study, the semi-structured interviews consisted of open-

ended questions and probes to obtain more depth-information from the victims and perpetrators.

Probing is an interviewing technique where the researcher asks follow-up questions consisting of probes which form the basis of the questioning (Choi & Roulston, 2018:233). In this study, the researcher asked follow-up questions and probed participants' responses. Probing was used to explore deeper into the research subject in order to acquire in-depth information. Furthermore, the researcher used minimal encouragement by using words, such as, 'yes,' 'tell me more' or 'this is interesting.' Most importantly, the researcher listened attentively to the participant responses in order to understand the meaning that victims and perpetrators attach to their real-world experiences. The study further utilised focus group interviews in order to expand on the data collection techniques.

4.4.2 Focus group interviews

According to Murray (2018:264), interviews can also be conducted in a group setting to explore 'the group narrative identity.' In this study, the participants felt more comfortable participating in a group to describe their experiences as direct victims and perpetrators of mob justice related incidents. As a result, the study used focus groups to explore how victims and perpetrators make sense of their experiences by telling their stories. The concern for this study was not on their full life experiences but the circumstances or experiences that rendered them victims or perpetrators of mob justice. Focusing on these experiences was encouraged in the group in order to refrain from deviating from the topic of discussion. Moreover, this method allowed participants to reflect on their past experiences and the opportunity to voice their opinions on mob justice related incidents. Murray (2018:264-278) highlighted further that group interviews provide the opportunity to reflect on the circumstances of particular events and assist in recalling certain significant episodes of life stories. Furthermore, the sharing of life stories within a group promotes group solidarity (Davies & Francis, 2018:102). This view was also pointed out by Hoffman and Morgan (2018:255) who indicated that participants are more likely to divulge sensitive information with people sharing similar circumstances. For example, the use of focus groups was suggested by some of the participants who indicated that having the interviews in groups would

assist with sharing their experiences (further highlighted in detail in Chapter 5, section 5.2.1).

Focus groups typically range from 5-10 people (Doria, Condran, Boulos, Maillet, Dowling & Levy, 2018:4). However, smaller sizes are appropriate for sensitive topics or in situations where the participants engage more on the topic (Hoffman & Morgan, 2018:254). Thus, for this study, a focus group of six victims and five perpetrators was used to interview participants in a setting most convenient to them. According to Mishler (1986:119), narrative group interviews represents a therapeutic setting. This means that participants (or narrator); particularly victims were allowed to articulate their life stories and experiences related to the topic of the study. and writing down of notes was explained to the participants. Furthermore, the researcher made sure that the group discussions were also carefully set out in a safe environment of their choice.

Concerning the focus group interviews, the researcher firstly introduced herself to the groups and provided them with an overview of the topic to prepare them for the discussion and the interview process. As such, the interview questions were open-ended and qualitative, which allowed for more depth in the interviews. Moreover, questions were asked, considering the victim and perpetrator experiences and the sensitivity of their responses. After the interview, the group was informed that, should they require feedback, the researcher would avail the research results to the participants.

Qualitative research further relies on the analysis and interpretation of data collected from the participants. The data analysis and interpretation strategy are discussed below.

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Qualitative data analysis is a strategy used to gather data by building themes or categories through information collected from the participants (Davies & Francis, 2018:54). In a qualitative study, data may be analysed in the form of techniques, such as, thematic analysis, descriptive approach, or more in-depth methods. For the study, thematic analysis was utilised to analyse data by focusing on pieces of information collected from the participants. Crowe, Inder and Porter (2015:617) define thematic

analysis as a process whereby data is interpreted using themes or categories to find patterns of meanings across the data. The following steps were carried out to find patterns of data collected from the participants in the study:

- i. The researcher used a tape recorder and made use of notes to collect data during the interviews (discussed in section 3.3). The first step involved transcribing the interviews from the tape recorder. The researcher went through the data by reading both the interview transcripts and notes thoroughly. Crowe et al. (2015:617) highlight that during this process, the initial codes are generated, keeping the research questions in mind.
- ii. In the second step, the researcher developed interpretations by reading the transcripts, and as codes emerged, the story represented itself and was thus clustered into related ideas (Jones & Metz, 2016:201). Furthermore, all data relevant to each category was extracted to ensure that it was associated with the individual codes. The researcher organised and managed the transcribed data, put it into ideas and wrote participant ideas on a notepad.
- iii. In the third step, the researcher identified the themes (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017:335). In this study, the researcher analysed the gathered data repeatedly. After this process, the researcher made a list of possible themes generated from the victim and perpetrator responses. Maguire and Delahunt (2017:335) highlighted that once all themes are identified or recognised, they are refined in relation to the overall meaning that was captured.
- iv. In the fourth step, the researcher wrote the list of responses with the abbreviated codes. The codes are written next to the data segments that corresponded with a particular code (Crowe et al., 2015:617). The researcher further reduced the list of possible themes that were generated from the responses by grouping similar responses together into relevant themes. This process enabled the themes to be developed at an in-depth level to examine the relationships between codes (Creswell, 2014:200). Furthermore, the themes were used as significant findings of this study as well as headings in the findings. The themes were further supported by diverse quotations derived from the responses offered by the participants.

- v. The fifth step involved the interpretation of the findings and results (Crowe et al., 2015:617, Creswell, 2014:200). In this study, the findings and results were analysed in terms of the aims and objectives of the study. The researcher organised the responses into the relevant themes and compared them with literature and the theoretical approaches related to the topic. Crowe et al. (2015:617) concur that in this phase, researchers may compare the narrative outcomes from the participants with themes and literature on the topic. Lastly, the findings and results of this study were interpreted and reported.

4.6 VALIDITY, RELIABILITY AND ACCURACY OF COLLECTED INFORMATION

In order to ensure validity and reliability in the study, the following were taken into consideration.

4.6.1 Ensuring validity and reliability

Validity in qualitative research refers to findings that determine the accuracy of the questions asked, the data collected, as well as the explanations offered (Yates & Leggett, 2016:225). Reliability is a method in research that determines whether the study yields the same results each time it is applied. Therefore, the concepts of reliability and validity in this study were used to ensure that the study is truthful and consistent (Maxfield & Babbie, 2016:91). Furthermore, searching and finding information from other researchers who have researched the topic (through literature review) assisted in enhancing the measure of reliability. With regard to validity, the data collection methods, and tools - such as, the semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews - helped ensure that the research is accurate and consistent. Moreover, the researcher applied authenticity, accuracy, and trustworthiness by using the following criteria as highlighted by Flick (2018:35):

To ensure credibility, the research objectives were formulated in such a way that the representation of data matched with the participant views. As a result, it was concluded that the responses validate the accuracy of the findings.

Transferability can be described as the amount to which the results of a study can be compared to other participants in the same context (Dantzker et al., 2018:68). A sample criterion (as discussed in section 3.4) was used to collect data from the

participants, so that the findings represent similar experiences of participants under study.

Dependability determines whether the research process used in the study is logical, well documented, and audited (Flick, 2018:35). In this study, the research findings were understood, and compared with literature relevant to the study.

Conformability, in this study, refers to the final construct and captures the traditional concept of objectivity (Dantzker et al., 2018:68). The researcher presented the findings that emerged from the gathered information, such as, quotations derived from the participant responses and the literature review (discussed in section 4). In this regard, the findings and results were indistinguishable from the information gathered from the literature review.

In addition to assessing the validity and reliability of the collected information, the following section discusses ethical considerations applicable to this study.

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Mertens (2018:33-48) highlights that in scientific research, it is fundamental that researchers ethically conduct themselves throughout the process of data collection. Research ethics are specific considerations for ensuring the protection of participant identities (King et al., 2019:29). Furthermore, researchers must always ensure that research is conducted in terms of its potential benefits and are liable for the number of risks it poses to the participants. In this study, participants were made aware of the nature of the research study and their rights as participants during the data collection process. The following ethical issues were taken into consideration: informed consent, voluntary participation, anonymity, and confidentiality.

4.7.1 Informed consent

It is mandatory in field research to have participants sign a document indicating that they agree to participate in a study (Ary, Jacobs, Irvine & Walker, 2019:56). The use of informed consent means that participants commit to giving detailed information about their experiences and are aware of the purpose, risks, and benefits of participating in the study (Tiidenberg, 2018:470). Therefore, in this study, informed consent was utilised to ensure that the participants understood why they had been

selected for participation and how the information they provided would assist the researcher. The researcher's objective was explained both verbally and in writing so that they were understood by both the victims and perpetrators. In a situation where the participant was illiterate (particularly the elderly), consent was recorded either verbally or in the presence of a literate person who signed the document stipulating that the illiterate participant had given consent. In most cases, the participants were unfamiliar with the language written on the informed consent form (on which the Participant Information Sheet was presented); and the information was thus translated verbally into the participants' language. The researcher, in this case, was able to translate as she is familiar with the language of the participants. Prior to signing the informed consent form, the researcher explained the procedures that would be followed when conducting the study.

The researcher clearly stated the use of semi-structured interviews, as well as focus group interviews in the Participant Information Sheet (see Annexure A). Most importantly, the researcher indicated the use of a tape recorder and taking of notes to record conversations (with the victims and perpetrators permission). The researcher indicated that the interviews would take about approximately 25-75 minutes, while some would last for 1 hour. The participants were further made aware that the interviews could end sooner as per their request or due to natural disaster, depending on the circumstances (Silverman, 2016:32). The interviews were conducted in participants homes or a setting most convenient to them (chosen by the participant).

4.7.2 Voluntary participation

Ary et al., (2019:58) mention that research participants should make an informed, voluntary decision about their participation in a study. The victims and perpetrators who participated in this study were given all the relevant information about the possible risks and benefits of participating in the study. The participants were informed that their decision to participate was voluntarily and that they were free to decide to withdraw anytime during the study.

Babbie (2017:64) highlighted that participants should be provided with information about the study, the risks and discomfort, and unpleasant emotional experiences that may be present during the study. Some of the participants (particularly the victims) were reluctant to participate due to the sensitivity of the topic, but all participants were

informed that the information they provided could cause discomfort, insecurities, or distress. However, if such experiences occurred, the researcher would ensure that the participant withdraws from the interview. Moreover, participants were assured that if the information shared left them feeling emotionally upset, or anxious, the researcher would refer them to a counsellor (psychologist or social worker) for debriefing or counselling (should the participant agree).

Fortunately, some of the participants in this study, particularly the victims, were already admitted for counselling by a psychologist in a nearby Clinic (Sekhukhune Counselling and Care Centre). Hence, the researcher did not require the intervention of counselling. Most importantly, the researcher made every effort to ensure comfort and minimise the risks to both the victims and perpetrators, for example by conducting the interviews in a setting of their choice and making sure the environment was free from disruptions. The researcher also made sure that all the participants were above the age of consent in order to avoid coercion or undue influence.

4.7.3 Anonymity/ confidentiality

Creswell and Poth (2018:53) define anonymity as a way of assuring participants that any information they provide in a study will not be disclosed to any third parties. Participants were informed that all their personal information, such as, names, addresses or email addresses would be kept anonymous. The researcher was aware that there might be no guarantee of anonymity as the research will be presented to a variety of audiences, such as, communities. In this case, the researcher made sure that pseudonyms were used to protect the participants. For instance, because there are some easily identifiable people in the community, such as, the village chief, the researcher used a pseudonym. Hence, some of the participants preferred to participate in groups due to fear of being easily identified, particularly the mob leaders. Participating in a group assured them that others were also participating, which increased their feelings of anonymity.

Like confidentiality, the researcher is obliged to protect participant identities, places, and their location (Babbie, 2017:67). As mentioned above, the victims and perpetrators were given fictitious names to identify them when analysing data. Furthermore, to ensure that all the participants were safe and free to conduct the interviews, they were free to decide on a location that was convenient for them. Furthermore, all the

participants were informed that the information they shared would be kept in locked files (computer filing protected with passwords) where they will remain inaccessible. Furthermore, some of the perpetrators preferred not to be recorded, even though the researcher assured them that all recordings would be deleted after transcription and that the transcriptions would only be accessible to the researcher.

Throughout the research process, the researcher experienced certain limitations, and these were addressed as follows:

4.8 CHALLENGES OR LIMITATIONS ENCOUNTERED DURING THE RESEARCH

Initially, some participants did not agree to be recorded while others were reluctant to participate in this study. Some of the participants hesitated due to the perception that the researcher was working for the police and therefore, did not trust the researcher. Typical responses were, for example, *“No... no, I cannot give you such information, what if you are working for the police, do you realise how dangerous it will be for me to divulge such things”*. The researcher asked, *“dangerous in what way”*? The participant responded, *“If by any chance I provide you with confidential information and somehow it gets presented in court later. I might be seen as a traitor or even get killed.”* The matter was resolved by informing them that the information will be kept safe, and no other person will have access to the information. The researcher resolved the matter by showing them part of the information sheet that contained the details of the researcher and supervisor, as well as the University’s letterhead (Annexure A).

In some of the cases, the participants wanted to understand why their area was chosen for this kind of research topic. For example, one of the perpetrators asked: *“You said you are from UNISA in Pretoria. Then why did you specifically choose our province or village to conduct this research?”* The researcher informed them that there was limited information on mob justice incidents in the rural areas, and for this reason, the researcher decided to expand knowledge and conduct research of this kind within a rural setting. Furthermore, the researcher informed the participants that the reason that their village was chosen was that there had been a series of reported mob justice incidents (particularly in the newspapers) in their village (discussed in Chapter 2, section 10). These reports gave the researcher the motivation to research their area, which might contribute to preventative measures as one of the objectives of the study

(contributions of this study were already mentioned in the Participant Information Sheet - Annexure A). Other participants requested compensation, such as, money or food for participating in the research. The researcher resolved this matter by explaining that there is no compensation (as mentioned in the Participant Information Sheet, Annexure A), and that research is done voluntarily and that they were under no obligation to participate.

4.9 CONCLUSION

Research techniques and data collection methods were explained in this chapter, which provided an idea of how data was collected from the participants. Data collection methods, such as, semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews, were used in the study. These data collection instruments were applied on a sample of 14 perpetrators and six victims which assisted in gathering in-depth information about participant experiences. Furthermore, sampling techniques, such as, non-probability sampling - through the use of convenience and snowball sampling which assisted in locating hard to reach and unknown participants – was discussed. Although a smaller sample was used with the victims, the researcher managed to gather the required information on their experiences. The researcher also applied ethical standards, such as, anonymity and confidentiality, which ensured that the participants engaged willingly in the study.

CHAPTER 5:

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The aims of this chapter was to provide analysis of data through a case study method in order to understand the participant's real-life experiences. As discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.3, the case study method was utilised in this study with the aid of semi-structured and focus group interviews (see Annexure C). This chapter consists of the biographical profile of the participants, which were divided into three categories to wit perpetrators (individual), focus groups (victims) and focus groups (perpetrators). Furthermore, the analysis of both the individual and focus group interviews with the perpetrators was discussed, followed by the focus groups with victims.

5.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS

Limpopo consists of various populations with ethnic groups distinguished by culture, language, and race. The participants are from a rural area of Limpopo known as Diphale village. The population at Diphale village are black (Sepedi speaking) and reside in a rural area ruled by a traditional leader. Some of the residents live in shacks, with outside portable toilets, without electricity and share communal water taps. The illiteracy rate is also extremely high, but the majority of people have qualifications up-to matric. Crime, poverty, unemployment, and income inequality are a result of the lower economic growth, lower wage levels, illiteracy, and limited access to higher education (Limpopo Socio- Economic Review and Outlook, 2019:55). In addition to these factors, under-resourced and understaffed police stations further disadvantage the communities. According to Adinkrah (2015:414), the manifestation of crime generally affects people living in impoverished areas where the police stations are under-resourced. Research seems to indicate that the practices of mob justice tend to exist in the most impoverished South African black communities (Super, 2016:326). This community was chosen for the study because there had been a series of reported mob justice incidents (particularly in the newspapers) in their area (also mentioned in

Chapter 4, section 4.8). Therefore, the study intended to contribute to knowledge by conducting research related to mob justice within a rural setting.

5.2.1 Biographical profile of participants

The researcher used biographical information (see Appendix C) to determine the age, marital status, and employment status of the participants. The biographical details of the participants were necessary to determine the age, marital and employment status of the perpetrators and victims who meet the criteria for the phenomenon under study. As discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.7.3, the researcher confirmed anonymity to the participants by using fictitious names to protect their identity. The biographical profile of the participants is presented in the table below:

Name of Participant	Community	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Language	Education	Employment	No of children
ZACHARIAH	Diphale village	44	Male	Single	Sepedi	Never went to school	Unemployed	1 2 – (two different mothers)
LORAINE	Diphale village	29	Female	Single	Sepedi	Grade 12	Employed (works at a mine)	1
TSHWARELO	Diphale village	33	Female	Single	Sepedi	Grade 11	Unemployed	2
MARIA	Diphale village	36	Female	Single	Sepedi	Grade 12	Employed (works at a mine)	2
JOHN	Diphale village	30	Male	Single	Sepedi	Grade 12	Unemployed	

KATE	Diphale	27	Female	Married	Sepedi	Grade 12	Unemployed	1
MOLOTO	Diphale village	36	Male	Single	Sepedi	Grade 12	Unemployed	none
PATRICIA	Diphale village	33	Female	Single	Sepedi	Grade 11	Unemployed	none
PETER	Diphale village	49	Male	Single	Sepedi	Primary education (Gr. 5)	Unemployed	none

TABLE 2:

→ **Age**

The study found that seven of nine perpetrators were between the ages of 27-36 years. Although police statistics do not provide the ages of individuals involved in mob justice related incidents, the study utilised the available information. According to Adzimah-alade (2018:81), mob justice incidents seem to occur predominantly among young people aged between 20 and 30 years. Winterdyck (2017:418) argued that perpetrators of violence are often young people living in socially disorganised environments. Social Disorganisation Theory concurs that communities characterised by deviant youths are plagued by aggression and violence (see Chapter 3, section 3.4.3).

→ **Gender**

This study found that five of nine of the perpetrators were female. Contrary to studies conducted by Adzimah-alade (2018) and Maele (2018) where males constituted the majority, and this study found the majority of perpetrators to be female. This is because most females at Diphale village have been victims of crime and as a result resort to resolve issues by taking the law into their own hands. For example, a 33-year-old Portia related the following incident:

“Some robbers tried to steal my aunt’s car when their car had a punctured wheel. Fortunately, before they could even start the car, we had already alerted

the community and chased after them. Then they abandoned the car and ran on foot to the nearest mountain. When that robber started shooting at us, I just cornered him, grabbed him at the back and because we were on a mountain we rolled together until we hit a rock. By that time, the robber's bullets were finished. That is when the community were able to attack him."

Franklin and Fearn (2008:281) describe such females as engaging in masculine crimes which contradict the stereotypical view that females are weak and dependent on men. The statement further challenges the 'chivalry hypothesis' in which the criminal justice system offers undue leniency to females due to their feminine gender roles (Grabe, Trager, Lear & Rauch, 2006:139). Hence, female participants in mob justice incidents are perceived to be relatively rare because society perceives females as less violent and accountable for crime than males.

→ **Marital status**

The majority of the perpetrators (eight of nine) indicated that they were single, while only one indicated that they were married. Only one of the participants indicated that they were widowed. A study conducted by Maele (2018:73) indicated that the highest proportions of perpetrators of mob justice are single, followed by those who are married. The study concurs with the author.

→ **Educational status**

The study found that nine of nine (100%) of the perpetrators had lower education levels (primary and secondary education). Seekings (cited in Loqani, 2015:37) highlighted that mob justice is a common issue in communities with meagre educational qualifications. Hence, people's educational levels play an important role in their awareness of the consequences of participating in mob justice incidents (Morrison & Conradie, 2006:5). For example, the study found that the perpetrators perceive the police as incompetent when a suspect is not arrested or released early from jail. These perceptions give a clear indication that communities are unaware of the rule of law. Moreover, elements of the law, such as, innocent until proven guilty, or the fact that evidence must be presented in court to prove a suspect as guilty seem to be entirely misunderstood. This means that communities lack the education and awareness of the consequences of crime and procedures of the court which leads to poor decision makings (also mentioned in Chapter 6, section 6.3.2.4).

→ **Employment status**

The study found that seven of nine of the perpetrators were unemployed, while only two of the participants indicated that they worked at the Chrome Mine. Cilliers and Aucoin (2016a:2-3) argue that some of the black people live in areas characterised by unemployment which causes poverty and high levels of crime. As a result, these structural conditions contribute to communities relying on their methods to discourage and deter crime. The fact that some the participants rely on working at the Chrome Mine indicates that job opportunities in the rural areas are limited which increases the unemployment rate.

→ **Race and ethnicity**

The study identified all of the perpetrators (nine of nine) as black people. The participants indicated that some of the black people live in conditions of poverty which exacerbates their risk of engaging in all forms of violence, such as, robbery, burglary, and theft (Barker & Ricardo, 2005:2). Furthermore, the lack of proper policing in the Diphale village leads to mob justice incidents in efforts to prevent crime. Barker and Ricardo (2005:2) further stated that the South African black population constitutes the majority to become victims and perpetrators of mob justice. The statements above challenge the historical context of mob justice when such incidents were, however, targeted at the black population by the white minority. Incidents of mob justice existed in the 1960s-1970s, when the white minority employed violent mob attacks on the black population to enforce their perceived superiority. Hence, Baker (2002:163) pointed out that not all mob justice groups are from the black community, and that there are also elements of white mob justice. For example, the KZN attacks on farm labourers between 1991- 2001 - which included employees of the private farm protection organisation and police reservists - were conducted by whites.

As mentioned above, the study further utilised focus groups with the victims and perpetrators using qualitative research. The focus groups were utilised in separate categories (one with victims and one with perpetrators) in different settings or environments. The use of focus groups was suggested by the participants who indicated that having the interviews in groups would ease sharing their experiences. For example, Jane, who was interviewed as a perpetrator in the focus groups suggested, *"I think it is better if I do the interviews together with others I know who*

participated in the incidents because I do not feel free discussing such incidents on my own, what if they attack me for speaking to you. If all of us were interviewed together, then it will be much easier.”

While in the focus groups with victims, Dikgale said, *“I prefer to do the interviews with [participant mentions names] as we went through the same experiences.”* The researcher decided to follow the suggestion from the participant and used focus groups. Although the researcher had twenty participants in mind (consisting of ten perpetrators and ten victims), only five perpetrators and six victims agreed to participate in the focus groups. Moreover, very few victims of mob justice survived the attacks, which resulted in very few participants readily available to participate in the study. The following tables indicate the victims and perpetrators interviewed in the study.

5.2.1.1 Focus group 1: victims

MELITA	Diphale village	48	Female	Married	Sepedi	Grade 12	Self-employed	5
NANCY	Diphale village	49	Female	Widowed	Sepedi	Higher education, Diploma	Employed	5
ROSINA	Diphale village	36	Female	Single	Sepedi	Grade 11	Self - employed	2
DIKGALE	Diphale village	76	Male	Single	Sepedi	None	Unemployed	none
SEKGOILA	Diphale village	65	Male	Married	Sepedi	Never went to school	Self - employed	5
PETRUS	Diphale village	45	Male	Married	Sepedi	Grade 12	Employed	3

TABLE: 3

5.2.1.2 Focus group 2: Perpetrators

JANE	Diphale village	30	Female	Single	Sepedi	Grade 10	Unemployed	1
PORTIA	Diphale village	28	Female	Single	Sepedi	Grade 11	Unemployed	1
THABISO	Diphale village	23	Male	Single	Sepedi	grade 12	Unemployed	none
ANDRIES	Diphale village	26	Male	Single	Sepedi	Grade 10	Unemployed	none
TSHEPANG	Diphale village	48	Female	Single	Sepedi	Grade 11	Employed (works as a cleaner at the mine)	3

TABLE: 4

The researcher analysed the above two tables (3&4) simultaneously.

→ Age

The study found that three out five of the perpetrators were between the ages of 23-28, with two between the ages of 30-50 years. Four of six victims were between the ages of 36-49, while only two were between the ages of 65 -76 years. Madienyane (2013:55) highlighted that the age group of perpetrators, which normally ranges from 16-52 year, indicates that mob violence is the norm and generally supported by both youths and adults. As mentioned above, Social Disorganisation Theory perceives communities with deviant youths as characterised by aggression and violence. While Social Cognitive Theory argues that the age similarity between the model and the observer should be taken into consideration, this is because children tend to observe and imitate the behaviour of adults which has the most significant influence on their behaviour (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.1).

→ **Gender**

The study found that three of five of the perpetrators were female, while two were male. As indicated above, although literature confirms males as the majority to participate in mob justice incidents, females were found to be the majority in this study. In the focus groups with victims, three of six victims were male, while the other three were female. Ward et al. (2012:25) indicate that that the risk of victimisation in South Africa depends on the background and gender of the individual. For instance, young black men living in townships and rural environments are more at risk of mob justice incidents than women. However, females who are often attacked in mob justice incidents are most often those accused of witchcraft (Adzimah-alade, 2018:83).

→ **Marital status**

The study found that all the perpetrators (five of five) were single, while three of six were married, two were single and only one was widowed. As mentioned above, there is limited literature on the marital status of perpetrators and victims of mob justice incidents.

→ **Employment status**

The study found that four of five of the perpetrators were unemployed, with one working as a general worker (cleaner). The victims indicated that two of six were employed at a mine; two indicated that they were self-employed (work as street vendors). Morrison and Conradie (2006:5) argued that the employment status of a community indicates their likelihood of participating in mob justice incidents. Seekings (cited in Loqani, 2015:38) emphasised that mob justice is prevalent in communities with high unemployment rates. This is because unemployed people suffer relative deprivation and poverty.

→ **Race and ethnicity**

The study found that all of the perpetrators (five of five) were black South Africans. Similarly, six of the victims were black. According to Barker and Ricardo (2005:2), victims and perpetrators of mob justice in South Africa are constituted mainly by the black population (Barker & Ricardo, 2005:2). This is because the majority of black people live in conditions of poverty which exacerbates their risk of engaging in all forms of violence which leads to mob justice related incidents (also mentioned above).

As mentioned above, because most victims of mob attacks are dead, there were very few victim-participants readily available to participate in the study. As a result, a focus group of six victims were utilised using a qualitative approach. Similar to the analysis of focus groups with perpetrators, data was analysed and discussed in various themes supported by narratives from the participants. Furthermore, the literature was used to support and confirm the findings. For this study, the participants' non-verbal reactions were highlighted to indicate their emotions during the interviews. The following discussion includes the narratives of the victims who were interviewed in the focus groups.

5.3 PROFILE OF THE VICTIMS OF MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS

Lancaster (2019:1) confirms that the majority victims at risk of mob justice related incidents are young men between the ages of 25- 35. For instance, Moloto confirmed that victims that are often attacked in their village are young men accused of robbery; this is illustrated in the statement below:

“The two criminals that we attacked looked young, in their twenties, probably my age between 25 and 30. We attacked them for robbing a grocery store”. (Moloto)

Lorraine and Tshwarelo, however, revealed that the victims they attacked for witchcraft were elderly woman between the ages of 58-63: This is illustrated in the responses below:

“The ages of the relatives we had murdered, my Aunt was 63, my sister in law was 58, and the witchdoctor was 58 at the time”. (Lorraine)

“We suspected these old grannies; his next-door neighbours and they are working with a traditional healer in their witchcraft.” (Tshwarelo)

Krasner (2018:191) highlighted that when profiling victims, gender and age should be taken into consideration. However, victims of mob justice incidents vary according to context, time, and space. For, instance, victims accused of witchcraft tend to be elderly females between the ages of 41 to 60 (mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.6.2). While a study conducted by the Centre for the Society of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) (2008:9) reported that young people in their 20s and 30s are most at risk of becoming victims of mob justice incidents. This statement confirms

Moloto's response above who revealed that the two young men who were attacked for robbing a grocery store were in their late 20s.

5.3.1 Accusations levelled against the victims

All the victim participants (six of six) reported that they were accused of witchcraft-related murder by their own family or relatives. According to Ward et al. (2012:217) in communities where there are a low-income rate and high violence, victims often know the perpetrators or vice-versa. Few of the victims reported that they had been accused of spending money meant for community development. Only one was attacked for being a relative of the victim. The victim's narratives are highlighted below.

"I was accused of collaborating with the chief in spending the money belonging to the community. They have also considered me as an accomplice to all the Chiefs crimes, including the murder of a 13-year-old girl in our village". (Petrus)

"I was attacked for being the Chief's brother, and because I refused to tell them about the Chief's whereabouts when they accused him of Muti murder." (Dikgale)

The responses from the participants indicate that innocent victims are often attacked. The statement is confirmed by Baloyi (2015:3) who argued that people are often killed in mob justice incidents even when there is not enough evidence. The author further emphasises that such injustices "...breeds the spirit of revenge" which results in more violence.

Furthermore, the study found that mob justice-related incidents in the Diphale area occur around the context of killing people suspected of practising witchcraft and incidents of muti murder (also referred to as ritual murders involving body parts) (South African Law Reform Commission, 2014:10). This is evident in the responses below:

5.3.1.1 Victims accused of witchcraft

A 36-year-old, female Rosina indicated how her family was accused of witchcraft in the response below:

"My family and I were accused of witchcraft by our relatives. Their father is my uncle, my mother's brother. They accused us of murdering my uncle, his wife and son" [Rosina bend over and rubs her eyes]. (Rosina)

A 49-year-old, female Nancy was accused of killing her husband for inheritance money in the response below:

“I was accused of killing my husband using witchcraft for money. According to them, I murdered my husband in order to get his insurance money and become wealthy. They even gave me a nickname, ‘lehu lagago leya mphedisa” **[Meaning ‘your death gives me wealth’ in Sepedi]**. (Nancy)

These responses seem to indicate that the majority of people at Diphale village believe in the existence of witchcraft. Baloyi (2015:2) further highlighted that many South Africans, whether innocent or guilty, are exposed to violent acts of mob justice due to perceptions of witchcraft, while, the literature confirms that victims of witchcraft are often accused and labelled without proper investigations (Forsyth, 2016:332).

5.3.1.2 Victims accused of muti-killings

A 65-year -old, Sekgoila indicated that he was accused of muti-murder in the following statement:

“I was accused of killing a 13-year-old girl for muti and selling the child’s body parts to my friends. They have also accused me of corruption, that I use the money meant to develop the community for my own development” **[Sekgoila shakes his head]**. (Sekgoila)

A 48-year-old, female Melita indicated how she and her husband were accused of muti-murder in the following response:

“My husband and I were accused of killing people for muti so that we could be rich. And so that people fear us when we talk to them” ...imagine...” **[expresses disbelief]**. (Melita)

The responses above indicate that women are more likely to be accused of witchcraft, while males tend to be accused of muti-murder (alleged to use the body parts of human beings, particularly children) (discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.6.2). In this case, the perpetrators may either be members of a specific mob group, but primarily community residents, usually known by the victim socially or biologically (HRCUN, 2012:11). Furthermore, a large number of women living in rural areas fear being labelled a witch (Partn. Law Dev, 2014:42).

5.3.2 Experiences of the victims during mob justice attacks

The majority of victim participants (four of six) shared their experiences when they were attacked by the mob, as illustrated in the responses below:

*“When they arrived there, I was sitting with my mother, and they started hurling accusations and insults at us. ‘You people had murdered our father and brother; you are witches. You are going to tell us where you have taken them. You must have made them **Zombies [a corpse said to be revived by witchcraft] in your house.**’ We were shocked to learn that our relatives could accuse us of such things [victim’s look of disbelief]. When my mother tried to defend herself, they took out their guns and my mother started pleading with them not to kill us. At first, it was like they listened and tried to leave but then all of a sudden, they turned on us and shot at my mother 3 times in the mouth” [victim sobbing].* (Rosina)

Rosina shared her experiences of how their relatives accused them of witchcraft and keeping their family members as zombies in their house. This statement was highlighted by Ally (2015:28) who argued that ‘Zombies’ represent corpses perceived to be revived by witches in order to create misfortune for people (also mentioned in section 5.3.2). The South African Law Reform Commission (2014:33) confirms that South African communities react to witchcraft in different ways, like, consulting traditional healers to counteract the misfortunes, or by taking the law into their own hands and punishing the alleged perpetrator. Baloyi (2015:2) further highlighted that incidents of this nature have become common amongst the black communities. Victims accused of witchcraft are either ‘burned alive, tortured, beaten to death, stoned, raped, banished or stigmatised’. In some instances, the accused may be publicly humiliated and exposed (Forsyth, 2016:332).

“They told me they are burning my things because I am friends with the Chief and would possibly burn me also. My children witnessed everything. When they were busy throwing stones in the house, my children were busy sleeping. Fortunately, the older sister was able to take them out in time. They took out Plasma TV, speakers, Amp, and they started fighting over them. And then decided to share them amongst themselves. Then afterwards, they went to my shop. I own a shop just nearby. They went in and took out everything from my shop, and then burned it afterwards.” (Petrus)

The response from the participant above indicates that perpetrators of mob justice attack people based on suspicion and without any considerations of the harm caused

to the victim's family. Moreover, the fact that the victim's homes are looted before being burned indicates people's frustrations over poverty and unemployment. Literature confirms that mob violence is influenced by frustration and concerns over the government's unwillingness to provide proper service delivery (Misago, 2019:3).

A 65-year-old, Sekgoila shared his experiences when he was attacked by the mob and indicated how he was forced to burn the houses of the people he was meant to serve and protect in the community. The victim further expressed feelings of detachment from the environment and himself when the mob was attacking him. This is illustrated below:

"I remember they took me that day after they decided not to kill me, but to accompany them as they burn all the houses of those, they suspected to be my accomplices. In some of the houses, they forced me to burn them myself [victim demonstrates by pointing at himself]. That time I was barefooted, I didn't even recognise myself, it was like my mind had just switched off from the world [victim pauses]. As the police came, they ran away that is when my mind came back and realised that I was alone but in a cemetery. I don't even know how I got there. I'm telling you I don't even know how I got there [victim reiterates]. When the police started shooting the rubber bullets at them and all of them ran away. Guess what time it was, midnight. I walked by myself from the cemetery to home, when I got here, my relatives were waiting for me. My house was all burnt, everything into ashes [victim stands and looks at his new house]. My cars were all burned; I had realised I had no home to come back to." (Sekgoila)

The statement above is also highlighted by Stavrou (2011:8) who found that victims of violence often experience feelings of emotional numbness, helplessness and extreme forms of vulnerability while being attacked.

A 76-year-old, male Dikgale (Sekgoilas' Brother) indicated how he was attacked because he could not inform the mob of his brother's whereabouts. This is illustrated below:

"They came back and found that I was sitting next to a fire. They were busy singing and chanting. When they got next to a tree at my house, they stopped. Then one of their leaders came towards me; now, he has just recently passed away [victim pauses and tries to remember his name]. He then took a burning stick on the fire and just hit my arm [victim demonstrates using hands] without saying anything. Then he came around the house to check if there were any people or maybe police patrolling. And he found no one."

Then another person just came and slapped me, they were busy hitting me and I kept quiet. They started asking me about the Chief's whereabouts; meanwhile the Chief was hiding in the house. When I told them I don't know, they started hitting and slapping me. When the man went back, the community asked why he hit me because it's not me they want." (Dikgale)

Bannister (2013:4) refers to the participants above as primary victims of mob justice who have suffered harm or injury. Davies et al., (2017:37) emphasise that harm or injury on victims of mob justice can be physical, such as, killing, maiming, torturing and displacement which often results in psychological, cultural and symbolic traumas (discussed in Chapter 2, section, 2.11). The violent methods used against the victims may further result in death or trauma (Loqani, 2015:46).

Furthermore, mob justice not only affects primary victims; secondary or indirect victims, such as, their family members are also affected (Bannister, 2013:4). This is because the practice of mob justice has led to the death of innocent people who were either wrongfully accused or punished without evidence. This means that the lives of family members and breadwinners are left traumatised by the attacks, leaving them with significant property losses (Baloyi, 2015:4) (also mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.11).

5.3.3 Fear of repeat victimisation

All the participants reported fear of being attacked again by the mob, so they had to disappear for months until the perpetrators were arrested. The participants further reported fearing for their lives and the lives of their family members since they were also attacked. Sekgoila reported how his family members were frightened when hearing sounds in the night, thinking that the mob had returned to attack them. These narratives are highlighted below.

"I ran away when they were attacking the Chief because I sensed that I was next. But when I got to my house, they had already been there and took everything they wanted from my house and burned my house. I had to take my family out of that community to protect them from being attacked again. We stayed away from the community for months until I decided to come back and rebuild my house. Especially since some of them were arrested." (Petrus)

The study found that victims of mob justice are often forced to relocate to other areas for safety and to escape from violent mobs. According to Media for Justice (2014:1), the displacement of families who have been attacked by mobs become fraught with difficulties when the victims move to a village that has already been informed of the accusations. For instance, victims may face other attacks or discrimination from members of that community. Baloyi (2015:4) further adds that victims forced to leave their homes by violent mobs are stripped of their rights which makes them depressed.

“We came back after 3 months when everything was settled, especially after we heard that some of them were arrested and I started building my house again. Although they were threatening to attack us again. I became stubborn and built my house even with such threats. Although my wife and kids would get frightened when they heard sounds at night. Sometimes we had to wake up during the night just to check outside.” (Sekgoila)

“That area was no longer a safe place to be...and the police didn’t allow any member to be there because it was a crime scene, and we feared that our relatives might come back and attack us”. (Rosina)

The participant responses indicate that survivors of mob justice are affected by the incidents that occurred. Furthermore, their experiences of attacks by the mob have become traumatic and affect their daily lives. The premise of repeat victimisation suggests that some victims of crime tend to become vulnerable to repeat incidents of victimisation (Graham-Kevan, Brooks, Willan, Lowe, Robinson, Khan, Stokes, Irving, Karwacka & Bryce, 2015:37). This is because victimisation represents a sense of individual vulnerability coupled with increased fear, anxiety and depression which further leads to increased fear of victimisation (Graham-Kevan et al., 2015:27).

5.3.4 Consequences of attacks on victims

Most of the participants recalled being attacked by the mob. Rosina recalls how she witnessed the death of her mother by her relatives and could not cope well after the incident. The participant also reflected on how she kept having flashbacks of the attacks on her mother.

“They had shot at my mother so many times that I was distraught just by looking at her. They shot her inside the mouth and on the head as well [victim pauses]. I felt like I was dreaming, to think they would have killed me too. It really took time for me to recover from that, I had to go away for a while because I couldn’t stay in a house where I was nearly

killed, and my mother got brutally killed by my relatives. However, I still get flashbacks of what transpired that day.” (Rosina)

Loqani (2015:46) highlighted that victims accused of witchcraft and their families might be subjected to ongoing emotional, spiritual, and psychological trauma due to the assaults.

Sekgoila recalls how he nearly died when the mob put him into a sack and tried to burn him alive. Sekgoila further reflected on how his heart was beating profusely when he heard the mob saying that “*he must be burned.*” As a result, the incident left him traumatised, and he could not sleep and had nightmares that the attackers would return.

“When they took everything from my house, I was so heartbroken, the children I had seen grow up in front of me, turned against me [victim touches his chest while sobbing]. The worst thing is that they put me in a sack, and they were busy shouting ‘burn him...he must be burned.’ That is when I became so scared and my heart was beating a lot. I was even sweating due to the mere fact that they will burn me alive. The way they were so furious and chanting, I immediately thought I was going to die. Fortunately, I asked my wife to run away with the kids when they were busy attacking me. So, they did not see the whole incident; I only informed them later what had happened. They became traumatised when they heard what happened to our house and how I nearly died.”
(Sekgoila)

Victims of mob justice related incidents are not limited to suspected criminals but may also include the village chiefs, police, judges and councillors (Goldstein, 2003:244). According to the American Psychiatric Association (2013:271), if a victim is exposed to or witnesses an actual or threatened death, injury, and violence, he/she is likely to become distressed or traumatised. Furthermore, the trauma might often lead to nightmares/flashbacks, negative thinking styles and hyperarousal, such as, being on guard or being easily startled (American Psychiatric Association, 2013:271).

Melita and Nancy reported on how their families were nearly killed, which has left them feeling traumatised.

“After the incident, my children didn’t cope well, mainly because when they were busy throwing stones, they were inside the house. They could’ve been hurt, you know. I had to take my kids for counselling for a very long time to a social worker. Sometimes she

would come to our house and see how I and my family were coping after the incident.”
(Melita)

“Very traumatic, the fact that everything I have worked hard for was reduced to ashes. The fact that they nearly killed my husband scares me even now [victim puts hands on her face]. Since that day, I had always slept with one eye open. The fear that if the community had failed in their mission to kill us that day, they might even send assassins to finish us off” [victim demonstrates using hands]. (Nancy)

The study found that many participants have been traumatised by the incidents. Witnessing their houses and families being attacked has left a significant impact on their livelihoods. Literature indicates that physical assaults have a negative and significant impact on both females and males (Sulemana, 2015:850). This was emphasised by Ward et al. (2012:216) that victims affected by violence are at higher risk of psychological, and social costs as well as secondary victimisation by the justice system and society. As a result, the victim suffers post-traumatic stress, substance abuse and may even develop aggressive behaviour. In addition, Baloyi (2015:6) found that witnessing or reflecting on the attack of a family member that was burnt or killed by a mob can be emotionally traumatising.

5.3.5 Perceptions of the victims regarding the perpetrators of mob justice motivating factors

The victims were further asked to share their feelings about people who participate in mob justice related incidents and if they have ever participated. The study found that all the victims have never participated in mob justice related incidents, mainly because they perceive such actions as cruel and inhumane. All the victims further reiterated that criminals should be handed over to the police because taking the law into their own hands makes them criminals as well.

“I feel that it is not right to burn people and their houses and that they should rather hand the suspects over to the police. I am also wondering how their parents are reacting to this because these people are our youths. How are they condoning such behaviour especially when they see their children bringing furniture that doesn't belong to them?” (Petrus)

“I never participate in such things. Can you believe that before burning the house they took everything in the house, like TV's, flat screens microwaves? They stole everything. Can you see that these people had their agenda? If they claim to be fighting for their community, then why steal? If I am the criminal as they claim I am, then they are also

criminals. What makes them better than me? What makes them different from me? One thing that pains me is that they are my children, I have watched them grow up and now this. Imagine your legs been burned while you are busy watching them. I don't think these people are well in their heads." (Sekgoila)

Mann (2005:29-30) identifies such perpetrators as materialistic (motivated by economic gain) who seek to benefit from the act by taking the personal property of their victims, to sell or use. This involves looting and taking away businesses belonging to their victims (Sebola, 2017:91) (discussed in chapter 2, section 2.8.2.6).

"In my view, I think it's better when they burn a house than a human being. A house you can rebuild it again, but when a human being is dead, they are dead and will never return." (Rosina)

"The murder of that woman they accused of murdering their community leader was too horrific, that was a cold and ruthless murder." (Dikgale)

*"Yes, that woman helped the community by extending their school. However, still, they didn't have mercy on her. They burned her to the point that she became so small, like a child. How do you do such things to a woman when you are a woman yourself? **[Victim shakes her head]**."* (Melita)

The responses above indicate that during mob justice activities, the violence is always irrational and out of proportion and without lack of consideration for the harm caused to the victim (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2014:5). The Theory of Deindividuation confirms this point and highlights that in collective mobs, the behaviour is often impulsive, aggressive and exhibits diminished social controls (Zimbardo, 1969:249).

5.4 PROFILE OF THE PERPETRATORS OF MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS

The findings in this study seem to indicate that perpetrators of mob justice incidents consist of a group of community residents who are affected by crime and therefore attempt to prevent and punish any suspected wrongdoing. Patricia and Tshwarelo indicated that the people who often participate in mob justice incidents in their village include the youth and older men and women, between the ages of 14-65 years. While

the people most often attacked by the mob range between the ages of 23-29 years. Tshwarelo further revealed that the perpetrators are often relatives of the victims.

“In our community, we don’t choose who gets involved, high school children, the youth, the elderly men and women. Between the ages of 14- 65. But as for me and my friends, we are 29 years of age, I mean those I usually participate with. Even those who are employed commit such acts...as long as they are off at the time of the incident. And remember the majority of the people in our community work at the mine, and at the mine we have shifts. So those who work the day shift can be there or those who work night shifts can be there. Depending on the time of the incident.” (Patricia)

“These people are our brothers and sisters, you know... people we know. Our neighbours, our relatives, our friends. They are our youths, girls and boys probably in the ages of 16- 30 and unmarried”. (Tshwarelo)

Singh (2009:11) highlighted a typical pattern which perpetrators of mob justice possess; to wit; the perpetrators are from the black population; the environment is often rural or semi-rural (townships); all parties generally suffer economic deprivation, and the parties are from the same community with a common purpose i.e. to mete out justice for perceived crime.

In the focus groups with the victims, Sekgoila revealed that some of the participants were his relatives. In addition to this, Sekgoila indicated how the leader of the mob had been accused of certain crimes by the police. This is evident in the response below:

“They were young men, many...and many of them ..., accompanied by women and children and some of them are my relatives. Their mothers are my cousins. Their group leader is a small boy...I mean, how can we be afraid of him. These people can’t be afraid of a small boy; how can they let him control them. He was once arrested for the possession of an illegal firearm. When they did ballistics, they found out that the gun was the same one that shot some guy at the mine he was working. Hence, they promote such violent acts. How can they not condone such acts, when they are actually criminals themselves?” (Sekgoila)

Ritchev and Ruback (2017:1) indicate that victims and perpetrators of mob justice incidents include community residents, passer-by’s, bystanders, or a specific mob group on a search for suspected criminals. While Kucera and Mares (2017:176) highlight that perpetrators of mob justice incidents take various forms, such as, small groups affected by crime, or a group of citizens who seek to maintain social order.

5.4.1 Role of mob leader and structure of the mob group

According to a 29-year-old female Kate, their mob group consists of three neighbouring villages that are plagued by crime. They operate in the form of a structure where there is the group leader, the informer (person who updates the group on any information they find) and communicator (person who sends messages to the group). Minnaar (2011:84) describes an informant as a source - a confidential informant that provides information to the relevant people. This is evident in the response below:

“Our group consists of three neighbouring villages who have formed an alliance to stop crimes in our community. Because we are the vulnerable communities here that are mostly affected by crime. We have about three group leaders, and they are all men. Two of them act as our informants, and then the other sends us messages when there is an issue we need to address.” (Kate)

Research by Super (2016:333) highlights the distinction between neighbourhood watch schemes, street committees and mob groups. These committees are often members of a community who may become part of a mob group that carries out punishment on suspected perpetrators ‘in the name of crime prevention.’ Social Disorganization Theory links these committees or mob groups to informal social controls. This is because informal social controls generally consist of social ties, such as, family, friends and community networks. Strong bonds maintained within these social ties create elevated levels of trust and shared values among members of a community (Groff, 2015:91). Accordingly, self-defence mechanisms are more likely to prevail in communities that have shared values and proper channels of communication.

The following statements were made by two of the male victims in the focus groups, who expressed their concerns that their leaders probably control members of mob groups. The participants indicated that members of the mob group generally follow instructions from the leader about whether to attack or not and never carry out such attacks in their absence.

“Yes, they can be called a mob group... these people had group leaders when they came here to fix their issues with me, their Chief. As soon as their group leader raised his voice

and said 'fighter' they all just started attacking as if he controls what they think. Their main leader is a young boy in his 30s...I mean how can we be afraid of him. And these people can't be afraid of a small boy, how can they let him control them. Let me tell you when you have bad spirits people will fear you. There is no such thing as fearing another person in this world unless you are evil." (Sekgoila)

*"That is because they have leaders who tell them what to do, whether to attack or not and who to attack. Did you see the man who just passed here? **[participant points at the man]**. He is one of those who attacked me when you meet one of them; they just act like nothing happened. This means that they can't decide on themselves. They need people to encourage them to attack." (Dikgale)*

The above statements seem to indicate the role of instigators in mob groups. According to the victim participants, the group only attacks in the presence of their leaders as per their instructions. Based on a view by Le Bon (1960), in a crowd that involves mob violence, there are often instigators and ringleaders who start the violence then later followed by others which soon spreads like a contagion. While following the instigators, they tend to forget their rational self and their inhibitions and then form a collective mind known as the 'mob mentality' (also discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.3).

In the focus groups, the participants further confirmed that vuvuzelas (a blown horn-used to summon the community to the King's Palace) also play the role of the informer in the community in the following extracts:

*"We as a community act as our own guards, and with the help of the Vuvuzelas. Whenever there is trouble, we will hear the sound of Vuvuzela, all of us will immediately go to the scene. Our informants **[group leaders]** are the ones informing us of what is happening in the community; they guide us and also keep an eye out for us. They are the ones who investigate the issues that affect us in the community. When we need jobs, they encourage us to strike." (Jane)*

The participant below confirmed Jane's statement above that the use of SMSs, which play a vital role in their mob group. The response is illustrated below:

"In such cases, we use SMSs, especially when we get a tipoff from our group leaders. We use one SMS and then we circulate among the community members, but only those who attend our meetings. There is a person in charge. So, we already know if he sends the SMS to more than 30 people. They will inform each other." (Portia)

This mob group indicated above can be linked to the 'Operation Wanya Tsotsi' mob group discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.5.2.2.3), which is also known for its effectiveness in preventing crime. However, their methods differ as the 'Operation Wanya Tsotsi' use whistle-blowers as their method of communication instead of 'vuvuzelas and SMSs'. Moncada (2017:407) highlights elements of mob groups which include target, repertoire, justification and motivation. The target includes individuals who are perceived as suspected perpetrators that should be punished. The repertoire includes violent attacks, such as, necklacing and stoning carried out on the victim. Justification represents attempts to legitimise their behaviour by blaming the suspected perpetrator or the state. Motivational represents the motive for which the mob justice attacks are carried out against the victim (Moncada, 2017:407). For example, as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.7, motivations for mob justice can be attributed to high crime rates, gangsterism and the climate of fear and insecurity.

5.4.2 Group mentality/ 'mob frenzy'

Gopal (cited in Pieterse, 2019:1) argued that mob mentality increases irrationality where extreme forms of violence are meted out on the victims. The mob develops an identity that determines their behaviour in a particular situation. For instance, if the mob is governed by a certain kind of a bond or norm, the values and attitudes of that group will determine the behaviour of the crowd (Casey, 2014:1). This can be confirmed by the following participant who indicated the role of group mentality in mob justice incidents:

"You see everything will start to burn...it will be chaos everywhere [perpetrator demonstrates with his hands]. All those who are responsible for murdering our member, including their houses if necessary. By the time we went to bury him, the guys were all holding their guns, shooting up the sky [perpetrator demonstrates]. The police were even told not to come to the funeral because they will not like how they are going to bury our group leader. His body did not spend the night at his house. We had vowed that if we found any of the accomplices anywhere ... we will definitely kill all of them... so when we were busy escorting him you wouldn't come near us. People were afraid because we had guns and were shooting in the air. We were furious. When the casket was going down, some of us just left the cemetery because we couldn't stand the fact that we were

burying our group leader. And we knew at the time who is responsible, some of the men just left and went straight to the Chief's house.” (Zacharia)

The response above seems to indicate that there is a lack of good authority and policing measures at the Diphale village. The fact that members of this village often carry illegal firearms and fire their weapons publicly without the presence of the police indicates weak policing structures. This statement can be confirmed by Misago (2019:2-3) who highlighted that an absence of, or weak local leadership (such as, village chiefs and the police), leads to conditions favourable to violence in a community. The absence is created by the lack of resolution mechanisms by the local authorities to address and eradicate tensions that lead to violence. Furthermore, the absence of these authorities aggravates feelings of impunity in which the perpetrators and the instigators of the violence commonly lack accountability for their actions. In addition to this, the absence leads to informal groups that use violence to further their hidden intentions, either personal or political (Misago, 2019:2-3).

The following participant expressed her feelings on how she wanted to take revenge for the murder of her friend:

“So, when I was busy sleeping, one of the community leaders called. He told me that: ‘remember you told me you will only wake up when we finally take revenge for our friend’ [quoted as mentioned by the community leader] and then I said yes. He said: ‘wake up, they have found her, and she is getting killed today, come.’ That is what makes this interesting, death for death.” (Tshwarelo)

The response above can be confirmed by Ritchey and Ruback (2017:2) who argued that individuals often adopt violent norms when in a group. The feeling of anonymity in the group encourages individuals to intentionally break social norms due to lack of accountability. This generally means that people in a group tend to model the behaviour of others as in the ‘case of copycat crimes’ (crimes inspired by a previous crime usually through media coverage) (Ritchey & Ruback, 2017:2). The perpetrators in this case, incorporate some of the actions of a previous crime as their own like the type of victim and the method that was used to kill the victim.

Additionally, in the focus groups, Jane and Portia revealed how being in a group incites people to participate in mob justice. This is evident in the statements below:

“What surprises me is that when we are alone, we never think of such acts. But as soon as we get together, trouble starts [perpetrator shakes his head].” (Jane).

“If we find people stoning and attacking a criminal, we will definitely join with no questions asked. It is so funny how at times [Portia smiles] some people will just encourage you to burn the person but do not do it themselves. They just stand at the back while chanting, ‘burn him,’ ‘kill him’”. (Portia).

The responses from Jane and Portia above can be confirmed by Kruccken et al. (2018:336) who observed that in mob justice related incidents, there is the so-called middle mass of the crowd, the back rows (generally bystanders), and demonstrative extremists who arrive after the incident. The middle class are naturally described as the violent majority with a common goal, confident that the act will only be carried out successfully, once others back them up. The back rows are motivated by the thrill of being in a crowd and feel comfortable with observing as the actions are carried out. Although they do not participate in the mob, they tend to show moral support by way of verbal encouragement and not intervening to stop the act. The demonstrative extremists, who only arrive after the incidents, attempt to raise awareness by standing next to the dead victim (Collins, 2008:429-430) (also discussed in section 3.3).

Moreover, the theory of deindividuation emphasises that people who participate in collective violence tend to lose their sense of individuality. This is because being in a group induces emotional excitement caused by the sense of anonymity which further encourages violent behaviour. Participation in collective violence leads to impulsive, irrational, and aggressive behaviour (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2014:7).

5.5 DESCRIPTION /MAPPING OUT THE INCIDENTS

5.5.1 Victims become perpetrators

Although the problem of victims becoming perpetrators may apply to the majority of the perpetrators, this study found that this problem solely depends on context or circumstance. For instance, a 28-year-old Portia revealed how she fought with an armed criminal due to an attempted theft of a car belonging to her aunt. While, a 29-year-old Loraine expressed how she had been a victim of a crime committed against

her mother, father, and brother, which resulted in her participating in mob justice attacks as a form of retaliation. This is evident in the narratives below:

“Some robbers tried to steal my aunt’s car when their car had a punctured wheel. Fortunately, before they could even start the car, we had already alerted the community and chased after them. Then they abandoned the car and ran on foot to the nearest mountain. When that robber started shooting at us, I just cornered him, grabbed him at the back and because we were on a mountain we rolled together until we hit a rock. And I ended up fainting. By that time, the robber’s bullets were finished. That is when the community were able to attack him.” (Portia).

This statement above can be correlated with the subculture of violence, which clarifies the victim-offender overlap by emphasising that victims often become offenders in a society where violence is normalised and accepted. Within this subculture, the victim may become the perpetrator by retaliating against their former offender (Shreck & Steward, 2008:876) (discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.9).

As mentioned above, the following response from Loraine (29 years old) indicates how a family dispute turned into a murder when her family accused their relatives of murder using witchcraft.

“My father was rich in cattle that his father left for him. So, his relatives were jealous of this...especially since knowing he was their stepbrother, but yet their father left all the wealth to him. Those people are professional witches. They do things that are unthinkable, you could just wake up dead and nobody will know what happened to you. One night we heard screams in our father’s room, but we thought he was only having nightmares. And then the screams got heavier and heavier, but yet we didn’t have the slightest thought that he might be in trouble. Then we waited till the morning when we got into his room in the morning, we found out that he was unconscious and couldn’t speak. So, we kept asking what was wrong, what happened but he couldn’t speak. There were signs that they were beating him up and strangling him. When we asked him what happened, and he told us that he was attacked during the night by his sister, brother, sister in law and a witchdoctor accompanied by an animal entered his room at that night. The animal was too hairy, and then his relatives just stood there and watched as the animal climbed on top of him and attacked him. As the animal was busy attacking him, then his bother came with a hammer. We were shocked at how people, especially our relatives could do such a cruel thing to him. After a few days, he had a mild stroke, he couldn’t remember his children and grandchildren, until he passed away. After just five days to his passing, my uncle who was

mentally ill was attacked the same way our father did, and he died in the morning. I had to go home in my nighties... when I got there, I found him on the bed, crossed. It seemed like there was a struggle. His head was hanging on the side of the bed. My older brother got so furious that he went to his house, then he came back and just said 'I am going to do what I should have done a long time ago, someone is going to die and then someone is going to prison' While our brother was still lying in the room, we then gathered together, and my brother had brought a gun at the time. The time he went away he went to get his gun. We went looking for them in their houses but at first to confront them to also reveal their accomplices and scared them off with the gun. It was six of us...two brothers and four sisters. Although we had the other two brothers, but they were not there at the time. When we changed our minds and had decided to leave. One of them laughed at our grief, my brother got so furious that he turned, took out the gun and shot at our Aunt three times until she died. After he killed her, we all became fired up to seek revenge for our family, we went and looked for the other accomplices. Two of my brothers exchanged the guns when shooting the witchdoctor and my uncle's wife." (Lorraine)

The response above indicates that practices of witchcraft are prevalent in the Diphale village. As a result, beliefs in such practices generally influences witch-hunts and witchcraft killings. The fact that these killings occurred amongst family members indicates the severity of the beliefs in witchcraft in this community. As a result, six family members died due to witchcraft and witchcraft allegations at the Diphale community. The criminal justice system plays a significant role in ensuring that victims of crime or victims who have been reintegrated into society are provided with coping strategies to prevent retaliatory acts. Coping mechanisms, such as, treatment programmes may help to reduce the anger and trauma experienced by the victims. Contrary to this, if the victim feels ignored by the justice system, the victim may have feelings of anxiety and feel the need to seek revenge against the offender (Winterdyk, 2017:414).

5.6 MOTIVATING FACTORS

5.6.1 High crime rates and series of witchcraft incidents

A 44-year-old Zacharia, Lorraine (29 years old) and John (30 years old) reported that they have witnessed crimes of robbery and murder and that they have witnessed witchcraft incidents where a person was found naked in the morning (which they refer

to as 'o swaregile'- meaning 'a witch caught red-handed'). In this case, when a community member sees the naked person, they scream 'witch...witch' and many of the residents' rush to the scene. Violence faced by victims of witchcraft is often mob-based, and as a result violence becomes the outcome faced by the victim (Ally, 2015:26). This observation was highlighted by Rose (1982:182) who observed that when a person is suspected of being a witch, residents tend to mobilise into a 'collective action' in order to attack such people. In this case, residents attempt to rid their fear of witchcraft by removing the threat from their community. Zacharia shared the following experiences involving their witness of crime and witchcraft incidents:

"I was busy walking on the street when I saw two cars chasing each other and coming towards me. It was an Indian guy chasing them. They shot him, and the car derailed. It seemed like they had a punctured wheel, they got out of their car and tried to hijack every car that passed by on the road at gunpoint. When they tried to hijack a Bakkie, the man who was driving the Bakkie immediately fled before they could come near him because he could see that these people were holding a gun. Then they came to me and one of them pointed a gun at me, he said: 'stand still, don't move.' I had my phone at the time, and it rang. I was afraid to answer because I knew they could shoot me. I just froze and didn't move." (Zacharia)

While the following extract from Loraine and John indicates the participant experiences of witchcraft:

"We heard screams in his room, but we thought he was only having nightmares. And then the screams got heavier and heavier, but yet we didn't have the slightest thought that he might be in trouble. Then we waited till the morning, when we got into his room in the morning, we found out that he was unconscious and couldn't speak. So, we kept asking what was wrong, what happened but he couldn't speak. There were signs that they were beating him up and strangling him. When we asked him about what happened, and he told us, we were shocked at how people especially our relatives attacked him using witchcraft." (Loraine)

"There was a guy who once drowned and died in a strange way; he drowned in a pool while he was on a vacation. He was just near the pool taking photos of the people who were there when suddenly he just fell into the pool without anyone noticing. People only realized he has drowned when they could feel that they were stepping on top of person's body. So, when they took him out, he was already dead. As the news reached the community, people were angry and thought this can only be witchcraft. So, after the

incident we donated money as a community to consult a witchdoctor and he confirmed that is them and told us the names of the people involved in the murder. We immediately went to their homes to punish them.” (John)

In the focus groups, however, the majority of the participants highlighted the motivating factors of mob justice, like, robbery, rape, and murder. These responses are highlighted below:

“I have once witnessed the murder of an Indian man during a robbery, you know those ones that own supermarkets.” (Andries)

“Murder, witchcraft, robbery, and the misuse of funds we get from the mine to develop our community by the Chief of our village.” (Jane)

“Be it witches, robbers, murders and muti -murders. We will fight for our community. Circumstances that lead to mob justice attacks in my community are murder, muti-murder, witchcraft, rape, theft and robbery.” (Portia)

The majority of participants identified robbery, witchcraft, and abuse of public funds as the most common reason for mob justice incidents in the community. Lancaster (2019:1) highlighted that communities which experience high levels of crime and violence daily are susceptible to mob justice activities due to the ineffectiveness of the police to address these crimes. The responses from the participants above further indicate that there is a breakdown of relationships between the Chief of the village and the community members. This is because the Chief is perceived to be misusing funds meant to develop the community which results in a breakdown of social relations.

Social Disorganisation Theory emphasises that crime rates are high in communities that are disorganised because disorganisation leads to weak social bonds. Manaliyo (2014:122) argued that weak social bonds represent the absence of informal social controls which reinforces and normalises crime and violence, while the theory perceives informal social controls as legitimate to solve crime in the communities. The participants, however, reported that the law strongly condemns informal social controls as they are regarded as taking the law into their own hands. Ward et al. (2012:217) clarify this point by highlighting that the role of norms in society influence the behaviour of possible perpetrators as well as how the community reacts to situations that encourage violence.

5.6.2 Influence of witchcraft beliefs

All of the participants reported witchcraft, including muti-murder, as a common practice in their community. A 36-year-old Maria expressed that there is generally a common belief that witches are responsible for the misfortunes of others. Literature confirms that people generally believe that witchcraft is associated with evil spirits that intend to destroy a person (Ally, 2015:28). The narratives below from the participant indicates this point:

“We tend to blame everything on witchcraft; once there is some illness or pain somewhere that we don’t understand what it is. We start thinking, we are bewitched.” (Maria)

Moloto confirms the point made by Maria above when she expressed her beliefs on witchcraft and said:

“...people in this area are jealous when it comes to money... they don’t want others to succeed. You will get bewitched; people will make you go crazy. You won’t even enjoy your money. I know someone who died with 7 million in his bank. The man was always robbed, hijacked and everything until he fell sick. His finger had turned green until he died, that was a horrible death.” (Moloto)

Rodach (as cited in Forsyth, 2016:337) argued that witchcraft beliefs and practices have become dynamic and widespread through the influence of mass media. Social Cognitive Theory suggests that the media portrays a series of violent incidents that may influence people’s thinking (discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.2). For instance, vigilante or revenge films, and media reports on witch-hunt killings further exacerbate mob justice incidents.

In the focus groups, Jane (30 years old) revealed how she believes the child who was murdered in their community was muti-related, and her statement is highlighted below:

“They took her body parts...they used them for muti purposes, probably so that we listen to everything our Chief says without any questions.” (Jane)

Thabiso (23 years old) and Tshepang (48 years old) further highlighted the notion of witchcraft and the so-called ‘*tokoloshe*’ or ‘*zombie*’ (meaning ‘*dead people controlled by a witch to perform tasks for them*’). The participants reported the belief that some witches keep these tokoloshes’ (referred to as ‘*Josefana*’ in their village) to sustain their wealth. This is evident in the responses below:

“In our village, we don’t believe that a person can get rich quickly without working hard for it. We believe that when a person is wealthy, obviously they have a ‘Josefana’ in their house that is making them rich.” (Thabiso)

“Sometimes you will notice that a person has a big house, but you will never see children playing outside. The house is always quiet, like nobody lives there. There are many houses like that in this village. From what I heard about such things, it could be there is a zombie in the house that prevents you from having children or it sleeps with the owner in order to make them wealthy. So, you must always keep it happy by obeying its commands, if you don’t it either kills or destroys you.” (Tshepang)

The statement from Tshepang can be confirmed by Adzimah-Alade (2018:83) who argued that people with the unexplained or sudden acquisition of wealth or success, after extreme poverty or wretchedness tend to be branded as witches. According to Ally (2015:28), the notion of zombies or tokoloshe, perceived to be created by witches is a widespread belief in South Africa. This is because witchcraft is believed to represent misfortunes. In this case, tokoloshe is sent by witches to create misfortune, like, illness, accidents, and death (Ally, 2015:28-29). Baloyi (2015:4) however, seeks to criticise this notion of beliefs by arguing that in some situations people who want to deal with their enemies may spread false rumours (labelling a person as a witch), instigating the mob to attack that person.

5.6.3 Vengeful behaviour- ‘teaching one a lesson’

The study found that nine of fourteen of the participants perceive mob justice attacks as a kind of retaliation towards the perceived perpetrator. The perpetrators refer to this vengeful behaviour as ‘teaching one a lesson.’ As such, some of the perpetrators below expressed their views on their reaction towards perpetrators of crime in their village:

“A man accused of witchcraft was stoned to death. Apparently, he used to go to people’s houses and sleep with the women there, using witchcraft. The community got fed up...”
(Zacharia)

Lorraine revealed how she and her family members had to retaliate and attack their victims due to fear that they might kill their whole family. This is evident in the statement below:

“We had to kill them. It was either them or us. They would have finished the whole family if we did not retaliate, we had to avenge our father and brother decided to teach him a lesson.” (Lorraine)

In the focus groups, Portia indicated that: *“when we attacked that teacher and burned her alive on that day, we avenged our brother, our community member.”* Feenan (2018:5) confirms that it is anger and frustration that leads people to mob justice activities. Kruccken et al. (2018:336) emphasise that anger and frustration emerge from emotions of vengeance. Furthermore, the emotions emerge from the desire to inflict harm or injury on the perceived perpetrator.

Jane revealed how she attempted to seek vengeance and succeeded when her best friend was murdered.

*“They killed my best friend. I was so hurt that I even told them before the incident that I will not rest until they kill someone. An eye for an eye ...you know? I wanted her to die like she killed my friend. I was so heartbroken. I did not sleep at night thinking about how to get revenge because I knew who it was. So, when I was busy sleeping, one of the community leaders called. He told me that ‘remember you told me you will only wake up when decide to take revenge for our **friend**’ [quoted as mentioned by the community leader] and then I said yes. He said: ‘wake up, they have found her, and she is getting killed today, come.’ (Jane)*

Mann (2005:29-30) describes such perpetrators as ideological perpetrators who tend to assume the identity of the victim, while at the same time attempting to justify their actions as a form of self-defence (discussed in chapter 2, section 2.8.2.1). Bangstad (cited in Petrus, 2015:29) confirms this statement by highlighting that lack of trust in the criminal justice system has created an environment where community residents legitimise violence as a self-defence mechanism.

In Chapter 3 section 3.3.3, the study attempted to address the following questions: what triggers individuals into being in a crowd and therefore deciding to act violently? These questions seem to be answered by the participants above, who indicated that they were victims of a crime before they decided to participate in mob justice incidents. Hence Deindividuation Theory emphasises that an individual with increased self-awareness can gain control of his/her behaviour. However, the increased self-awareness tends to decrease within a group setting due to vengeful desires (Diener, 1980:209).

5.6.4 Unemployment crisis

Some of the participants voiced their grievances on their desperate need for jobs. The participants reported that since they have a lack of education, there are no factories or companies that provide jobs in their village other than the mine. According to their view, working at a mine is the only solution. This is confirmed by Patricia below:

“There are no factories or companies that offer jobs in our area. We can only work at the mine, so we used to burn every truck that carried the chrome from the mine. We were angry that they don’t give us jobs...we had to do strike to send the message to them”
(Patricia)

Furthermore, Peter (49 years old) and John (30 years old) spoke about their experiences of mob justice incidents due to lack of jobs:

“Before we attacked the Chief, we asked him: why is it that they don’t hire us at the Mine? And he told us that they can only hire people at the mine when they need people. When they need people, they come to inform us we need such and such an amount of people. Then we will call you that is when you will bring your ID books. When he was busy informing us of the whole process, we didn’t even wait for him to finish speaking, we started burning everything, his cars, house.” (Peter)

The response from Peter seems to indicate that people from Diphale village do not have post-matric qualifications and therefore can only work at the Mine. These responses further confirm the demographic profile above (section 5.2.1) which indicated that the illiteracy rate in the rural areas is very high, with the majority of people having qualifications only up-to matric. John reiterated by saying:

“...we get involved in mob attacks because the Chiefs of our village do not develop the community in any way. We are poor, unemployed. We want jobs to feed our families, but they are not helping us in any way.” (John)

Poverty and limited employment opportunities are contributory factors to the vulnerability of community members (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2014:14). The issue of living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and conditions of poverty increase the chances of people engaging in violence due to persistent exposure to violent subcultures, substance abuse and peer groups. Moreover, unemployment is a severe problem in society which results in local communities being more

susceptible to engaging in mobilisations and participation in protests and demonstrations (Cilliers & Aucoin, 2016b:5).

5.6.5 Public support for mob justice activities

The study found that all perpetrators, as members of the public support mob justice activities. For instance, some of the participants indicated that they often raise funds to support community members who are perpetrators arrested for participating in mob justice incidents. This is evident in the statements provided by the participant below:

“So, after we killed and burned that mistress. Some of our community members were arrested, and we had to bail them out. If the police try to arrest us, we will burn their cars. It will be bad. If now they start arresting us for burning their cars. We will get on our buses in numbers to go and support our people.” (Zacharia)

Literature confirms that “...social acceptance of violence or tolerance is a major factor in the continued perpetuation of violence” (Mathew & Benvvenuti, 2014:29). Gradually, violence becomes generally accepted as a norm and then spreads forward from one generation to the next. The following participant indicates how using cell phones to take pictures or videos is not allowed during mob attacks.

“No one has ever dared to take pictures while we are busy attacking a criminal ...till today. That is because many people support our actions and are also involved. Even school children are there, some to watch and some to participate. We only use our phones when we want to alert others that the police are coming. Or when we have caught a criminal that is all.” (Kate)

Haas, de Keijser and Bruinsma (2012:17) attribute public support for vigilantism due to the public's lack of confidence in the criminal justice system. In addition to public support for mob justice, Feenan (2018:1-2) emphasised that the conspiracy of silence often sustains mob activities. This is also confirmed by the following participant in the focus groups:

“We never think about the police when we do such acts. Because nobody will inform the police who was there or who did what. We work as a community. We all have the same problems.... there is so many of us who will deny such claims. There won't be any witnesses.” (Jane)

The responses from the participants indicate that the majority of the participants support mob justice incidents. This means that the police will fail to investigate incidents of mob justice properly. Mohammed (2015:2) emphasised that lack of willingness by the public to report crime remains a powerful disadvantage for the police to investigate crime properly. While Lancaster (cited in Petersen, 2018:3) highlighted that “...people will only report crimes if they feel that the police will solve these cases and arrest the perpetrators”. However, the poor conviction rate is a major contributing factor to community residents, not reporting a crime to the police. Hence, the community residents emotionally resort to mob justice tactics (Paschke as cited in Singh, 2009:11).

5.6.6 Perceptions of victims regarding the criminal justice system’s response

The victim participants were asked about their views regarding the criminal justice system’s response, particularly the police, when the mob attacked them. These are illustrated in the responses below:

“At first, we were scared and thought of running away with our families, but we were comforted when the police came and arrested them. They burned our homes on Monday and then Tuesday...you know when a person commits a crime, they usually do it at night. You will never see them during the day. So, they arrested them Wednesday night. I liked the fact that they were arrested, and that is why I am more willing to become a witness at the court. Because the way they were beating me up, I was just lucky I survived because of God’s mercy.” (Melita)

“Yes, the police did intervene, when they took me to the cemetery, I don’t know what they were going to do to me. Fortunately, the police came and shot rubber bullets at them, that is when they all ran away. Afterwards, some of them were arrested, but except for their leaders. Hence, I withdrew my charges at the police station because I knew that they were only following their leaders’ instructions but, yet they are still roaming freely.” (Nancy)

“Before the incident, the police patrolled our house since they have learnt that there was an attempt on the Chief’s life. But they didn’t patrol for much longer because as soon as they left, the community came and attacked us.” (Petrus)

Although the participants expressed that they liked intervention from the police as some of the perpetrators were arrested, they also expressed sadness in the fact that the perpetrators were later released on bail, while the leaders of the mob justice

incidents were never arrested. As a result, some of them were attacked again by the mob. Sulemana (2015:853) confirms that police performance, neighbourhood problems and perceptions about crime in the community raise an individual's fear of re-victimisation.

Cooper–knock and Owen (2015:359) concur that people have become accustomed to the injustices and ineffectiveness of the justice system, which has created a wary suspicion that perpetrators will not be punished swiftly. This creates fear and insecurity amongst victims of crime due to the realisation that the perpetrator has not been punished. This is further confirmed by Gould et al., (2017:7) who argue that the NPA tends to neglect cases that are difficult to solve which may result in victims becoming dissatisfied with the response from the police. Hence, Social disorganisation theory emphasises that social ties and satisfaction with the criminal justice system are essential mechanisms to prevent social disorganisation in communities.

5.7 MODUS OPERANDI

The perpetrator participants identified various methods that they used to attack or kill their victims. For instance, the majority of the participants (ten of fourteen) indicated that stoning, beating with fists, bricks, and sticks, kicking the victim, and burning were frequent methods used in executing mob justice. A few (three of fourteen) indicated that looting before burning was used to attack their victims. The participants further indicated that all the victims who suffered burns and shooting did not survive the attacks. These statements can be confirmed from the responses made by the participants below:

“We opened the petrol tank at the station and poured the petrol in huge tanks, we took everything belonging to the Indian supermarkets. All the big tanks were put in Bakkies. We then went to the Chief's houses and burned them as well as their shops, offices, everything that belongs to them.” (Moloto)

The statement above indicates elements of frustration during mob justice attacks which sometimes lead to reverse racism or xenophobia. For instance, the looting of foreign shops by protesting residents indicates that tensions and anger may lead to the suffering of innocent people. Furthermore, the statement above can be familiarised with an incident in Pretoria CBD when a suspected drug smuggler shot

a taxi driver. Protesting residents attacked and looted foreign shops despite their non-involvement in the matter (Mabuza, 2019:1).

The participants below indicated that they use petrol or petrol bombs (a bottle filled with petrol, with a cloth popping out of the bottle which is thrown by hand after being lit) to attack their victims. A 27-year-old Kate emphasised that burning their victims as well as their belongings is the ultimate way of ensuring that evidence is destroyed in the fire. This is evident in the statements below:

“We used stones and sticks, and while we were beating him, the boys went to get some petrol and burned him to death. When we burn them afterwards, we try to hide the evidence. That is why when that person has valuables with them. We burn them along with their valuables. In that way there won’t be any evidence or any trace of that person. Sometimes we make a petrol bomb and throw it at the criminal, or their house.” (Kate)

“We use petrol from their cars. We just burn a cloth and throw it in the house. Once you burn the curtains, then everything will be burned into ashes.” (Tshwarelo)

Literature confirms that perpetrators of mob justice incidents employ various methods when attacking their victims (Minnaar, 2001, Harnischfeger, 2003:24). The retaliatory acts often arise spontaneously after the victims are hunted down or caught in the act by the community members (Kucera & Mares, 2015:177). Most of the victims are beaten with stones, bricks, clubs and hacked with machetes (Adinkrah, 2005:418).

In the focus groups, the participants also indicated stoning and looting as their methods of attacks. Only one of the participants indicated that they had used a gun to kill their victims.

“So, my other brother just took the gun and shot at her for three times until she died. We shot all three of them with a gun.” (John)

A 49-year-old, Peter indicated that besides using petrol, ropes are often tied around the victim’s neck as a form of torture. In some of the incident’s petrol was drained from the victim’s car.

“We use everything that is on our site at the time, like stones. If the suspect runs to the mountains. We will beat him with stones. And when the suspect has a car, we take out the petrol in the car, set it alight and throw the criminal inside of the car. In some cases,

we use a rope, tie it around the neck and drag the suspect around the village to reveal his accomplices.” (Peter)

The methods of attacks mentioned by the participants above seem to contradict Schuld (2013:65) who only highlighted necklacing (in which a victim with a petrol-doused-tyre around the neck, is set alight to burn alive) as the “*style and symbol*” of mob justice attacks in South Africa. Schuld’s (2013:65) statement can be proven to be true since necklacing represents one of the earliest methods of mob justice, particularly in the apartheid era. However, in this study, the researcher has found that mob justice attacks solely depend on context, time, space, province, and country. For instance, stoning and petrol bombing as methods of mob attacks on victims are commonly practised at Diphale village. In addition to this, mob justice attacks in countries, such as, Russia are either carried out by hanging, lynching, or executions, while in Mexico, mob justice attacks were carried out using rifles, pistols, and machetes (discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.4.2). Stoning also represents the earliest forms of mob justice which is evident in biblical scriptures, such as, Genesis 34 and Numbers 25. Ritchey and Ruback (2017:1) perceive mob justice attacks, such as, hanging and burning the victim to death, as more inhumane and crueller than shooting the victim (Ritchey & Ruback, 2017:1).

To add to the statements above, Ward et al. (2012:216) highlighted the influence of the media in portraying significant acts of mob justice and violence in communities. Social Cognitive Theory pointed out that there is a clear connection between crime and the media (discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.3). For instance, the media plays a significant role in instigating violence through frequent reports of violent crime in communities. This means that observing acts of mob justice in the media, whereby people are killed by stoning and necklacing further instigates perpetrators to develop new methods of attacking their victims.

5.8 SECONDARY WITNESSES IN MOB JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS

The perpetrators (three of nine) indicated that children tend to be present and participate in the mob justice incidents. Peter (49 years old) reported that they had witnessed such incidents at a very young age, while John (30 years old) and Loraine

(29 years old) emphasized that children in their village are always witnessing such incidents, sometimes as bystanders or as participants.

“Yes, even the school children are always there to support us, they are used to these things. We had also seen such cases when we were young. We have seen witches being stoned and killed. We simply applying the same methods we have seen our grandfathers and mothers do.” (Peter)

Children are often exposed to violence in communities by witnessing gang rivals being killed and attacked by mob groups (Sibanda, 2014:1). Baloyi (2015:3) argues that children who witness this kind of brutal killing are often exposed to horrific scenes of blood and death.

“That is because the majority of the people support our actions. Even school children are there, some to watch and some to participate. Although we often chase them away, but you know children, they will always follow you around especially when they see that something is wrong.” (John)

“Whenever there’s a car accident or crime that has taken place in our area, the youths are the first ones to be there. Even if they are just there to be bystanders or witnesses to what is happening.” (Lorraine)

In the focus groups, a 28-year-old Portia expressed that they let children participate because they don’t have time to chase them away when there is an incident. Portia said that: *“...we don’t have time to chase the children away, during that time we will be in the concentrating on our mission... so we won’t have time to chase away the children. Besides even if we do... they will not even listen to us. They will be more curious to know where we are going as a group.”* Literature confirms that the self-experience of violence and witnessing it is a stronger predictor of attraction to violence and future criminality (Hinsberger et al., 2016:6). This is because mob justice actions further increase the normalisation of community violence as a way to solve crime issues (Lamb & Warton, 2016:33). Violence in the communities *“...transforms individuals and it becomes a touchstone of collective memory of the community and of the community’s current reality”* (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2014:7).

The following response from Zacharia also indicates children’s vulnerability to crime incidents due to lack of supervision by adults (Mathew & Benvenuti, 2014:22):

“Children also participate, but then they just go where the mob goes...when they see us marching and singing. They follow us where we go. Just to see what is happening.”
(Zacharia)

The response from the Zacharia above supports Pelsers’s (as cited in Manaliyo & Muzindutsi, 2013:121) finding that youth are at risk of engaging in crime at the ages of 15-25 due to their frequent exposure to violence. This is because violence is generally a learned behaviour that can influence individuals both culturally and socially, and thus shape the individual’s reaction to resolving conflict with violence.

Furthermore, the widespread support and acceptance of violence as appropriate, increases young people’s risk of becoming complacent (Mathews & Benvenuti, 2014:3). In Social Cognitive Theory, it is stated that children who frequently engage with delinquent peers or adults tend to develop cognitive processes and imitate behaviour that looks favourable to criminality (mentioned in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1). As a result, aggressiveness tends to increase with age when children observe aggressive behaviour from adults throughout their childhood (Schunk, 1989:149). Children who are exposed to violence tend to pick up impressionable ideas which they may perceive as acceptable. Furthermore, children may rationalise this thought process and attempt to perpetuate it themselves (Mitrofan, Paul, Weich & Spencer, 2014:4).

5.9 COLLUSION BETWEEN THE POLICE AND COMMUNITY MEMBERS

All the perpetrators indicated corruption as their leading cause of concern in their community. The perpetrators highlighted various types of corruption, like, supporting acts of mob justice, improper investigation procedures (attempting to conceal evidence), bribery and political graft (misuse of funds intended for public projects). This is evident in the responses below.

“Even the police are involved with the community chief and local counsellors in the killing of our group leader, they are all corrupt and spend the money together. Can you really handle such people who have the police on their payroll? Do you know what happened? The guns we were using the time we buried our group leader belong to the police officers. They will definitely ask them in the court, how did police guns end up in the people’s possessions? They took the guns after the burial and didn’t even wear gloves. This goes to show that they were trying to cover the fact that they are also involved and support our

actions of punishing the criminals, then it will be their fingerprints on the gun and not ours”.
(John)

A 30-year-old, John above revealed how some of their local police officers support their actions by borrowing them guns. The researcher stretched John’s response above by asking the participants (John and Patricia): *oh, there are police officers who support your mob justice actions, just like there are those who support the Chiefs and local councillors?* The responses are highlighted below:

“Yes, just like one of the police officers who had a problem with us, he is probably working with our Chief and the councillors. He is from the CID (criminal investigation department). He threatened us at the funeral and said that if he likes he can just arrest two of our community members and say that they are responsible for our group leaders’ murder. And he also said: ‘or I can even swap the gun cartridges if I like and there is nothing you can do.’ (John)

“Yes, it is mainly because he was our group leader and they are the ones opposing their actions. So, the village chief and his accomplices wanted to eliminate them because they are fighting for our rights to the money as a community. Even if our charges as a community are dropped, those corrupt police officers are all going to prison ...no questions asked. Even Julius Malema has decided to help us... so we had to join his party. We took out 10 Rands to join. We requested him to help us in sending those corrupt police officers to prison. And you know Malema is very stubborn he is definitely going to make sure they are imprisoned. They are definitely going to prison. They even told them at their stations that none of the police officers who were handling our murder case should leave until the matter is resolved.” (Patricia)

Lancaster (2019:1) points out that people tend to resolve disputes and conflicts in communities amongst themselves rather than involve authorities. This creates uncivilised environments in which there is no regard for human life and the law.

Furthermore, the increased incidents of mob attacks are clear indications that South Africa has become a hostile nation with little respect for the constitution (Baloyi, 2015:1). Hebling, Kalin and Nobirabo (2015:350) contradict this statement by arguing that conflict between the police and communities are a result of unaddressed grievances which further intensifies violence. Oomen (2004:156) links the widespread mistrust of the criminal justice system as a result of the South African’s experiences of social ills from the apartheid system. Hence, community structures

like, amongst others Mapogo-a-Mathamaga and PAGAD (discussed in detail in Chapter 2, section 2.5.2) were established to assert their methods of solving conflicts.

In the focus groups, Jane (30 years old), Andries (26 years old), Thabiso (23 years old) and Tshepang (48 years old) indicated their mistrust of the police due to bribery in the following statements:

“At first, we used to involve the police, but then we realized that our police system is all about bribery. They can only be in your side if you bribe them. They are bribed by the Chiefs and local counsellors in order to protect them from community. Then we had to do everything on our own without involving the police.” (Jane)

“They don’t help our community in any way. We don’t have pavements, we don’t have water, Apollo lights, and as a result there is too much crime on our streets. Even the people from the mine wanted to develop our community because the Mine is occupying land that belongs to our community. So, they give money to our Chiefs to develop our community, but they use the money for their own benefit.” (Andries)

“No, our police officers are too corrupt to help out, sometimes you would even find out they are working with the criminals.” (Thabiso)

“Even corruption. That is our main worry in our village? These people spent the money meant to develop the community for their own benefits. They never assist our community in any way. They have even managed to bribe some of the police officers, they are always in their favour.” (Tshepang)

Martin (2012:225) confirms this fact by emphasising that dysfunctional relationship between community residents and the police damage any notions of trust which increases the risk of crime because residents are less likely to report a crime to the police. This is further confirmed by the Social Disorganisation Theory - high levels of crime tend to undermine the effectiveness of the criminal justice system and therefore, weaken relationships between the justice system and community residents (Manaliyo & Muzindutsi, 2013:121).

Contrary to the views by the participants above, Tshwarelo instead perceives the mob leaders in the community as corrupt and emphasised that:

“The mob leaders just get people from the community to strike for jobs at the mine, because they know that the Managers will panic. Then the Managers will bribe them to get the community to stop the strikes. They often settle for about R 100, 000 depending on the situation. Then these leaders share it amongst themselves without including the community members. This goes to show that they are corrupt.” (Tshwarelo)

The responses from the participants above indicate that corruption is the leading cause of mob justice attacks at Diphale village. The perception that the police and their village chiefs are corrupt creates a feeling of mistrust and dissatisfaction with the criminal justice system. According to Maele (2018:84), poor service delivery, perceived weakness by the justice system and corruption are the main contributory factors to mob justice incidents. These actions leave community members frustrated by the lack of service delivery and corruption by the criminal justice system (Singh, 2009:10).

5.10 PLIGHT OF COMMUNITY RESIDENTS

Various participants complained about how their local chiefs and councillors misuse money that is meant to develop their community for their expenses. For instance, Peter emphasised that:

“We are busy fighting for our community so that our local chiefs and councillors could build bridges and schools with the money they get them from the mine, because the mine is using our land. In all those years that they were meant to have helped us, they have done nothing for the community, except murder our children for Muti so that they can get even richer and control us.” (Peter)

In this case, violence is perceived as a tool used by community members to voice the grievances of the voiceless (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2014:14). In the focus groups, Loraine and Kate expressed how their children are affected by the lack of basic needs in their village. This is evident in the responses below:

“We want jobs, water, tar roads, streetlights, building of schools for our children but none of those things are happening. Our children have to go miles away to fetch water after school when they are supposed to be writing their homework’s. How do we expect them to do better at school if they have those kinds of responsibilities?” (Loraine)

“We have to go miles away to get water. Imagine our children have to come back to school, go and fetch water, when will they write their homework. They also have to wait in long queues just to get water. By the time they get back it will be late.” (Kate)

Van der Westhuizen and Swart (2015:738) highlight that prevailing conditions of poor service delivery generally contribute to structural factors, such as, poverty, inequality, and unemployment. These conditions lead to an increase in crimes, such as, robbery and theft (Chalya, Ngayomela, Rambau, Kahima, Kapesa & Ngallaba, 2015:6). In addition, lack of basic infrastructures, such as, tarred roads, water and streetlights, and a desperate need for jobs were highlighted by the perpetrators. In the focus groups, the perpetrators felt that the lack of street lighting, unemployment and poverty leads to more crime in the area. Since a lot of these crimes are committed at night, it makes it difficult for the police to investigate. The participant’s responses are indicated below:

“They don’t help our community, there are no pavements, we don’t have water, or Apollo lights, and as a result there is too much crime on our streets. Just a few weeks ago, an important member of our group was raped at night ... just next to her street. The lady was coming from a night shift when three men just approached her with a knife and raped her on the street [perpetrator expresses disbelief], imagine. She couldn’t see the perpetrators very well due to the darkness.” (Tshwarelo)

“Most of the crimes in our area are committed at night. We always find people dead in the morning. Like the death of our community leader, he was shot in the middle of night while he was walking home from a tavern. His body was only removed in the morning from the crime scene.” (Maria)

These responses represent the participants wider feelings of insecurity and the fear of crime. The fact that there are no streetlights in their village leads to the fear of walking at night as well as fear for family members who work night shifts. Singh (2009:17) provided a good argument when he stated that the environmental design (no streetlights or proper roads) of some rural areas or informal settlements remain powerful disadvantages for the police to patrol such areas. This creates feelings of insecurity as fear generally rules daily life (Doran & Burgess, 2012:31). These authors further link the fear of crime to social disorganisation. Social Disorganisation Theory confirms that community structures, such as, poverty, unemployment and

lack of infrastructure affect the community's social order which leads to crime and fear (Bursik,1988:535) (discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.4.3).

5.11 PREVENTATIVE MEASURES ACCORDING TO THE PERPETRATORS

In the case of preventative measures pertaining to mob justice related incidents, Zacharia and Loraine recommended that the police should adopt strategies to prevent crime and corruption in their community. The participants further recommended that there should be the development of infrastructure in their community. This is evident in the responses below:

“As for measures that could be used to prevent crime in our area, or any mob justice attacks, the police should do their work, there should be streetlights and tar roads. The Chiefs should develop our community in such a way that people will not feel the need to commit crimes.” (Zacharia)

“The root cause of the matter is crime and corruption. If the police can address these issues, then there won't be the need to take the law into our own hands. The justice system is disappointing us, they arrest criminals and release them in just a week. How do they expect us to be safe? We can't just sit and watch our community being terrorised while waiting for them to finish with their investigations.” (Loraine)

The responses above indicate that the community residents undermine measures taken by the police to address crime. Furthermore, the participants believe the root causes of crime in their communities is corruption by the local authorities who misuse money meant for the community's development. This results in distrust in the local authorities' capability to effectively meet their demand as community members. Other factors contributing to mistrust is the easy bail conditions and the prolonged investigations from the criminal justice system. Singh (2009:47) pointed out that various attempts by the government in their initiative to promote community partnerships have failed due to the public's lack of trust in the police. This is because communities perceive their methods of policing as a last resort.

In the focus groups, Jane recommended that the police should fairly investigate all crimes, including those involving witchcraft allegations. This is illustrated in the response below:

“The police should make thorough investigations. In our case, it was difficult because, although the police are aware that witchcraft practices are real, they never attempt to investigate such matters. Because it is all about having the evidence. There are many incidents of witchcraft in our area, but the police tend to ignore such cases, which is why you cannot report such people. In our case we have seen it with our own eyes, we have witnessed it, but nobody will believe you if tell them what happened. No matter how strange it may sound, they won’t because they have never seen or experienced it. The police should just investigate whether it is witchcraft or some petty crime. They should give us as a community the hope that criminals will be punished deservingly. They should stop the corruption, taking bribes from our Chiefs so that they are above the law and cannot be touched when they commit crimes. All we want is justice to be served.” (Jane)

The response from Jane indicates that people anxiously believe in the existence of witchcraft. Although the African culture is bombarded with perceptions and beliefs of witchcraft, it remains a challenge for some people to determine whether the practice exists. Hence, Baloyi (2015:6) pointed out that whether witchcraft is real or not, or just a figment of people’s imagination, it should still be taken into consideration. Maboea (2002:19) however, argued that since witches are believed to possess supernatural powers, one can think that only traditional healers, sangomas or prophets can interpret or avert the situation.

In addition, Portia (28 years old), concurred with the other participants and recommended that their village chiefs and the police should stop corruption and assist in developing their village. The response is highlighted below:

“As long as the Chiefs in our villages listen to our demands and stop robbing us of the money meant to develop our community. We need jobs in order to feed our children, we need the crimes to stop. We want to see results. By letting off criminal easily, only makes us angry and you don’t want to see us angry as a community.” (Portia)

Social disorganisation theorists, like, Warner, Beck and Ohmer (2010:360) posit that it is important for community members to have common values and norms in order to promote togetherness. When these values and norms are shared, residents will have the responsibility to enforce and strengthen those norms which will contribute to safer communities (also mentioned in Chapter 3, section 3.4.1.1.2). These shared values and norms can be strengthened through community and police collaboration (Wilson & Kelling, 1982:32).

5.11.1 Mob groups perceived initiative

The perpetrators further highlighted how they believe their methods of punishing criminals will prevent crime in their community. This is illustrated in the responses below:

“We cannot assist the police in catching criminals because some of them come from other villages. The criminals are taking advantage of the fact that we cannot recognise them and do their crimes without wearing any masks. In a way we are helping the police, it’s just that they don’t want to admit it. We only found out later from the police themselves that the robbers we had just killed were on the ‘wanted list’ for weeks by the police for a series of robberies and murders in different communities”. (Zacharia)

“We feel that our community will be liberated against crime and corruption. When people see what we do to people who terrorise our community, they will have a fear of being burned alive and killed. We realised that the only way to be safe is by killing these criminals and stopping corruption. So that was the beginning of two groups with the same initiative, to stop crime and corruption in our communities.” (Lorraine)

“We community members have the same goal, and that is to protect our community against people who terrorise it. To do what the police fails to do, and that is punish offenders severely that nobody will think of committing crime ever again in our village.” (John)

Kucera and Mares (2015:176) concur that the mob groups initiatives are aimed at preventing crime by punishing criminals. Social Disorganisation Theory links this kind of initiative to informal social controls. The premise behind informal social controls is that community residents should maintain social order by engaging and working together towards preventing crime (Silver & Miller, 2004:553). Benson (1989:465), however, seeks to critique these informal social controls by stating that they apply sanctions that include corporal punishment and condemnation of suspected perpetrators that is not specified by law. This is because these informal social controls tend to use violence that includes torture, and physical injury which often results in the death of the victim, which is deemed illegal by law.

5.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter analysed information obtained from the participants using thematic analysis and subjected the information to the existing literature on the topic. The chapter used both individual and focus group interviews to explore how victims and perpetrators make sense of their experiences by telling their stories in mob justice related incidents. From the findings discussed in this chapter, it became clear that both the victims and perpetrators had the opportunity to reflect on their circumstances in recalling significant episodes in their life experiences. In this regard, both the victim and perpetrator participants gave detailed description of their experiences in mob justice related incidents.

The findings indicate that victims suffer psychological and emotional trauma due to mob justice activities, while the perpetrators are concerned about the high levels of crime in their community. For instance, the victim participants indicated issues of assault, damage of property with some misplaced due to mob justice. The perpetrator participants indicated dissatisfaction with the police due to their inability to solve crime in their community. The victim participants further mentioned that they perceive mob justice actions as rather cruel and inhumane, while the perpetrators view their actions as necessary to curb crime. Most importantly, recommendations were raised by the participants who indicated that thorough investigations should be undertaken by the police and the criminal justice system to prevent mob justice incidents.

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to provide conclusions and recommendations based on the findings that were drawn from the study. Firstly, the chapter will discuss the achievement of aims and objectives formulated in the study. Moreover, recommendations aimed at the prevention of mob justice related incidents will be discussed. Lastly, the study will offer recommendations for future research regarding the study.

6.2 CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The focus of this study was guided by the following aims and objectives that were relevant to the study:

6.2.1 To examine the narrative accounts and experiences of perpetrators and victim's involvement in mob justice incidents in the Diphale Village

This aim was achieved by conducting face-face /one-on-one semi-structured and focus groups interviews in which the victims and perpetrators narrated their experiences of mob justice incidents. The study utilised a qualitative and case study approach in order to obtain more depth- information from both the victims and perpetrators. This aim was met by using the biographical details of both the victims and perpetrators, which included their age, gender, marital status, employment status, as well as their race and ethnicity. This detailed information assisted in finding out that the majority of the perpetrators (thirteen of fourteen were single, unemployed and between the ages of 23-76 years. Three of six of the victims were married and between the ages of 45 and 65 years. Only one victim indicated that they were widowed, while two were single. Furthermore, the study found that most of the perpetrators (eight of fourteen) were females. Although some studies reported males to be the majority of participants in mob justice incidents, this study found females at Diphale village to be in the majority. The perpetrator participants narrated on

how they have participated in mob justice incidents and the circumstances for their participation. In essence, the participants indicated on issues of crime and corruption (which will be discussed in detail below). The study found a detailed information on the roles of perpetrators in mob justice related incidents as well as their experiences. Victims of mob justice incidents also narrated on their experiences of mob justice incidents and indicated on how they were attacked by the mob. The victim participants highlighted on traumatic experiences that they were subjected to when they were attacked by the mob. The study also found that there were secondary victims, like family members of the victims, who were subjected to mob justice incidents.

Furthermore, in order to further address the aim, the following objectives were achieved in this study.

→ **Objective 1:** To examine the antecedents of mob justice in the Diphale village

Based on the research findings, the study concluded that corruption, lack of employment opportunities and crime were the root causes of mob justice at Diphale village. This aim was achieved by applying theoretical overviews, such as, Social Disorganisation Theory which emphasised the relationship between crime and the community. Based on the responses from the participants, it was clear that the Diphale community was characterised by diverse types of structural conditions that had to be met. Five perpetrators highlighted structural factors, such as, lack of water and housing. For instance, the fact that they had to share water from communal taps that are miles away from their places of residence and while some of them live in small shacks that do not accommodate all the family members.

In addition, the participants (Zacharia, Loraine, Tshwarelo and John) further indicated concerns about the lack of development in their village which is perceived as the responsibility of the local authorities, like, the chief of the village and the councillors. The participants revealed various forms of corruption by the local authorities such as misuse of public funds and employing outsiders from other provinces at the Mine, which is meant to assist members of that community. Hence Social Disorganisation Theory emphasised this fact by highlighting negative characteristics in the community as the main cause of violence and crime (see

chapter 3, section 3.4.1). The study further discovered that there is a lack of trust and miscommunication between the chief of the village and the community members. As a result, community members in this village pursue their methods of ensuring that their needs are met without involving the local authorities.

In light of the above antecedents, the study further discovered various forms of motivations for mob justice related incidents. Most of the perpetrators (ten of fourteen) highlighted motivations, such as, high crime rates which included robbery, rape, and muti-murder. The perpetrators also reported a series of witchcraft incidents. In addition to this, incidents of xenophobia in which shops belonging to foreign nationals were attacked and looted were also reported. These motivations

seem to indicate that the Diphale village is overwhelmed by distinct types of violence which fuels mob justice tendencies. All these circumstances mentioned above are the root causes of mob justice in the Diphale Village. This indicates that the first objective was achieved successfully.

→ **Objective 2:** To investigate the role and experiences of victims and perpetrators of mob justice in this community

➤ **Experiences of victims**

The victim participants in this study reported on the sufferings and griefs that they were subjected to when they were attacked by the mob. For instance, Petrus and Sekgoila reported on how the mob nearly attacked and killed their wives and children. Petrus expressed on how his children were nearly killed when the mob threw stones in the house while his children were sleeping. These findings indicate that during mob violent attacks, secondary victims, such as, family members are also at risk of being attacked. The participants revealed on how they had to relocate when their houses were burned to ashes. In this case, the participants had to relocate to another village for 3 months until the people who attacked them were arrested. Petrus expressed on how his children had to skip school and go for counselling because of the trauma they had experienced when they were attacked. In view of the above findings, the study discovered that victims of mob justice related incidents at the Diphale village experienced a series of traumatic incidents.

Sekgoila, on the other hand, indicated on how his cars and a double storied house were burned down by the mob. He also expressed on his traumatic experiences when he was nearly thrown on a burning tank while he was put inside a sack. These incidents reveal the inhumane actions that victims are subjected to in mob justice incidents. Such experiences leave long-term effects, such as, post-traumatic stress, anxiety, frustrations and feelings of revenge on the victims. For example, the victim and his wife highlighted on a series of events where they felt unsafe and experienced nightmares during the night. This also indicates how mob justice incidents disrupts the livelihoods of victims. For instance, victims may suffer discriminations and stigmatization, for example being labelled a witch or a criminal. Hence, some of the victims are forced to relocate in order to avoid feelings of humiliation and discrimination. The victim participants further indicated on how they perceive people who participate in mob justice as cruel and inhumane. And that their participation in mob justice incidents makes them criminals as well. This is because perpetrators often employ violent methods in their actions, with some looting the victim's houses before they are burned. Looting in this case raises questions on whether the perpetrators are perhaps burglars or displaying acts of poverty. The study perceives such methods as the perpetrators' ways of demonstrating their frustrations with the government for lack of proper service delivery. Hence, some of the victims indicated that in their village, people have misconceptions about being wealthy. In such cases, they label you as a witch or that you have a Zombie that makes you become wealthy. Such misconceptions exacerbate mob justice related incidents at the Diphale village as income inequality widens.

Some of the participants (like Rosina and Sekgoila) were dismayed on finding out that some of the perpetrators who attacked them were their relatives. Hence, they were reluctant to report their relatives to the police and did not press any charges against them. While some of the victims indicated that they had dropped the charges of those who were arrested. Although the victims were satisfied with the police for arresting some of the perpetrators, they were later disappointed when the perpetrators that were released from prison attacked other people in their village. As a result, victims' perception of the police was that they felt that the criminal justice system was inefficient. In this case, one of the victims (Petrus) expressed that, should he be

attacked again, he would rather retaliate. This view indicates that mob justice incidents in this village will persist if not addressed effectively.

➤ **Experiences of perpetrators**

The findings of this research seem to indicate that violence plays a crucial role in the manifestation of mob justice. As mentioned above, the study discovered that violence at the Diphale village manifests into several types of crimes, such as, mob attacks, murders, destruction of property, looting and displacement. The perpetrators revealed that mob justice attacks are their primary method of restoring order in their community. For instance, Zacharia and Jane indicated that they participate in mob justice in order to teach their victims a lesson. The perpetrators further expressed their feelings of desire for revenge. As a result, they participated in mob justice incidents in order to seek revenge against their victims.

A 29-year-old Loraine however, indicated that she participated in mob justice due to fear that all her loved ones will be murdered by the victims (since three had already been murdered). The participants revealed that they used stones, fists, bricks, sticks, ropes, and petrol (for burning) when attacking their victims. Only one perpetrator (Loraine) indicated that they used guns to kill their victims. While a 27-year-old Kate revealed that the reason they decide to burn their victims is to conceal evidence and to make sure the victims are dead. In this case, the evidence is concealed by burning valuables belonging to the victim and destroying the weapons they used to attack the victims in the fire.

Moreover, the study found that perpetrators of mob justice incidents are ruled by rage and frustration when participating in mob attacks. Hence, they lack remorse for their victims during the attacks. This finding is supported by Social Cognitive and Deindividuation Theory which was applied in the study to determine circumstances that lead to participation in mob justice incidents. The study discovered that people at Diphale village participate in mob justice related incidents due to the following circumstances: firstly, the desire for revenge cause perpetrators to act irrationally and to lack accountability. Secondly, basic needs that are not adequately addressed by local authorities generally lead to frustration and anger. Thirdly, pressures from the environment mirror perpetrators' consciousness of their moral standards. Fourthly,

the thrill of being in a crowd leads to the adoption of the behaviour of that crowd which paralyses the perpetrator's self-awareness. Lastly, feelings of anonymity when in a collective mob gives perpetrators feelings of impunity.

The circumstances mentioned above indicates that when people are overwhelmed with the desire for revenge, they tend to remain focused on their task to punish their perceived perpetrators. These kinds of individuals may be victims of crime or only an individual who feels that they have been wronged and need to get justice. Poor service delivery, such as, water, housing and sanitation leads people to mistrust local authorities and the government which creates feelings of anger and frustration. Such individuals, when afforded with the opportunity, take out their frustrations on victims without proper investigations. In addition to this, the environment places individuals who suffer relative deprivation, unemployment, and social inequality under pressure. Such pressures from the environment lead to tensions, and when these tensions are not correctly addressed, people tend to lose their sense of morality and awareness. The study further discovered that some of the perpetrators participate in mob justice incidents for the thrill of being in a crowd, while doing injustice. For instance, Jane and Portia revealed how they only participate in mob justice incidents when they are in a group. Portia further revealed that when she finds the mob attacking a victim, she also participates without enquiring about the incident. Moreover, individuals tend to feel a sense of anonymity when in a crowd which increases their lack of accountability for the actions. The study found that perpetrators of mob justice tend to justify their methods by blaming the victim and the police which indicates a lack of accountability.

→ **Objective 3:** to determine preventative measures to reduce future mob justice activities in this community

The perpetrators recommended that the government should develop strategies to prevent corruption by police officers and the local authorities. The perpetrators further highlighted that the following conditions should be addressed to reduce mob justice activities in their village: lack of access to water and electricity (coupled with no streetlights); insufficient tarred roads; poverty and unemployment, corruption, and bribery. Jane reported how the police should be thorough in their investigations and respond quickly when a crime has been committed. The fact the police take longer

to respond increases community mistrust in the police. Some of the perpetrators revealed how they believe mob justice attacks are more effective in reducing crime than the methods employed by the police. This aim was further achieved by providing recommendations which follow hereunder.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

6.3.1 Recommendations according to the perpetrators

Based on the comments above (objective 3), the South African Water Research Commission (2012:1) linked scarcity of water in the communities to civil unrest. Corruption Watch (2014:1) reported that corruption is the leading cause of people lacking access to water and sanitation. Baker (2002:160) however, emphasised that community residents' value the immediacy of mob justice attacks as opposed to the slow procedural processes of the police that examine the evidence of guilt. In light of the views from the participants above, the study discovered the following notable recommendations as highlighted by the perpetrators:

- The government and the local authorities need to address the grievances of residents in order to curb mob justice related incidents in the village. This should be done by engaging in meetings with the community members in order to attend to their grievances and ways in which to improve or develop the community. The police along with the community residents should implement strategies that can assist in curbing crime in order to prevent future mob justice activities.
- Makofane and Gray (2007:202) stated that the struggle of power between traditional leaders and political authorities challenge the impact of social cohesion in rural communities which impedes development. It is also vital for the village chiefs to take part in reporting issues that affect the community to the local councillors and the government. SAPS (2017:29) indicated that police officers should identify problem areas and engage in clean-up programmes, such as, marking of residents that feel vulnerable.
- Poor service delivery which is caused by corruption, bribery, prolonged investigations, and inadequate responses from the police should be investigated by the criminal justice system and be treated as a 'matter of urgency'.

6.3.2 Recommendations according to the study

Addressing the root causes of violence will play a crucial role in addressing forms of mob justice related incidents in South Africa. Ward et al. (2012:215) emphasised that the phenomenon of violence should be understood to develop proper interventions. Moreover, violence should be addressed through the implementation of structural approaches (like encouragement of entrepreneurship and investing in small businesses) in the reduction of unemployment which may lead to poverty (Schuld, 2013:70). Furthermore, implementation strategies on rural safety are needed in order to prevent crime in rural areas. For example, the National Rural Safety Strategy was implemented by the SAPS in 2017, to address issues of crime by ensuring good service delivery to rural communities including protection of farmers (The National Rural Safety Strategy, 2017:1), but it has not yet been effective. Hence, such strategies must be treated as a matter of urgency.

The findings in the study further proposes the need for skills development to empower the community to start their own businesses. The fact that many of the perpetrators indicated that they have qualifications up to matric indicates that they may struggle to find jobs. Campaigns like career exhibitions from Universities should be carried out to educate this community about available courses and bursaries to assist them in advancing their education. While residents who are drop-outs should be encouraged to attend Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) schools. Furthermore, residents involved in small projects, such as, farm developments should be given support and assistance in order to create job opportunities. For instance, the Department of Small Business Development should provide support and assistance to community members with small businesses in order to receive funding from the government. In addition, the following recommendations are vital to address the phenomenon of mob justice at Diphale village.

6.3.2.1 Predicting susceptible victims and perpetrators of mob justice related incidents

The police and other criminological researchers should become aware of the psychological traits and the behavioural tendencies that may cause people to become either a perpetrator or a victim. This may be done in the form of constructing a criminal

profile based on information collected from the victims and perpetrators to predict possible victims and potential perpetrators of mob justice. Hence, knowledge about the roles and experiences of victims and perpetrators will have a significant impact on the prevention of mob justice by targeting intervention strategies (such as, counselling and anger management) to reduce the likelihood of future mob activities. Awareness campaigns that involve priests in order to engage with the community on anger management and issues of forgiveness are vital to address tensions in the community. While the establishment of free service centres in the villages that involve social workers and psychologists will also assist people that have been affected by crime in order to prevent future tensions. Social workers and psychologists can assist in providing short-term support, such as, rehabilitation and support to families that have been affected by crime to prevent the desire for revenge.

6.3.2.2 Create awareness of the impact of crime on the victims and the community

The study further recommends that educational campaigns should be implemented in order to create awareness of the physical, emotional, and psychological impact of crime on victims. Social workers should also play a role in educating members of the community about the impact of crime on secondary victims. For instance, the fact that some of the victims play the role of breadwinners in the family and therefore, any injury to them affects the whole family. Such awareness must be addressed during educational campaigns. This may also assist in curbing future crimes in the community. The communities should also be informed about the consequences of committing a crime and the sentences that are served in prison for various types of crime. These campaigns will have a positive impact on other neighbouring villages or communities worldwide to abstain from mob justice activities. According to Makofane and Gray (2007:207), collaborations between social workers and community members create a positive environment and right transformation in communities.

6.3.2.3 Providing safe houses and welfare, improving infrastructure

The SAPS should become aware of the impact of proper service delivery in the communities. Furthermore, involving other stakeholders, such as, social workers, social welfare, and the Department of Justice will assist in providing safe houses,

welfare to victims of mob justice and improvement of public service delivery rather than rely more on convictions. SAPS (2017:13) highlighted issues affecting the effectiveness of policing in rural areas, such as, underdevelopment, lack of access to water, electricity, public transport systems and education. The study discovered that the Diphale community had become a high target for criminals due to poor infrastructure, such as, poor roads, lack of streetlights and inaccessibility of the police. The issues can be resolved by ensuring the proper development of the communities. The development of street names, streetlights and tar roads will assist the community in becoming more sophisticated and provide ease of patrol by police officers and CPFs.

Furthermore, the study has discovered that there is a lack of information centres, such as, libraries in the village, which limits people's capability to learn. Hence, building libraries or a library in the village will increase knowledge and awareness of the consequences of violence. The presence of libraries will encourage the youth to become more aware of the importance of learning and education. This will further assist in ensuring that the youth spend more time at the library instead of the shebeens and taverns.

6.3.2.4 Significance of collaboration by public citizens and the police

The study seeks to contribute to the public citizen and police collaboration in the prevention of mob justice incidents at Diphale village. Schuld (2013:70) emphasised that community meetings and campaigns on violence and prevention are vital structures that can be used to create awareness and assist communities in understanding the effects of violence. This means that the criminal justice system should visit communities, particularly the rural areas and inform them of the procedures of the law. This is because people from rural communities tend to be ignorant of the law due to a lack of knowledge about its procedures. For instance, concepts of the law, such as, innocent until proven guilty, bail conditions and the workings of the court are not clearly understood. This is because community residents tend to blame the police when suspects are released early from jail which leads to the public's mistrust of the police (also mentioned in chapter 5, section 5.2.1). The study found that perpetrators never report crimes to the police due to perceptions that the police are ineffective and corrupt. The statement is confirmed by

Misago (2019:1) who stated that weak relationships between the local authority and the community mean that measures to avoid tensions have not been addressed to prevent escalations of violence. Baker (2002:161) highlighted that in communities where policing is perceived to be ineffective, and corrupt; people will inevitably take the law into their own hands. This means that the community and local authorities lack 'conflict resolution mechanisms' to prevent future mob justice activities. Hence, community members should also be made aware of the role of the police and the criminal justice system in order to create a positive relationship between the police and the public. Furthermore, police intervention with the help of the CPF's (including community members and ward councillors) is also vital to prevent future mob justice activities.

The issue of concern in the rural areas is inadequate resources in police stations and lack of visible policing, which leads to the inability to solve crimes. The study recommends the presence of the police in areas that are at risk of crimes and frequent patrols in the communities in order to increase public confidence in the police.

6.3.3 Recommendations for future research

Evidence from scholars tends to report that urban cities and townships have high crime rates, which has left crimes in rural areas primarily ignored. Since there is limited academic research on rural crime in South Africa; this study proposes that research should be conducted on rural crime to address substantial crimes affecting rural communities.

Based on the smaller sample that was used in the study in the village of Diphale, the study proposes that more research be conducted that includes a bigger sample. For instance, a quantitative study on several villages of Limpopo regarding the perception of the fear of crime. More studies should further be conducted on the experiences of secondary victims of mob justice related incidents.

The study recommends that scholars or researchers attempting to research the victims should put aside any biases or prejudices, such as, any negative feelings towards victims accused of witchcraft or muti-murder. Hence, research on the influences of witchcraft in the rural areas of Limpopo will be vital to address forms of violence. Furthermore, researchers conducting a study in the rural areas should take in to account the residents' language, attitudes, values, and cultural beliefs (for

instance, the fact that some of the community members may believe in practices of witchcraft).

Based on the issues of service delivery in rural areas, a study on ethnography in the form of passive observation should be conducted to monitor the everyday life or experiences of people residing in rural communities. The ethnographic study can be done by using field notes, taking pictures and videos, and engaging with the participants to observe issues affecting their daily lives.

6.4 CONCLUSION

As mentioned above, although the sample was small due to the unavailability of victims, the aims and objectives of the study were achieved successfully. The study succeeded in gathering information about the role and experiences of perpetrators and victim's involvement in mob justice related incidents. Hence, the interviews focused on the participant's stories as direct victims and perpetrators of mob justice incidents which assisted in providing an insight into their experiences. Furthermore, theoretical overviews were applied in order to analyse and understand the phenomenon under study.

This chapter addressed the achievement of aims and objectives pertaining to the study. The chapter further analysed the findings that were discovered and conclusions that were drawn. The study discovered that violence was a noticeable risk factor affecting the Diphale community. Therefore, circumstances that lead to the cycle of violence should be addressed in order to curb future mob justice related incidents. This finding was achieved by recommending preventative measures, such as, educational or awareness campaigns, police, and community collaboration, as well as improvement of service delivery.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Abrahams, D. (2010). *A synopsis of urban violence in South Africa*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

- Abrahams, R. (1998). *Vigilante citizens: vigilantism and the state*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Academic Council on the United Nations Systems. (2018). *Femicide, state accountability and punishment*. ACUNS: Vienna Liaison Office.
- Adam, H., & Moodley, K. (2015). Mob violence sets SA xenophobia apart. Retrieved May 29, 2018, from <https://mg.co.za/article/2015-05-06-violence-sets-sa-xenophobia-apart>
- Adinkrah, M. (2005). Vigilante homicides in contemporary Ghana. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 33(5): 413-427. doi:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2005.06.008.
- Adinkrah, M. & Adhikari, P. (2014). Gendered Injustice: A Comparative Analysis of Witchcraft Beliefs and Witchcraft-Related Violence in Ghana and Nepal. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 6:314-321.
- Adinkrah, M. (2015). *Witchcraft, witches and violence in Ghana*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Adu-Gyamfi, E.(2014). Implications of mob justice practice among communities in Ghana. *Public Policy and Administration Research*, 4(7):87-96.
- Adzimah-alade, M. (2018). Vigilantism in Ghana. Examination of public attitudes and media reports. *MPhil Psychology*. Accra: University of Ghana.
- African News Agency. (2018). Six in court for links to deadly ethnic violence in North West. Retrieved September 18, 2019, from <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/north-west/six-in-court-for-links-to-deadly-ethnic-violence-in-north-west-18412397>
- Agbiboa, D. E. (2017). *National heroes or coming anarchy? Vigilante youth and the war on terror in Nigeria*. Florida: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Akers, R. L. (1990). Rational choice, deterrence and social learning theory in criminology: a path not taken. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 81(3):653-666.
- Ally, Y. (2015). "Burn the witch": The impact of fear of witchcraft on social cohesion in South Africa. *Port Elizabeth Pins* 49. Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2309-8708/2015/n49a3>

- Althaus, D., & Dudley, S. (2014). Mexico's security dilemma: Michoacán's Militias: The rise of vigilantism in Mexico and its implications going forward. Wilson Center, Mexico Institute.
- American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (5th ed.). Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association.
- Anderson, C. A., & Huesmann, L. R. (2003). *Human aggression: a social-cognitive view*. California: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Armitage, S. (2014). Russia cuts sentence for "Occupy Pedophilia" leader. Retrieved October 14, 2019, from <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/susiearmitage/russia-cuts-sentence-foroccupy-pedophilia-leader>
- Arnold, R. (2016). *Russian nationalism and ethnic violence: symbolic violence, lynching, pogrom and massacre*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Ary, D., Jacobs, L. C., Irvine, C. K., & Walker, D. (2019). *Introduction to research in education* (10th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Centage Learning.
- Axtell, C., & Parker, S. (2003). *Promoting role breadth self-efficacy through involvement, work redesign and training*. California: Sage Publications.
- Babbie, E. (2017). *The basics of social research* (7th ed.). Boston: Centage Learning.
- Bailey, M., & Tolnay, S. T. (2015). *Lynched: the victims of Southern mob violence*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Baker, B. (2002). *Taking the law into their own hands: lawless law enforcers in Africa*. Coventry: African Studies Centre, Coventry University.
- Baloyi, M. E. (2015). The Christian Church's role in the escalating mob justice system in our black townships - an African pastoral view. *HTS Theological Studies*, 71(2):1-7.
- Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Bandura, A. (2001). Social Cognitive Theory of mass communication. *Media*

Psychology (3):265-299.

Bandura, A. (2002). Exercise of human agency through collective efficacy. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*. doi:10.1111/1467-8721.00064

Bandura, A. (1999). Social Cognitive Theory: An agentic perspective. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, (2): 21-41.

Bandura, A. (2000). Exercise of human agency through collective efficacy. *Curr.Dir. Psychological Science*, 9(3): 75-78.

Bannister, B. (2013). *Secondary victim's perceptions of justice: implications for forensic psychology*. Research Online: Edith Cowan University.

Barker, G., & Ricardo, C. (2005). Young men and the construction of masculinity in sub-Saharan Africa: implications for HIV/AIDS, conflict and violence. *Social Development Working Paper*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Barnes, J. C., & Beaver, K. M. (2012). Extending research on the victim-offender overlap: evidence from a genetically informative analysis. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 27(16):321-329.

Bell, E., Bryman, A., & Harley, B. (2019). *Business research methods* (5th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bennett, S., Farrington, D. P., & Huesmann, R. L. (2005). Gender differences in crime and violence: the importance of social cognitive skills. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 10(3): 263-288.

Benson, M. L. (1989). The influence of class position on the formal and informal sanctioning of white-collar offenders. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 30(3): 465-479.

Bergin, T. (2018). *An introduction to data analysis: qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods*. London: SAGE Publications Inc.

Bertrand, J. (2008). Ethnic conflicts in Indonesia: National models, critical junctures and the timing of violence. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 8(3):425-449.

Blackwell, R. (2019). Mexico's vigilantes: violence and displacement - a photo essay. Retrieved October 14, 2019, from

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jul/02/mexico-vigilantes-violence-and-displacement-a-photo-essay>

- Blee, M. K. (1996). Becoming a racist woman in contemporary Klu Klux Klan and Neo-Nazi Groups. *Gender & Society*, 10(6): 680-702.
- Bonta, J., & Andrews, D. A. (2016). *The psychology of criminal conduct*. London & New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Botha, F. J. & Botha, A.F.J. (2015). Vigilantism in South Africa in the pre-and post-1994 periods: causes, similarities and differences. *Acta Criminologica: South African Journal of Criminology*, 28(3):16-33.
- Breitman, R. (1990). Hitler and Genghis Khan. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 25(2/3): 337-351.
- Burchard, S. M. (2014). State-sponsored vigilantism in Nigeria and the fight against Boko Haram. Retrieved September 2019, from <https://www.ida.org/~media/Corporate/Files/Publications/AfricaWatch/africa-watch-may-01-2014-vol4.ashx>
- Burke, H. R. (2009). *An introduction to criminological theory*. London & New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Bursik, R. J. (1988). Social disorganisation and theories of crime and delinquency: Problems and prospects. *Criminology*, 26(4): 519-535.
- Buur, L., & Jensen, S. (2004). Introduction: vigilantism and the policing of everyday life in South Africa. *African Studies*, 63(2): 139-152.
- Caban, D. G. (2008). Social cognitive theory in relation to media violence. Retrieved June 27, 2019, from <https://www.scribd.com/doc/23683562/Social-Cognitive-Theory-in-Relation-to-Media-Violence>
- California Coalition against Sexual Assault. (2010). Supporting lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) survivors of sexual assault: focusing on pride. Retrieved June 29, 2019, from <https://www.calcasa.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/LGBT-Part-1-UPLOAD-v2-12.29.10.pdf>.
- Cape Town ETC. (2019). Concerns as vigilante justice increases in SA. Retrieved

June 27, 2019, from <https://www.capetwonetc.com/news>

Carien, J. T. (2009). Ernesto Burning and analysis of Dutch print media coverage on the 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa. Retrieved April 13, 2019, from <https://carienjouwten.wordpress.com/essays/reporting-on-xenophobia-in-sa>.

Casey, P. (2014). Theories behind the phenomenon of mob mentality. Retrieved August 23, 2019, from <https://www.independent.ie/life/health-wellbeing/mental-health/the-theories-behind-the-phenomenon-of-mob-mentality-30782713.html>.

Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. (2008). Case studies of perpetrators of violent crimes. Retrieved May 22, 2019, from https://www.csvr.org.za/docs/study/5.Perpetrators_Violence_20_03_2008.pdf.

Chalya, P. I., Ngayomela, I. H., Rambau, P. F., Kahima, J. K., Kapesa, A., & Ngallaba, S. E. (2015). Mob justice as an emerging medico-legal, social and public health problem in North-Western Tanzania: a need for immediate action. *Tanzania Journal of Health Research*, 17(1): 1-10.

Chang, J. (2008). The role of anonymity in deindividuation behaviour: a comparison of deindividuation theory and the social identity model of deindividuation effect (SIDE). *Undergraduate Journal of Bafor University*, 6(1): 1-8.

Chaudhuri, A. (2014). Of vigilantism, mob justice and its side effects. Retrieved May 8, 2019, from <https://feminisminindia.com/2014/10/14/vigilantism-mob-justice-side-effects/>.

Chesler, P. (2010). Worldwide trends in honour killings. *Middle East Quarterly*, 17(2):3- 11.

Chevigny, P. (1996). *Law and Order? Policing in Mexico City and Kingston, Jamaica*. NACLA Report on the Americas. doi:10.1080/10714839.1999.11722861.

Chiluwa, I. (2015). Radicalist discourse: a study of the stances of Nigeria's Boko Haram and Somalia's Al Shabab on Twitter. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 10(2): 214-235. doi:10.1080/17447143.2015.1041964

- Choi, M., & Roulston, K. (2018). Qualitative interviews. In U. Flick, *The Sage handbook of data collection*. California: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Christiansen, P., & Chester, P. (1965). Reminiscences of the Socorro vigilantes. *New Mexico Historical Review*, 40(1): 23-54.
- Chukwuma, O. (2017). Nigeria: volunteer vigilantism and counter-insurgency in the North East. *Conflict Studies Quarterly* (20): 34-55.
- Cilliers, J., & Aucoin, C. (2016a). Rainbow and risk: improving South Africa's prospects. Institute for Security Studies: *Policy Brief*, 83:1-8.
- Cilliers, J., & Aucoin, C. (2016b). Economics, governance, and instability in South Africa. Institute for Security Studies: *Policy Brief*, 293:1-24.
- Clark, C. (2017). They say we are assaulting people. We say we are blessing them. Retrieved June 1, 2018, from <https://www.News24/SouthAfrica/news/they-say-we-are-assaulting-we-are-a-blessing-to-them>.
- Clark, C. (2018). South Africans are taking the law into their own hands. Retrieved October 8, 2019, from <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/11/29/south-africans-are-taking-the-law-into-their-own-hands-vigilantism-extralegal-justice-police-apartheid-anc-private-security/>.
- Colleta, N. J., & Cullen, M. L. (2000). The nexus between violent conflict, social capital and social cohesion: case studies from Cambodia and Rwanda. *Social Capital Initiative, Working Paper No 3*.
- Collins, R. (2008). *Violence: a micro-sociological theory*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Conyngham, R., Trantraal, A & Trantraal, N. (2016). *Safety justice and people's power: a companion to the O'Regan-Pikoli Commission of Inquiry into policing in Khayelitsha*. Cape Town: Ndifuna Ukwazi Publishers.
- Cooper-Knock, S. J., & Owen, O. (2015). Between vigilantism and bureaucracy: improving our understanding of police work in Nigeria and South Africa. *Theoretical Criminology*, 19(3): 355-375.

- Corruption Watch. (2014). Raising awareness: corruption fuels poor service delivery. Retrieved November 1, 2019, from <https://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/corruption-fuels-poor-service-delivery/>
- Creswell, J. (2014). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches*. California: SAGE publications.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). California: Sage Publications Inc.
- Crouch, B. A. (1984). A spirit of lawlessness: white violence, Texas blacks. *Journal of Social History, 18*(2): 1865-1868. doi:10.1353/jsh/18.2.2.217
- Crowe, M., Inder, M., & Porter, R. (2015). Conducting qualitative research: thematic and content analyses. *Australian & New Zealand Journal, 49*(7):616-623.
- Cuevas, C. A., & Rennison, C. M. (2016). *The Wiley Handbook on the psychology of violence*. Oxford: Wiley & Sons.
- Cullen, C. (2008). *Acceptance and commitment therapy (ACT): third-wave behaviour therapy*. *Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy 36* (6): 667-673.
- Daily Herald. (2019). Is mob violence out of control in South Africa? Retrieved October 14, 2019, from <https://dailyherald.co.za/2019/03/06/is-mob-violence-out-of-control-in-south-africa/>
- Daly, M., & Wilson, M. (1988). *Homicide*. New York: Aldine publishers.
- Dantzker, M. L., Hunter, R. D., & Quinn, S. T. (2018). *Research methodology for criminology and criminal justice* (4th ed.). Burlington, MA: Jones & Bartlett Learning.
- Davies, P., & Francis, P. (2018). *Doing criminological research* (3rd ed.). London: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Davies, P., Francis, P., & Greer, C. (2017). *Victims, crime and society: an introduction*. London: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Deaderick, S., & Turner, T. (1997). *Gay resistance: the hidden history*. Seattle: Red Letter Press.

- DeCamp, W., & Newby, B. (2015). From bullied to deviant: the victim-offender overlap among bullying victims. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 13(1): 3-17.
- Desforges, A. L. (1999). *Leave no one to tell the story: genocide in Rwanda*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Diener, E. (1977). Deindividuation: causes and consequences. *Social Behaviour and Personality: An International Journal*, 5(1):143-156.
- Diener, E. (1980). Deindividuation: The absence of self-awareness and self-regulation in-group members. In P. B. Paulus, *Psychology of Group Influence*. Hillsdale: L. Erlbaum.
- Diener, E., & Crandall, R. (1978). *Ethics in social and behavioural research*. Oxford: University of Chicago Press.
- Diener, E., & Wallbom, M. (1976). Effects of self-awareness on antinormative behaviour. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 10, 107-111. doi:10.1016/0092-6566(76)90088-X
- Dissel, A., & Kollapen, J. (2002). Racism and discrimination in the South African penal system. (P. R. Reconciliation, Compiler) Retrieved October 31, 2019, from <http://csvr.org.za/docs/racism/racismanddiscrimination.pdf>
- Dixon, B., & Marie-Johns, L. S. (2001). Gangs, Pagad & the State: vigilantism and revenge violence in the Western Cape. *Violence and Transition Series: Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation*.
- Dixon, R., & Roux, T. (2017). *Constitutional triumphs, constitutional dissappointments: a critical assessment of the 1996 South African Constitution's local and international influence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Doran, B., & Burgess, M. B. (2012). *Putting crime on the map: investigating perceptions of crime using geographic information systems*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Doria, N., Condran, B., Boulos, L., Maillet, D. G., Dowling, L., & Levy, A. (2018). *Sharpening the focus: differentiating between focus groups for patient engagement vs qualitative research*. Halifax: Crossmark Publishers.

- Dovidio, J. F., Hewstone, M., Glick, P., & Esses, V. M. (2010). *The SAGE Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination*. London: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Du Bois, W. E. (1998). *Black reconstruction in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Elias, N. (1996). *The Germans: power struggles and the development of habitus in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Oxford: Polity Publishers.
- Emmett, T. (2001). *Social disorganisation, social capital and violence prevention in South Africa: Child, Youth and Family Development Research Programme Report*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- eNCA. (2015). Etwatwa residents battle gangsters. Retrieved July 31, 2018, from <https://www.enca.com/south-africa/because-they-kill-without-sympathy-etwatwa-residents-battle-gangsters>
- Eysenck, M. W. (2004). Applied cognitive psychology: implications of cognitive psychology for clinical psychology and psychotherapy. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 60(4): 393-404.
- Falode, J. A. (2016). The nature of Nigeria's Boko Haram war, 2010-2015: a strategic analysis. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10(1). Retrieved October 28, 2018, from www.jstor.org/stable/26297518
- Falodun, O. K. (2015). Role of the mass media in relation to crime and deviance. Retrieved December 19, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/14573322/Role_of_The_Mass_Media_in_Relation_To_Crime_and_Deviance
- Farrington, D. P. (1998). Predictors, causes, and correlates of male youth violence. In M. Tonry, & M. Moore (Eds.), *Youth Violence*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Feenan, D. (2018). *Informal criminal justice*. Abingdon: Oxon: Routledge.
- Felson, R. B. (2009). Violence, crime and violent crime. *International Journal of Conflict Violence*, 3(1): 23-39.

- Festinger, L., Pepitone, A., & Newcomb, T. (1952). Some consequences of deindividuation in a group. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 47(2): 382-389.
- Flatt, L. (2009). Religion in the renaissance. Retrieved July 9, 2019, from <http://bit.ly/1aCvz4q>
- Flick, U. (2018). *The Sage Handbook of data collection*. London: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Foblets, M. C., & Renteln, A. D. (2009). *Multicultural jurisprudence, comparative perspectives on the cultural defence. A series published for the Onati Institute for the Sociology of Law*. Portland: Oxford University Press.
- Fokazi, S. (2015). Cape's mob justice hot-spots. Retrieved June 20, 2019, from <https://www.iol.co.za/news/capes-mob-justice-hot-spots-1927133>
- Forsyth, M. (2016). The regulation of witchcraft and sorcery practices and belief. *Regulatory Institutions Network, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National*, 77(1): 1-22.
- Franklin, C. A., & Fearn, N. E. (2008). Gender, race and formal court decision-making outcomes: chivalry/paternalism, conflict theory or gender conflict? *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 36(2): 279-290.
- Gibbs, A., Govender, K., & Jewkes, R. (2016). *An exploratory analysis of factors associated with depression in vulnerable groups of young people living in informal settlements in South Africa*. Global Public Health. doi:10.1080/17441692.2016.1214281
- Gillespie, K. (2013). The context and meaning of 'mob justice' in Khayelitsha - Report prepared for the Khayelitsha Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of police inefficiency in Khayalitsha and a breakdown in relations between the community and the police. Retrieved June 30, 2018, from <http://khayelitshacommission.org.za/images/witnesses/53.%20GILLESPIE%20Report%20>

- Glaser, C. (2005). Whistles and sjamboks: crime and policing in Soweto, 1960-1976. *South African Historical Journal*, 52(1):119-139.
- Global Health Promotion. (2012). Witch-hunting: Nepal as an example. Retrieved September 29, 2019, from <https://www.globalhealthpromotion.org/witch-hunting-elderly-women-fall-prey/>
- Global Terrorism Index. (2015). Measuring and understanding the impact of terrorism. Retrieved September 13, 2018, from <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/2015-Global-Terrorism-Index-Report.pdf>
- Gobodo-Madikizela, P. (2014). The crowd violence of vigilantism. *Report submitted to the Khayelitsha Commission*. Bloemfontein: University of Free State.
- Goi, L. (2017). Mexico police killings illustrate failures of vigilantism in Michoacan. Retrieved October 20, 2019, from <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/brief/police-killings-michoacan-mexico-failures-vigilantism/>
- Goldstein, D. M. (2003). In our own hands: lynching, justice, and the law in Bolivia. *American Ethnologist*, 30 (1): 22-43.
- Gottschalk, K. (2005). Vigilantism v. the State: a case study of the rise and fall of PAGAD 1996-2005. Pretoria: *Institute for Security Studies*.
- Gould, C., Mufumadi, D., Hsiao, C., & Amisi, M. (2017). Reducing policing in South Africa: from policing to prevention. *Policy Brief 106*, Pretoria: Institute for Security studies.
- Grabe, E. M., Trager, K. D., Lear, M., & Rauch, J. (2006). Gender in Crime News: A case study test of the chivalry hypothesis. *Mass Communication & Society*, 9(2): 137-163. doi:10.1207/s15327825mcs0902.2
- Graham-Kevan, N., Brooks, M., Willan, V. J., Lowe, M., Robinson, P., Khan, R., Stokes, R. Irving, M. Karwacka, M. & Bryce, J. (2015). Repeat victimisation, re-traumatisation and victim vulnerability. *Open Criminology Journal*, 8:36-48.
- Groff, E. R. (2015). Informal social control and crime events. *Journal of Contemporary*

- Criminal Justice*, 31(1): 90-106.
- Gross, M. (2016). Vigilante violence and "forward panic" in Johannesburg's townships. *Theory Soc*, 45: 239-263.
- Ground Up. (2017). Drugs is a fight that we will never win. Retrieved November 11, 2019, from <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-08-30-groundup-drugs-is-a-fight-that-we-will-never-win/>
- Gupta, D. (2001). *Path to collective madness: a study in social order and political pathology*. Westport: Praeger.
- Haas, N. E., de Keijser, J. W., & Bruinsma, G. (2012). Public support for vigilantism: an experimental study. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 8(4):1-27. doi:10.1007/s11292-012-9144-1
- Harnischfeger, J. (2003). The Bakassi Boys: fighting crime in Nigeria. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41(1):23-49.
- Harries, B. (2001). As for violent crime, that's our daily bread: vigilante violence during South Africa's period of transition. *Violence Transition Series*, 1 :1-102.
- Harrison, H., Birks, M., Franklin, R., & Mills, J. (2017). Case study research: foundations and methodological orientations: Forum: qualitative social research. 18(1). Retrieved December 18, 2018, from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/2655/4079>>
- Hassan, I., & Tyvoll, J. (2018). After Boko Haram: prospects for transitional justice in North-East Nigeria. *Center for Democracy and Development*, 3-19. Retrieved August, 19, 2019 from <https://www.media.africaportal.org>
- Haverkamp, R., & Kilching, M. (2017). *Victimology and victim protection: developments, trends and future prospects*. Budapest: Max Plank Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law.
- Haysom, N. (1989). Vigilantes: a contemporary form of repression. *Seminar Series No 4: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation*.

- Heale, R., & Twycross, A. (2018). What is a case study? Retrieved September 9, 2019, from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321114261_What_is_a_case_study
- Hebling, J., Kalin, W., & Nobirabo, P. (2015). Access to justice, impunity and legal pluralism in Kenya. *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*. doi:10.1080/07329113.2015.1080430
- Herbst, C. I. (2015). An investigation into the patterns and trends of injuries in community assault cases at the Tygerberg Forensic Pathology Facility over a 10-year period from 1 January 2003 to 31 December 2012. *Dissertation in Medicine*. Cape Town: University of Stellenbosch.
- Hillberg, R. (1961). *The destruction of the European Jews*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books.
- Hiller, R. M., Halligan, S. M., Tomlinson, M., Stewart, J., Skeen, S., & Christie, H. (2014). *Post-trauma coping in the context of adversity: a qualitative study of young people living in an urban Township in South Africa*. The University of Stellenbosch.
- Hinsberger, M., Sommer, J., Kaminer, D., Holtzhausen, L., Weierstall, R., Seedat, S., Elbert, T. (2016). Perpetuating the cycle of violence in South African low-income communities: attraction to violence in young men exposed to continuous threat. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*. doi:10.3402/ejpt.v7.29099
- Hoekman, M. (2014). Conceptualising the relationship between state failure and vigilantism. *International Development Studies*.
- Hoffman, K., & Morgan, D. L. (2018). Focus groups. In U. Flick, *The Sage Handbook for data collection*. London: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Hogg, M. A., & Cooper, J. (2003). *The Sage Handbook of social psychology*. California: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Holloway, I., & Galvin, K. (2016). Qualitative research in nursing and healthcare. Retrieved 14 January 2017, from <https://booksgoogle.com>
- Hove, M. (2017). When tears become a language: frictions in a xenophobic national

'imaginary'. *Journal of Transient Migration*, 1(1):112-117.

Huesmann, L. R. (1998). The role of social information processing and cognitive schema in the acquisition and maintenance of habitual aggressive behaviour. In G. R. Geen, & E. Donnerstein, *Human aggression: theories, research, and implications for social policy* (pp. 73-109). San Diego: Academic Press.

Huggins, M. K. (1991). *Vigilantism and the state in modern Latin America - essays on extra-legal violence*. New York: Praeger.

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. (2017). World Report: right trends in Pakistan. Retrieved December 19, 2019, from <http://hrcp-web.org/publication/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/State-of-Human-Rights-in-2017.pdf>

Human Rights Council of the United States. (2012). Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences. Retrieved August 23, 2019, from <https://www.A/HRC/20/16.com>

Human Rights Watch. (2014). License to harm: violence and harassment against LGBT people and activists in Russia. Retrieved June 21, 2019, from <https://www.hrw.org/report/2014/12/15/license-harm/violence-and-harassment-against-lgbt-people-and-activists-russia>

Human Rights Watch. (2019). Russia: new wave of anti-LGBT persecution. Retrieved September 30, 2019, from <https://www.hrw.org>

Hund, J., & Kotu-Rammopo, M. (1983). Justice in a South African Township: the sociology of Makgotla. *Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa*, 16(2):179-208.

Idowu, K. 2016. "Our Ex-Fighters now Serving in Army, DSS – Civilian JTF Boss." Retrieved August 2018 from <https://punchng.com/ex-fighters-now-serving-army-dss-civilian-jtf-boss/>

- Informal Service Sector Center. (2012). A study on violence due to witchcraft allegations and sexual violence. (2nd). Retrieved November 23, 2018, from <http://www.whrin.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Witchcraft-report-INSEC.pdf>
- International Crisis Group. (2013). Justice at the barrel of a gun: vigilante militias in Mexico, working to prevent conflict worldwide. Retrieved October 26, 2019, from <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/latin-america-caribbean/Mexico.aspx>
- IOL News. (2018). Six in court for links to deadly 'ethnic violence' in North West. Retrieved 14 October, 2019, from <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/six-in-court-for-links-to-ethnic-violence-in-North-West>.
- IOL News. (2000). PAGAD man's arrest ends Staggie inquest. Retrieved 14 October, 2019, from <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/pagad-mans-arrest-ends-staggie-inquest-33008>
- Irobi, E. (2005). Ethnic conflict management in Africa: a comparative study of Nigeria and South Africa. Retrieved June 23, 2019, from <https://www.beyondintractability.org>
- Jennings, G. W., & Gonzales, R. J. (2019). *Criminological and criminal justice methods: criminal justice series* (2nd ed.). New York: Walters Kluwer Publications.
- Jennings, W. G., Higgins, G. E., Tewksbury, R., Govern, A. R., & Piquero, A. R. (2010). *A longitudinal assessment of the victim-offender overlap*. Louisville: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Jewkes, Y. (2011). *Media and crime* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE publications Inc.
- Johnson, L. (1996). What is vigilantism. *British Journal of Criminology*, 36(2): 220-236.
- Johnson, R. D., & Downing, L. L. (1979). Deindividuation and valence of cues: effects on prosocial and antisocial behaviour. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37 (9):1532-1538.

- Jones, A. (2000). A case study: female infanticide. Retrieved October 15, 2018, from http://www.gendercide.org/case_infanticide.html
- Jones, J. E., & Metz, A. J. (2016). Making sense of all the worlds: analysing qualitative data. Utah: Information Science Reference publications.
- Jordaan, N. (2018). Mob justice suspected in 11 murders in North West in the past fortnight. Retrieved June 20, 2019, from <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-11-27-mob-justice-suspected-in-11-murders-in-north-west-in-past-fortnight/>
- Juzwiak, R. (2014). Inside Russia's anti-gay vigilante army, "Occupy Pedophilia". Retrieved March 23, 2019, from <https://gawker.com/inside-occupy-pedophilia-russias-largest-anti-gay-vig-1517366131>
- Kasra, M. (2017). Vigilantism, public shaming, and social media hegemony: the role of digital-networked images in humiliation and socio-political control. *Journal of the Communication Review*, 20: 172-188.
- King, N., Horrocks, C., & Brooks, J. (2019). *Interviews in qualitative research* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications Inc.
- Knox, C. (2001). The deserving victims of political violence: punishment attacks in Northern Ireland. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 1(2): 1-9.
- Kornhauser, R. (1978). *Social sources of delinquency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Krasner, S. D. (2018). Theories of development and areas of limited statehood. In A. Draude, T. A. Borzel, & T. Risse (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Governance and Limited Statehood*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kruccken, G., Mazza, C., Meyer, R. E., & Walgenbach, P. (2018). *Organising vigilante lynching: a neo-institutional perspective*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Kubrin, C. E., & Wo, J. C. (2016). *Social disorganisation theory's greatest challenge: linking structural characteristics to crime in socially disorganised communities*. New Jersey: John & Wiley Sons Inc.

- Kucera, M., & Mares, M. (2015). Vigilantism during demographic transition. *Policing and Society*, 25(2), 170-187. doi:10.1080/104394463.2013.8117997
- Kynoch, G. (2016). Apartheid's afterlives: violence, policing and the South African State. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42(1): 65-78. doi:10.1080/03057070.2016.1087167
- Lamb, G., & Warton, G. (2016). Why is crime in South Africa so violent? Updated Rapid Evidence Assessment on Violent Crime in South Africa. Cape Town: Safety and Violence Initiative.
- Lancaster, L. (2016). At the heart of discontent: measuring public violence in South Africa. Retrieved April 20, 2017, from <https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/Paper292.pdf>.
- Lancaster, L. (2019). Is mob violence out of control in South Africa? Retrieved May 16, 2019, from <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/is-mob-violence-out-of-control-in-south-africa>
- Le Bon, G. (1960). *The crowd: a study of the popular mind*. London: Ernest Benn.
- Leader, T., Mullen, B., & Abrams, D. (2007). Without mercy: the immediate group impact of group size on lynch mob atrocity. Retrieved June 28, 2019, from <https://psp.sagepub.com>
- Lilly, R. J., Cullen, F. T., & Ball, R. A. (2019). *Criminological theory: context and consequences* (7th ed.). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Lim, M., Metzler, R., & Bar-Yam, R. (2007). Global patterns formation and ethnic/cultural violence. *Science*, 317: 1540-1544.
- Limpopo Socio-Economic Review and Outlook. (2019). Socio-economic Review and Outlook. Retrieved September 8, 2019, from <https://www.limtreasury.gov.za/lim-admin-trea/pages/sites/treasurey-lim/documents/budget-statement/Limpopo%20Socio-Economic%20Review- and-%20outlook%202019-19.pdf>
- Lindenberg, S. (2015). The third speed: flexible activation and its link to self-regulation. *Rev.Behav.Econ*, 2 (1-2): 147-160.

- Little, C. B., & Sheffield, C. (1983). Frontiers and criminal justice: English private prosecution societies and American vigilantism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *Am. Social. Rev.*, 48: 796-808.
- Lombardo, R., & Lough, T. (2007). Community policing: broken windows, community building and satisfaction with the police. *The Police Journal: theory, practice and principle*, 80(2): 117-140.
- Loqani, A. (2015). A comparative exploratory analysis of vigilante occurrences in two communities in Port Elizabeth (Kwazakhele and New Brighton). *Dissertation in Social Science*. Alice: University of Fort Hare.
- Luckham, R. (2017). Whose violence, whose security? Can violence reduction and security work for poor, excluded and vulnerable people. *Peacebuilding*, 5(2), 99-117. doi:10.1080/21647259.2016.1277009
- Maboea, S. I. (2002). *The influence of life-giving power in the African traditional religion and the Zionist Churches*. Pretoria: CB Powell Bible Centre, University of South Africa.
- Mabuza, E. (2019). Police quell Pretoria protests and promise to fight criminal elements. Retrieved October 29, 2019, from <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-08-28-police-quell-pretoria-protests-and-promise-to-fight-criminal-element/>
- Madienyane, D. (2013). The effects of vigilantism on the community of Diepsloot. *Dissertation in Management Security*, Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.
- Maele, K. M. (2018). Community perceptions on vigilantism in Matome Village. *Dissertation in Criminology*, Pietersburg: University of Limpopo.
- Maguire, M., & Delahunt, B. (2017). *Doing a thematic analysis: a practical step-by-step guide for learning and teaching scholars*. Dundalk Institute of Technology. Retrieved September 16, 2018, from <https://www.ojs.aishe.org/index.php/aishe-j/article/view/335>

- Makofane, M. D., & Gray, M. A. (2007). Factors hindering the successful outcome of rural community projects. Retrieved November 10, 2019, from <https://socialwork.journals.ac.za>
- Mamdani, M. (2001). *When victims become killers: colonialism, nativism and the genocide in Rwanda*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Mamdani, M. (1997). *Citizen and subject: contemporary Africa and the legacy of the late colonialism*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Manaliyo, J. C. (2014). Townships as crime 'hot-spot' areas in Cape Town: perceived root causes of crime in Site B, Khayelitsha. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(8). Retrieved August 20, 2019 from <https://www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/mjss/article/view/2595>
- Manaliyo, J. C., & Muzindutsi, P. F. (2013). Control practices in Site B. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 4(3): 121.
- Mann, M. (2005). *The dark side of democracy: explaining ethnic cleansing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Manyaka, P. (2017). Police condemn acts of vigilantism and torching of property. Retrieved May 19, 2017, from <https://greatertubatsenews.co.za>
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. (2016). *Designing qualitative research* (6th ed.). California: SAGE publications Inc.
- Martin, J. (2012). Vigilantism and state crime in South Africa. In *Justice, Vigilantism and the State's Response*. Retrieved May, 20, 2019 from <https://www.iss.co.za/PUBS/MONOGRAPHS/No72/Chap3.html>
- Masenya, M. J. (2017). Afrophobia in South Africa: a general perspective of xenophobia. *Bangladesh Sociological Society*, 14(1):81-88.
- Mathews, S., & Benvenuti, P. (2014). *Violence against children in South Africa: Developing prevention agenda*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Matthews, R. (1992). Replacing 'broken windows': crime, incivilities and urban change.

- In R. Matthews, & J. Young, *Issues in realist criminology*. London: SAGE publications Inc.
- Mawere, M., & Marongwe, N. (2016). *Violence, politics and conflicts management in South Africa: envisioning transformation, peace and unity in the twenty-first century*. Langa: RPCIG Publishers.
- Maxfield, M. G., & Babbie, E. (2016). *Basics of research methods for criminal justice and criminology*. New York: Wadsworth Publishing.
- McDonald, R., & Crandall, C. S. (2015). *Social norms and social influence*. Kansas: Elsevier.
- Media for Justice. (2014). Victims of witch hunts in South Africa ignored. Retrieved October 20, 2019, from <https://www.mediaforjustice.net/2014/01>
- Meel, B. M. (2009). Witchcraft in Transkei Region of South Africa: Case Report 9 (1):61-64. *African Health Sciences*, Kampala: University of Walter Sisulu.
- Mertens, D. M. (2018). Ethics of qualitative data. In U. Flick, *The Sage Handbook of data collection* (p 33-48). London: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Milan, A. (2016). South Africa adopts a DIY approach. Retrieved January 23, 2017, from [https:// www.daily maverick/opinionista/2016-09-07-self- protection-and- vigilanism](https://www.daily-maverick.com/opinionista/2016-09-07-self-protection-and-vigilantism): As rule of law weakens. South African adopt a DIY approach.
- Miles, R., & Brown, M. (2003). *Racism* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Minnaar, A. (2001). The new vigilantism in post-April 1994 South Africa: crime prevention or an expression of lawlessness? *Institute for Human Rights and Criminal Justice Studies*.
- Minnaar, A. (2011). The use of informers: an essential tool to fight against crime? *Acta Criminologica*, 24(3): 83-97.
- Misago, J. P. (2019). Linking governance and xenophobic violence in contemporary South Africa. African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes. Retrieved October 31, 2019, from <https://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/linking-governance-and-xenophobic-violence-in-contemporary-south-africa/>

- Mishler, E. G. (1986). *Research interviewing, context and narrative*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Mitrofan, O., Paul, M., Weich, S., & Spencer, N. (2014). Aggression in children with behavioural/emotional difficulties: seeing aggression on television and video games. *Academic Clinical Fellow, Warwick Medical School*.
- Mohamed, H. M. (2015). Balancing perpetrator and victim's rights essential in meeting justice. Retrieved September 18, 2017, from <https://pressreader.com>
- Monaghan, R. (2008). Community-based justice in Northern Ireland and South Africa. *International Criminal Justice Review*, 18(1):83-105.
- Moncada, E. (2017). Varieties of vigilantism: conceptual discord, meaning and strategies. *Global Crime*, 18(4): 403-423. doi:10.1080/17440572.2017.1374183
- Morrison, C., & Conradie, H. (2006). Community and policing in Vaalrand. Retrieved November 7, 2019, from <http://www.unisa.ac.za/dept/Krim/crisaachieve/volume2/cher.html>.
- Mukwevho, T. (2013). Mob justice in region still continues. Retrieved June 21, 2019, from <https://Limpopomirro.co.za/articles/news/17306/2013-02-01/mob-justice/in/region-still-continues>
- Muller, N., Werner, P., & Kelcey, J. G. (2010). *Urban biodiversity and design*. London: Wiley Blackwell & Sons Inc.
- Munusamy, R. (2015). South Africa: the place of shame, violence and disconnect. Retrieved June 31, 2018, from <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-04-17-south-africa-the-place-of-shame-violence-and-disconnect/>
- Murray, M. (2018). Narrative Data. In U. Flick, *The Sage Handbook of data collection* (p. 264-278). London: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Ndenze, B. (2018). WC recorded most gang-related murders, crime stats reveal. Retrieved March 23, 2019, from <https://ewn.co.za/2018/09/12/crimestats-western-cape-recorded-808-gang-related-murders>

- Ndinda, E., & Ndlovhu, T. P. (2016). Attitudes towards foreigners in informal settlements targeted for upgrading in South Africa: a gendered perspective. *Agenda*, 30(2):131-146.
- Nel, M. (2016). Crime as punishment: a legal perspective on vigilantism in South Africa. *PhD Thesis*, Cape Town: University of Stellenbosch.
- Nelson, O., & Salawu, A. (2017). Television news coverage and xenophobic attacks on foreign Africans in South Africa: a content analysis of YouTube Videos. *Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology*, 14(1): 166-179.
- Nina, D. (1992). Popular justice in a new South Africa. From People's Courts to Community. Wits Institutional Repository. Retrieved May, 26, 2018 from <https://hdl.handle.net/10539/11814>
- Novick, P. (2000). *The Holocaust in American life*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Harcourt. O'Grady, S. (2018). *The little-known conflict in Nigeria is now deadlier than Boko Haram*. Retrieved August 1, 2019, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldview/2018/10/26-this-little-conflict-now-deadlier-than-boko-haram/>
- Olifant, K. (2015). Man dies in Joburg drug lord gunfight. Retrieved March 23, 2019, from <https://www.iol.co.za/news/man-dies-in-joburg-drug-lord-gunfight-1882372>
- Omeje, K. (2005). The Ebbesu and Bakassi Boys: African spiritism and the mythical re-rationalisation of security. In D. J. Francis (Ed.), *Civil militia: Africa's intractable security menace*. Burlington: Ashgate.
- Oomen, B. (2004). Vigilantism or alternative citizenship? The rise of Mapogo a Mathamaga. *African Studies*, 63(2): 153-171. doi:10.1080/00020180412331318751
- Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. (2018). Governments pressure Russia to act on Chechnya Abuses. Retrieved July, 7, 2019 from www.hrw.org
- Pajares, F. (2002). Overview of social cognitive theory of self-efficacy. Retrieved September 30, 2019, from <http://www.emory.edu/EDUCATION/mfp/eff.html>

- Pajares, F., Prestin, A., Chen, J. A., & Nabi, R. L. (2009). Social cognitive theory and mass media effects. In *William and Mary Scholar Works*. Emory: University of California.
- Paret, M. (2015). Violence and democracy in South Africa's community protests. *Review of African Political Economy*, 42(143): 107-123.
- Partn. Law Dev (PLD). (2014). Contemporary practices of witch-hunting: a report on social trends and the interface with law. Retrieved September 20, 2019, from <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2660070>
- Perlmutter, D. (1959). *Investigating religious terrorism and ritualistic murders*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.
- Peters, M. 1999. Affordable justice or jungle law? *Independent on Saturday*, July 8. Retrieved December 16, 2019 from <https://www.scholar.ufs.co.za>
- Petersen, T. (2018). Man accused of killing teen he thought was stealing litchis in bid for bail. Retrieved June 25, 2019, from <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/man-accused-of-killing-teen-he-thought-was-stealing-litchis-in-bid-for-bail-20181212>
- Petrus, T. S. (2015). Enemies of the state: vigilantism and street gang as symbols of resistance in South Africa. *Aggression and violent behaviour* (22): 26-32.
- Phillips, B. J. (2016). Inequality and the emergence of vigilante organisations: the case of Mexican Autodefensas. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50:1358-1389.
- Pieterse, C. (2019). Vigilantism. Retrieved September 9, 2019, from <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/vigilantism-20190304-5>.
- Pinnock, D. (2016). *Gang Town*. Tafelberg: NB Publishers.
- Piotrowski, T. (1997). *Poland's Holocaust*. McFarland & Company.
- Piper, L., & Wheeler, J. (2016). Pervasive, but not politicised. Everyday violence, local rule and party popularity in a Cape Town township. *SA Crime Quarterly*. doi:10.17159/2413-3108/2016/v0n55a154

- Piquero, A. R. (2016). *The handbook of criminological theory*. London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Pohlman, A. (2003). The demonisation of Gerwani and the repression of its members under the New Order in Indonesia. *PhD thesis*. Queensland University: Brisbane.
- Pontsho, M. (2017). Police condemn mob killings in Diphale. Retrieved May 8, 2019, from <http://greatertubatsenews.co.za/2017/04/21/police-condemned-mob-killings-in-diphale/>
- Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (1998). Deindividuation and anti-normative behaviour: a meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 123:238-259.
- Pratten, D. (2008). Introduction - the politics of protection: perspectives on vigilantism in Nigeria, Africa. *The Journal of the International African Institute*, 78(1): 1-15. doi:10.3366/E0001972008000028
- Prentice-Dunn, S., & Rogers, R. W. (1980). Effects of deindividuating situational cues and aggressive models on subjective deindividuation and aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39: 104-113.
- Pretoria News. (2017). Arsonist vigilantism. Retrieved August 5, 2019, from <https://www.pressreer.com>
- Quarles, C. (1999). *The Klu Klux Klan and related American racist and anti-semitic organisations: a history and analysis*. North Carolina: McFarland & Company.
- Ramothwala, P. (2018). Five more arrests in connection with the torching of four houses in Limpopo. Retrieved October 14, 2019, from <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-01-17-five-more-arrests-in-connection-with-torching-of-four-houses-in-limpopo/>
- Reicher, S. D. (1984). Social influence in the crowd: attitudinal and behavioural effects of deindividuation in conditions of high and low group salience. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 23 (4):341-350.

- Reicher, S. D., Spears, R., & Postmes, T. (1995). A social identity model of deindividuation phenomena. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 6 (1): 161-198.
- Rich, N. (1973). *Hitler's war: ideology, the Nazi State, and the course of the Expansion*. New York: WW Norton & Company.
- Risør, H. (2010). Twenty hanging dolls and a lynching: defacing dangerousness and enacting citizenship. *Public Culture*, 22 (3): 465-485.
- Ritchey, A. J., & Ruback, R. B. (2017). Predicting lynching atrocity: the situational norms of lynching in Georgia. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 44(5): 619-637. doi:10.1177/0146167217733075
- Rose, E. (1982). *A razor for a goat*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ross, R. R., & Fabiano, E. A. (1985). *Time to think: a cognitive model of delinquency prevention and offender rehabilitation*. New York: TN7 Institute of Social Sciences and Arts.
- Rude, D., & Kazunga, M. (1995). *Report on the femicide research: Report by country: Zambia*. Lusaka: WILDAF.
- Sadique, K., & Stanislas, P. (2016). *Religion, faith and crime: theories, identities and issues*. London: McMillan Publishers Ltd
- Salamon, S. (1997). Culture. In G. A. Gorham (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of rural America: the land and people*, 1:169-172. Santa Barbara: CA: ABC-CLIO.
- Sampson, J., & Lauritsen, J. L. (1990). Deviant lifestyles, proximity to crime, and the offender-victim link in personal violence. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 27(2), 110-139. DOI:10.1177/0022427890027002002
- Sampson, J., & Wilson, J. (1995). Towards a theory of race, crime and urban inequality. In J. Hagan, & R. D. Peterson (Eds.), *Crime and inequality*, California: Stanford University Press.
- Schnitzler, A., Dithlage, G., Kgalema, L., Maepa, T., Mofokeng, T., & Pigou, P. (2001).

- Guardian or gangster? Mapoga-a-Mathamaga: a case study. *Violence and Transition Series*, 3. Retrieved, May 22, 2019 from <https://www.csvr.org.za/papers/papvtp3.htm>
- Schuld, M. (2013). The prevalence of violence in post-conflict societies: a case study of Kwa-Zulu Natal South Africa. *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, 8(1): 60-73.
- Schunk, D. H. (1989). Self-efficacy and achievement behaviours. *Educational Psychology Review*, 1 :173-208.
- Sebola, M. P. (2017). Xenophobic attitudes against immigrants and cheap political talks: sitting time bombs and explosives in South Africa. *Bangladesh Journal of Sociology*, 14(1): 89-103.
- Sekhonyane, M., & Louw, A. (2002). *Violent justice: vigilantism and the state's response*. Michigan: Institute for security studies.
- Shaw, C. R., & McKay, H. D. (1931). *Social factors in juvenile delinquency: report on the causes of crime*, National Commission of Law Observance and Enforcement. Washington DC: Government Printing Office.
- Shreck, C. J., & Steward, E. A. (2008). *The victim-offender overlap and its implications for juvenile justice*. *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195385106.013.003
- Sibanda, M. (2014). Contextualising the right to life and the phenomenon of mob justice in South Africa. *Dissertation*, Potchefstroom: University of North-West.
- Siegel, L. (1985). *The victim-offender overlap: a preliminary report*. Albany: Hindelang Criminal Research Center.
- Siegel, L. (2003). *Criminology* (8th ed.). Wadsworth: Thompson Learning.
- Silke, A. (2003). Deindividuation, anonymity and violence: findings from Northern Ireland. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 143(4): 493-499.

- Silver, E., & Miller, L. L. (2004). Sources of informal social control in Chicago neighbourhoods. *Criminology* 42 (3): 551-583, New Jersey: Wiley Online Library.
- Silverman, D. (2016). *Qualitative research*. London: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Singh, D. (2009). Resorting to community justice when state policing fails: South Africa. *Acta Criminologica*, 8(3): 1-18.
- Skogan, W. G. (1990). *Disorder and decline: Crime and the spiral decay in American neighbourhoods*. California: University of California Press.
- Smith, S. L., & Donnerstein, E. (1998). Harmful effects of exposure to media violence: learning of aggression, emotional desensitization, and fear. In *Human aggression, theories, research, and implications of social policy* (pp. 167-202). New York: New York: Academic Press.
- South African Crime and Safety Report. (2016). Overall crime and safety situation. Retrieved April 11, 2019, from <https://www.osac.gov/Content/Report/0d450507-eb50-49f8-ad55-15f4add453e6>
- South African Institute for Race Relations. (2016). Winning the war on crime. Retrieved June 23, 2019, from <https://irr.org.za/media/media-releases/winning-the-war-on-crime/view>
- South African Law Reform Commission. (2014). The review of the Witchcraft Suppression Act 3 of 1957. Retrieved October 31, 2019, from <http://www.justice.gov.za/salrc/ipapers/ip29-prj135-Witchcraft-2014.pdf>
- South African Police Services. (2018). Annual crime report. Retrieved October 22, 2019, from <https://saps.gov.za>
- South African Police Services. (2017). National rural safety strategy. Retrieved November 19, 2019, from <https://africacheck.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Rural-Safety-Strat.pdf>

- South African Truth Reconciliation Commission. (1997). Truth commission looks at first "necklace murder". Retrieved May 8, 2019, from <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/1997/9702/s970204c.htm>
- South African Water Research Commission. (2012). Water research commission. Retrieved November 29, 2019, from <https://www.wrx.org.za>
- Stam, R., & Spence, L. (1983). *Colonialism, racism and representation: an introduction*. New York: New York University Press.
- Stavrou, V. (2011). Psychological effects of criminal and political violence on children. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Retrieved October 15, 2018, from <https://www.csvr.org.za>
- Stein, S. (2002). *Geno- and other cides: a cautionary note on knowledge accumulation. Journal of Genocide Research, 4 (1):39-63*. doi:10.1080/14623520120113892
- Stone, L. M. (2016). An eye for an eye: examining public support for vigilante behaviour. Dissertation in Social Sciences. Auckland: Auckland University.
- Sulemana, I. (2015). The effect of fear and crime and crime victimization on subjective well-being in Africa. *Springer Science and Business Media, 121 (3): 849-872*.
- Super, G. F. (2010). The spectacle of crime in the 'new' South Africa: a historical perspective (1976-2004). *British Journal of Criminology, 50 (2): 165-184*.
- Super, G. F. (2016). Punishment, violence and grassroots democracy in South Africa - the politics of populist punitiveness. *Punishment & Society, 18(3): 325-345*.
- Super, G. F. (2017). What's in a name and why it matters: a historical analysis of the relationship between state authority, vigilantism and penal power in South Africa. *Theoretical Criminology, 21(4): 512-531*.
- Swanepoel, M. P., Coetzee, T., & Duvenhage, A. (2011) Vigilantism: a theoretical perspective as applied to people's courts in post-1994 South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary History, 36(1): 114-133*.

- Swartz, S., & Scott, D. (2014). The rules of violence: a perspective from youth living in South African townships. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 17(3), 324-342. doi:10.1080/13676261.2013.815699
- Taylor, A. (2014). Mexico's vigilantes. Retrieved October 2019, 2019, from <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2014/05/mexicos-vigilantes/100734/>
- Taussig-Rubbo, M. 2011. Pirate trials, the international criminal court, and mob justice: reflections on Postcolonial sovereignty in Kenya. *Humanity : An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, 2 (1): 51-74.
- Templeton, A., Drury, J., & Philippides, A. (2015). From mindless masses to small groups: conceptualising behaviour in crowd modelling. *Review of General Psychology*, 19(3):215-229.
- Tiidenberg, K. (2018). Ethics in digital research. In U. Flick, *The Sage Handbook of data collection*. London: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Tolmay, S. (2019). Xenophobia in South Africa: what happened to Ubuntu? Retrieved October 23, 2019, from <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2019-08-30-xenophobia-in-south-africa-what-happened-to-ubuntu/>.
- Tyabazayo, P. (2014). The Khayelitsha Commission of Inquiry: challenging the scope of provincial policing powers. *South African Crime Quarterly*, 50. doi:10.17159/24133108/2014/v0i50a780.
- United Nations Human Rights Council. 2012. Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences. Retrieved November 23, 2019 from https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Women/A.HRC.20.16_En.pdf.
- United Nations Population Fund. (2000). The state of the world population: lives together, worlds apart. Retrieved August 20, 2019, from https://unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/swp2000_eng.pdf

- Urgur, O. O. (2012). The American genocide. In B. Boender, & W. ten Have, *The Holocaust and other genocides: an introduction*. Holocaust and Genocide Studies Amsterdam University Press.
- Van der Westhuizen, M., & Swart, I. (2015). The struggle against poverty, unemployment and social injustice in present-day South Africa: exploring the involvement of the Dutch Reformed Church at congregational level. *Stellenbosch Ecological Journal*, 1(2): 731-759. doi:10.17570/stj.2015.v1n2.a35.
- Van Haperen, M., & ten Have, W. (2012). The holocaust. In B. Boender, & W. ten Have, *The holocaust and other genocides: an introduction*. Holocaust and Genocide Studies Amsterdam University Press.
- Van Lange, P. A., Kruglanski, A. W., & Higgins, T. E. (2012). *Handbook of theories of social psychology*, London: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Villanova, F., Beria, F. M., Costa, A. B., & Koller, S. H. (2017). Deindividuation: from Le Bon to the social identity model of deindividuation effects. *Cogent Psychology*, 4(1): 1-22. doi:10.1080/23311908.2017.1308104.
- Vosloo, J. J. (2014). A sport management programme for educator training in accordance with the diverse needs of South African schools. *PhD Thesis*, Potchefstroom: University of North-West.
- Wagner, N. O. (2012). *Slavery by another name, history, background*. New Jersey: Twin Cities Television Inc.
- Ward, C. L., Artz, L., Berg, J., Boonzaier, F., Crawford-Brown, S., Dawes, A., & van der Spuy, E. (2012). Violence, violence prevention and safety: a research agenda for South Africa. *Issues in Medicine*, 102(4):215-218.
- Warner, B. D., Beck, E., & Ohmer, M. L. (2010). Linking informal social control and restorative justice: moving social disorganisation theory beyond community policing. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 13(4): 355-369.
- Wassenberg, A. (2016). Stoned to death: vigilante justice in South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria. *Inquisitor*.

- Wilstrom, P.H. (2019). Explaining crime and criminal careers: the DEA model of situational action theory. *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology*, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40865-019-00116-5>
- Wilson, G. (2019). Rapist killed in vigilante attack was innocent. Retrieved June 27, 2019, from <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-01-22-rapist-killed-in-vigilante-attack-was-innocent-eastern-cape-police/>.
- Wilson, J., & Kelling, G. (1982). *'Broken windows': the police and neighbourhood safety*. Boston: The Atlantic.
- Winterdyck, J. A. (2017). *Crime prevention: international perspectives, issues and trends*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Wong, S. K. (2007). Disorganisation precursors, the family and crime: a multi-year analysis of Canadian Municipalities. *Western Criminology Review*, 8(1):48-68.
- Wose Kinge, G. T. (2016). International dimensions of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa. *Dissertation in Social Science*, Potchestroom: University of North-West.
- Wyatt, K. (2002). *Teddy Roosevelt's Frontier Justice*. *American History*, 36, 22-28.
- Xiong, H. (2016). *Urban crime and social disorganisation in China: a case study of three communities in Guangzhou*. Singapore: Springer Press.
- Yates, D. (2017). "Community Justice", ancestral rights, and lynching in rural Bolivia. *Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, University of Glasgow*.
- Yates, J., & Leggett, T. (2016). Qualitative research: an introduction. *Radiologic Technology*, 88(2), 225-231. Retrieved July 23, 2019, from <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?>
- Yeboah-Assiamah, E., & Kyeremeh, T. A. (2014). Critical assessment of public administration, civil disobedience in developing African democracies: an institutional analysis of mob justice in Ghana. *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalisation*.
- Yin, R. K. (2016). *Qualitative research from start to finish* (2nd ed.). New York: The Guilford Press.

Yudina, N. (2018). Xenophobia in figures: hate crime in Russia and efforts to counteract it in 2017. Retrieved July 23, 2019, from <https://www.sova-center.ru/en/xenophobia/reports-analyses/2018/02/d38830/>

Zimbardo, P. G. (1969). The human choice: individuation, reason and order versus deindividuation, impulse and chaos. In *Nebraska symposium on motivation*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Zondi, N. (2017). Mob justice, yes, I would join to protect my community. Retrieved May 8, 2019, from <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-05-23-mob-justice-yes-i-would-join-in-to-protect-my-community>.

ANNEXURE A

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Ethics clearance reference number:

Research permission reference number: **ST50 of 2018**

Title: Narrative accounts of the involvement of victims and perpetrators in mob-justice incidents: a Limpopo case study

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is Lebogang Mpuru, a master's student at the University of South Africa. I am conducting research on the Narrative accounts of the involvement of victims and perpetrators in mob-justice incidents: a Limpopo case study, and I request your participation in this study. My Supervisor is Professor Pearl Dastile, from the University of South Africa.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY? WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

The aim of the study is to examine the narrative accounts and experiences of victims and perpetrators involved in mob justice incidents in the Diphale area. Participating in this study will help you to share your experiences with the researcher. Furthermore, knowledge about the roles and experiences of victims and perpetrators may also have a considerable impact on mob justice prevention by proposing intervention strategies (such as, counselling and anger management) to reduce the likelihood of future mob justice related incidents.

WHY AM I BEING INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?

You are requested to participate in the study because you have been exposed as you have participated in mob justice related incidents and or you may have been a victim of these incidents.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?

You will be invited for a one -on -one interview with the researcher in order to share your experiences and participation in mob justice related incidents. In this way, from the conversations, I anticipate that you will be able to share the meanings that you attach to those experiences and recommendations will be made on how your circumstances can be referred for intervention should the need arise.

CAN I WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY EVEN AFTER HAVING AGREED TO PARTICIPATE?

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary; therefore, you will not be forced in any way to take part in this research project. If during the interview, you want to withdraw your participation, any recorded interviews will be discarded.

ARE THERE ANY NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR ME IF I PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT?

There will be no adverse circumstances. However, if noticed that the information you have shared has left you feeling emotionally upset, or anxious, the researcher will refer you to a counsellor (social worker) for debriefing or counselling (should you agree).

WILL THE INFORMATION THAT I CONVEY TO THE RESEARCHER AND MY IDENTITY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

All information will be treated as confidential. The data collected from you will not be shared with anyone else other than the researcher.

HOW WILL THE RESEARCHER(S) PROTECT THE SECURITY OF DATA?

Any information obtained from the participants will be stored on a password protected device. Furthermore, Hard copies will be shredded, and electronic copies will be deleted from the computer when the study is completed.

WILL I RECEIVE PAYMENT OR ANY INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY?

There will not be any incentives paid to participants for participating in the study.

HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICAL APPROVAL?

This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Review Committee of the College of Law, Unisa. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you so wish.

HOW WILL I BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS/RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH?

The results of the study will be presented to the participants, following the completion of the study. The further dissertation will be available in the Library of the institution of the University of South Africa for access to information that you would have shared with the researcher. If you would like to be informed of the final research findings, please contact MS Lebogang Mpuru at lebos.pertunia@gmail.com. Should you require any further information or want to contact the researcher about any aspect of this study, please contact 0791338290.

Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact Prof Pearl Dastile at 012 433 9471 or Dastnp@unisa.ac.za. Contact the research ethics chairperson of the College of Law Ethics Sub-Committee, Prof Govender, at govend1@unisa.ac.za if you have any ethical concerns.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.

MS Lebogang Mpuru

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, _____(participant name), confirm that the researcher has explained the nature, procedures, potential benefits, and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read and understood the study, as explained in the information sheet.

The researcher has given me sufficient opportunity to ask questions and I, therefore, volunteer to participate in the study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings, but that my participation will be kept confidential.

I also consent to the recording of the one-one interviews.

I further consent that I have received a signed copy of the informed consent

agreement. Participant Name & Surname..... (please

print) Participant Signature.....

Date..... Researcher's Name &

Surname..... (please print) Researcher's

signature.....

ANNEXURE B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE- PERPETRATORS

Name of the community:

Date:

Venue:

Duration:

Biographical details of participants

Age:

Gender:

Language:

Education:

Employment:

Residential status:

Number of children:

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS – Perpetrators

1. Please tell me what you think about mob justice
2. Do you think there has been an increase in mob justice incidents in your area in the last three years?
3. What do you think are the circumstances that lead to mob justice attacks in your area?
4. What types of crimes are the suspects usually accused of? e.g. murder, witchcraft, rape etc.
5. When last have you ever participated in mob justice?
6. Can you describe what happens during the incident?
7. How did you feel after participating in such an incident?
8. After the incident, did you feel that justice was done?
9. What are the ages and gender of people who are often attacked by the mob?
10. In all the incidents you have participated, did the police intervene? If yes, what actions?
11. Did the police take towards the attacks?

12. Where the people who participated in the mob attacks arrested? If not, why was that the case?
13. Are children and women also involved in the attacks?
14. What kind of weapons do you often use to punish suspected criminals?
15. Are there any vigilante groups in the area? If yes, are you involved in any vigilante group?
16. Are there any police patrols or community policing forums in your area? if no, what measures do you think should be taken to prevent crime in your area?

ANNEXURE C

INTERVIEWS QUESTIONS- FOCUS GROUP 1: VICTIMS

Name of the community

Date:

Venue

Duration:

Biographical details of participants

Age:

Gender:

Language:

Education:

Employment:

Residential status:

Number of children:

-
1. Can you please describe what happens during a mob attack?
 2. Can you explain what happened when you were attacked by the mob?
 3. How did you feel?
 4. What crime did they accuse you of?
 5. Where did you provide with a chance to defend yourself?
 6. Were you able to identify some of the attackers?
 7. How did you survive the attack?
 8. What impact did the attack have on you and your family members?
 9. Has any member of your family, relatives or friends ever been attacked by the mob? If yes, what happened?
 10. Did the police intervene? If yes, how?
 11. How did you like the intervention by the police?

ANNEXURE D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS- FOCUS GROUP 2: PERPETRATORS

Name of the community:

Date:

Venue:

Duration:

Biographical details of participants

Age:

Gender:

Language:

Education:

Employment:

Residential status:

Number of children:

-
1. Please tell me what you think about mob justice.
 2. Do you think there has been an increase in mob justice incidents in your area in the last three years?
 3. What do you think are the circumstances that lead to mob justice attacks in your area?
 4. What types of crimes are the suspects commonly accused of? e.g. murder, witchcraft, rape etc.
 5. When last have you ever participated in mob justice?
 6. Can you describe what happens during the incident?
 7. How did you feel after participating in such an incident?
 8. After the incident, did you feel that justice was done?
 9. What are the ages and gender of people who are often attacked by the mob?
 10. In all the incidents you have participated, did the police intervene? If yes, what actions did the police take towards the attacks?
 12. Where the people who participated in the mob attacks arrested? If not, why was that the case?

13. Are children and women also involved in the attacks?
14. What kind of weapons do you often use to punish suspected criminals?
15. Are there any vigilante groups in the area? If yes, are you involved in any vigilante group?
16. Are there any police patrols or community policing forums in your area? if no, what measures do you think should be taken to prevent crime in your area?

ANNEXURE E

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



UNISA CLAW ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Date 20180618

Reference: ST50 of 2018

Dear Ms Mpuru

Applicant: LP Mpuru

**Decision: ETHICS APPROVAL
FROM 18 JUNE 2018
TO 17 JUNE 2021**

Researcher(s): Lebogang Pertunia Mpuru

Supervisor (s): Prof NP Dastile

Narrative accounts of perpetrators and victims' involvement in mob justice related incidents

Qualification: MA (Criminology)

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Unisa CLAW Ethics Review Committee for the above mentioned research. Ethics approval is granted for 3 years.

*The **medium risk application** was reviewed by the CLAW Ethics Review Committee on 18 June 2018 in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedure on Research Ethics Risk Assessment. The decision was ratified by the committee.*

The proposed research may now commence with the provisions that:

1. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.
2. Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the CLAW Committee.
3. The researcher will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.

Open Rubric

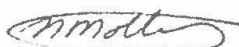
University of South Africa
Preller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za

4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing, accompanied by a progress report.
5. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013; Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.
6. Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data requires additional ethics clearance.
7. No field work activities may continue after the expiry date of 17 June 2021. Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal of Ethics Research Committee approval.

Note:

The reference number ST50 of 2018 should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Committee.

Yours sincerely,




PROF N MOLLEMA

Chair of CLAW ERC

E-mail: mollena@unisa.ac.za

Tel: (012) 429-8384



PROF CI TSHOOSE

Executive Dean : CLAW

E-mail: tshooci@unisa.ac.za

Tel: (012) 429-2005

ANNEXURE F

CONFIRMATION OF ENGLISH EDITING

To whom it may concern

This is to certify that the thesis with the title “**NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS IN MOB-JUSTICE RELATED INCIDENTS: A CASE OF DIPHALE VILLAGE: LIMPOPO PROVINCE**”, to be submitted for examination by **Ms L P Mpuru** , has been edited for language under my hand. Neither the research content nor the researcher’s intentions were altered in anyway during the editing process.

I applied standard United Kingdom English language conventions during the editing process. I stand by the quality of the English language in this document, provided my amendments have been accepted and further changes made to the document have been submitted to me for review.

Dr MG Karels



karelsmg@outlook.com