

Content

Introduction	1
Background and context	3
Specific concerns on the Amendment Bill	6
Insights from AfriForum's study on decentralised policing (2023)	9
Addressing criminality within the SAPS	
Recommendations	
Oral submissions	11
Conclusion	11

Introduction

AfriForum is a civil rights organisation that staunchly champions the rights of South Africans, placing particular emphasis on minority communities. Rooted in its commitment to constitutionalism and the principles of democracy, AfriForum seeks to ensure that the rights and values enshrined in the South African Constitution are upheld and protected for all its citizens.

Our mission revolves around the advocacy for a society where individual rights are paramount, communities can thrive in safety, and government institutions operate with transparency, accountability and impartiality. We believe in community-driven solutions, where the people most affected by challenges have a decisive voice in formulating and implementing responsive strategies.

Over the years, AfriForum has engaged in various campaigns and initiatives, addressing issues ranging from language rights, cultural preservation and educational autonomy to safety, justice and the promotion of quality services. In the context of law enforcement and policing, AfriForum has consistently advocated for a decentralised approach, recognising that localised solutions, driven by community insights and needs, often yield the most effective results.

AfriForum acknowledges and strongly emphasises the critical role that the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID) plays in ensuring oversight, accountability and transparency within the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the various Metropolitan Police Services (MPS). As an organisation deeply committed to upholding the principles of justice, democracy and the rule of law, we believe that an independent and robust mechanism for investigating and addressing allegations of misconduct and abuses of power by law enforcement officers is not just desirable but absolutely essential.

The necessity for such oversight cannot be overstated. Given the authority and responsibility vested in law enforcement agencies, a dedicated body must ensure that this authority is not misused, leading to miscarriages of justice, breaches of citizens' rights or undermining the public's trust in these institutions. The vision and mission of the IPID to conduct impartial, high-quality investigations into allegations against SAPS and MPS members and to make recommendations in line with the IPID Act, maintaining the highest standards of integrity and excellence, are principles that resonate strongly with AfriForum's own values and goals.

We recognise that the IPID serves as a crucial bulwark against potential abuses of power and a necessary channel for redressing those who might otherwise be left voiceless in the face of potential state overreach or misconduct. In safeguarding against the misuse of authority by these

law enforcement agencies, the IPID not only has to protect the rights and freedom of South African citizens but also enhances the credibility, professionalism and public trust in the SAPS and MPS.

The historical context, specifically the judgment of the Constitutional Court in the case of McBride v Minister of Police and Another (hereafter the "McBride Judgement"), further underscores the significance of the IPID's independence and autonomy.¹ It is this independence that ensures its investigations remain impartial, free from political or any undue influence, thereby ensuring that the rule of law remains paramount in South Africa.

AfriForum fully recognises the indispensable role that the IPID plays in preserving South Africa's democratic values by acting as a vigilant overseer, holding law enforcement agencies accountable and ensuring that they operate within the confines of the law and always respect the rights and dignity of all South African citizens.

AfriForum urges the Portfolio Committee on Police to revise the proposed amendments to the Independent Police Investigative Directorate Amendment Bill B21-2023 (hereafter the "IPID Bill"). We believe that certain sections within the amendment, as they currently stand, could potentially undermine the autonomy and effectiveness of the IPID.

The IPID Bill under consideration seeks to, inter alia, amend Section 6 of the Independent Police Investigative Directorate Act 1 of 2011 in response to the ruling in the McBride Judgement. While the primary concern is ensuring the IPID's independence, this submission also delves into the dynamics between the IPID and a decentralised policing system.

Any legislation or amendment that poses even a remote risk to this independence is of deep concern. We advocate for a more thorough consultation process with all stakeholders to ensure that the final version of the IPID Bill fully aligns with the spirit of our Constitution and the aspirations of the South African public for a just, transparent and accountable policing system.

AfriForum's submissions can be summarised as follows:

1. The cornerstone of the IPID's effectiveness lies in its independence.² The proposed amendment, specifically regarding the appointment of the Executive Director of the IPID, must ensure that the IPID remains insulated from political interference. The current amendment, which centralises control over the appointment process in the hands of the Minister of Police and the cabinet, raises concerns regarding potential bias and influence over the IPID's operations.

¹ McBride v Minister of Police and Another [2016] ZACC 30.

² *Id.*, at paras. 4–7.

- 2. Based on our comprehensive study in 2023, a decentralised approach to policing was identified as essential for effective crime prevention and management. Thus, any proposed legislation or amendments should lean towards decentralisation rather than further centralising powers. This is in line with our belief that local authorities and communities should be empowered to address unique local challenges in the fight against crime.^{3, 4}
- 3. The responsibilities of the Executive Director should not only be limited to referrals regarding disciplinary matters but should encompass a broader oversight role. This would enable a more proactive approach to identifying and addressing issues within the SAPS and MPS before they escalate into more severe matters.
- 4. The IPID's role in investigating any deaths caused by the actions of SAPS or MPS members, on or off duty, as well as investigating allegations of rape, is of utmost importance. The amendment should ensure that clear protocols and procedures are in place to ensure these investigations are conducted with the utmost transparency and that findings are communicated to the public promptly.
- 5. The amendment should strengthen and clarify the implementation of disciplinary recommendations. There should be clear consequences for failure to act on these recommendations to ensure accountability.
- 6. The proposed savings provision regarding the conditions of service for existing investigators and provincial heads should be crafted so that it retains experienced talent within the IPID and ensures that their expertise is harnessed to foster a culture of excellence within the Directorate.

Background and context

The IPID serves as a sentinel in the realm of democratic governance, ensuring that the very institutions vested with the authority to maintain law and order operate within the prescribed legal and ethical boundaries. Its significance is paramount for several reasons, as elaborated below.

1. In every democratic society, checks and balances are vital. While the SAPS and MPSs have been granted extensive powers to ensure the safety and security of citizens, the potential for

Rochè, S. 2011. Federalism and Police Systems. Executive Publisher: Procon Ltd. Available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/236852234_Federalism_and_Police_Systems/related. Accessed on 19 September 2023.

Eyrice Tepeciklioğlu, E. 2018. South African Federalism: Constitution-making process and the decline of the federalism debate. In *Journal of Yasar University* 13(50): 164–175. Available at https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/486729. Accessed on 19 September 2023.

 $^{^{5}}$ $\,$ Glenister v President of the Republic of South Africa and Others [2011] ZACC 6.

- misuse or overreach of such powers exists. The IPID acts as the counterbalance, ensuring that these agencies are held accountable for any actions that cross legal or ethical lines.⁶
- 2. The presence of an independent oversight body like the IPID is essential for maintaining public trust in law enforcement agencies. When citizens believe that there is a credible mechanism to address grievances and that police misconduct won't go unchecked, it fosters confidence in the overall justice system.
- 3. One of the pillars of a functioning democracy is the protection of its citizens from the abuse of power.⁸ By investigating and addressing any infractions committed by members of the police, the IPID directly contributes to upholding the democratic values enshrined in the South African Constitution.⁹
- 4. Regular oversight and feedback can lead to improvements in policing practices. The IPID's investigations and recommendations can guide law enforcement agencies towards adopting better training protocols, operational procedures and ethical guidelines, which in turn can prevent future misconduct.¹⁰
- 5. South Africa's history is marked by periods where state law enforcement agencies were implicated in severe human rights abuses. The SAPS's abuse of authority continues to the present day. The Institute of Race Relations (IRR), in partnership with AfriForum, published a report in 2015 that detailed the involvement of the SAPS in serious and violent criminal activities. The IPID serves as a reminder and a guard against a recurrence of such dark times. By ensuring that every complaint of abuse, no matter how minor it may seem, is thoroughly investigated, the IPID plays a vital role in safeguarding the human rights of every South African.
- 6. The IPID's role is not just about oversight but also about preserving the integrity of the nation's law enforcement apparatus and ensuring that it operates in the best interests of the people it serves. ¹² It is a manifestation of the nation's commitment to justice, transparency and accountability.

Council of Europe's Commissioner for Human Rights. 2009. Opinion on the independent and effective determination of complaints against the police. Available at https://rm.coe.int/opinion-of-the-commissioner-for-human-rights-thomas-hammarberg-concern/16806daa54. Accessed on 19 September 2023.

⁶ McBride v Minister of Police and Another [2016] ZACC 30 at paras. 4–7.

⁸ African Policing and Civilian Oversight Forum (APCOF). 2014. Strengthening police oversight and accountability in Southern Africa. Available at https://apcof.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Strengthening-Police-Oversight-and-Accountability-in-Southern-Africa-4-6-December-2013-Cape-Town-English.pdf. Accessed on 19 September 2023.

⁹ McBride v Minister of Police and Another [2016] ZACC 30 at paras. 4-7.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes. 2011. Handbook on police accountability, oversight and integrity. Available at https://www.unodc.org/pdf/criminal_justice/Handbook_on_police_Accountability_Oversight_and_Integrity.pdf. Accessed on 19 September 2023.

[&]quot; Van Heerden, G., Cronje, F., Ndebele, T. & Kane-Berman, J. 2015. Institute of Race Relations. Broken Blue Line 2: The Involvement of the South African Police Service in Serious and Violent Crime in South Africa. Available at https://irr.org.za/reports/occasional-reports/files/broken-blue-line-2-february-2015.pdf. Accessed on 26 September 2023.

Independent Police Investigative Directorate and Others v Lt. General Johannes Khomotso Phahlane and Others (85894/17) [2018] ZAGPPHC at paras. 12–14 & 23.

The guiding principles of independence and impartiality are central to the credibility and efficacy of the IPID.¹³ These are not merely operational guidelines but the very foundations upon which the IPID was established. Independence ensures that the Directorate remains uninfluenced by external pressures, be they political, financial, or societal, and can carry out its investigations without fear or favour. Impartiality guarantees that every investigation is approached without bias, ensuring fairness to all parties involved, regardless of rank, stature, or influence within the police services or broader community.¹⁴ These principles are enshrined in the IPID Act of 2011 and have been acknowledged as fundamental to the existence and justification of the IPID. Their presence fortifies the IPID's position as a trusted and authoritative oversight body, safeguarding the rights and trust of the South African populace in the face of potential power abuses by state law enforcement agencies.

The vision and mission of the IPID serve as a beacon, guiding its operations and solidifying its commitment to the South African public. The IPID's vision is not merely a statement but an unwavering commitment to upholding the rule of law and ensuring that the guardians of the state themselves remain within its bounds.¹⁵

The mission explicitly outlines the IPID's dedication¹⁶

[t]o conduct independent, impartial and quality investigations of identified criminal offences allegedly committed by members of the South African Police Services and Metro Police Services.

This mission speaks volumes about the Directorate's focus. They are not just about any investigation but "impartial and quality" ones. Such a commitment is vital, ensuring that the investigation process remains untainted by biases, external influences, or any factors that might compromise its thoroughness and objectivity.¹⁷

Furthermore, the IPID's commitment to "maintaining the highest standard of integrity and excellence" symbolises its dedication. ¹⁸ Integrity in this context is not only about honesty but also about ethical practice, transparency and the unwavering pursuit of the truth. Excellence,

McBride v Minister of Police and Another [2016] ZACC 30 at para. 43.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes. 2011. Handbook on police accountability, oversight and integrity. Available at https://www.unodc.org/pdf/criminal_justice/Handbook_on_police_Accountability_Oversight_and_Integrity.pdf. Accessed on 19 September 2023.

¹⁵ Independent Police Investigative Directorate. 2020. Strategic Plan 2020–2025, p.10. Available at

https://www.ipid.gov.za/sites/default/files/documents/IPID_Strategic_Plan_2020-2025.pdf. Accessed on 20 September 2023.

Independent Police Investigative Directorate. Vision and mission section. Available at https://www.ipid.gov.za/node/8. Accessed on 20 September 2023.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2013. Specialised anti-corruption institutions – review of models. Available at https://www.oecd.org/corruption/acn/specialisedanti-corruptioninstitutions-reviewofmodels.htm. Accessed on 20 September 2023.

¹⁸ Independent Police Investigative Directorate. *Vision and mission section*. Available at https://www.ipid.gov.za/node/8. Accessed on 20 September 2023.

meanwhile, should underscore the Directorate's aim to not only perform its duties but also do so at an exemplary level, setting a standard for oversight bodies everywhere.

In essence, the vision and mission of the IPID are not just words but a testament to its foundational principles and its promise to the people of South Africa. Through these, the Directorate reaffirms its role as a watchdog, ensuring that those entrusted with the power to maintain law and order remain accountable and true to their oath.¹⁹

Specific concerns on the Amendment Bill

In the context of the appointment process for the Executive Director, it is crucial to assess the proposed changes in the new IPID Bill. The current proposal, which suggests that the Minister of Police appoints the head of the IPID with the approval of the cabinet, raises concerns. By vesting such a crucial decision solely within the executive, there's potential for the selection process to become embroiled in internal power dynamics and political manoeuvring. The absence of checks and balances in this proposal heightens this risk. The integrity and independence of the IPID's mandate demand a selection process insulated from all undue influence. Furthermore, while it is not to cast aspersions on the intent of any specific past Minister of Police, historical precedents have shown that personal biases, affiliations and agendas do influence unlawful decisions. Such a scenario could compromise the very foundation of the IPID. To ensure the long-term credibility and functionality of the IPID, the appointment process must be shielded from any potential vulnerabilities and prioritise the broader interests of South African society over transient political considerations.

It is concerning to note that the current Bill seemingly operates in contrast to the overarching goal of any amendment to enhance the principles of trust, transparency and effectiveness. The Bill proposes explicitly diluting the provisions for the appointment of the IPID Executive Director by marginalising Parliament's role and consolidating the power of decision-making largely in the hands of the Minister of Police and the cabinet. Such centralisation not only threatens to erode public trust but, as mentioned before, also heightens the IPID's susceptibility to political interference and potential manipulation. The proposal seems to neglect the importance of diverse voices from both the legislative branch and local decision-making bodies, underscoring the value of localised decision-making in matters of national significance. This shift is particularly perplexing given the backdrop of the 2019 amendment to the IPID Act. That amendment commendably fortified the watchdog's independence by instituting safeguards against the

⁹ Section 206(6) of the Constitution reads:

On receipt of a complaint lodged by a provincial executive, an independent police complaints body established by national legislation must investigate any alleged misconduct of, or offence committed by, a member of the police service in the province.

arbitrary removal of the IPID head. In this context, the present Bill seems a step backwards, potentially undermining the strides made towards reinforcing the IPID's autonomy and credibility.

Considering the provisions and implications of the proposed Bill, it is of utmost importance to reflect upon judicial decisions that underscore the significance of the IPID's independence. In the McBride Judgement, the Constitutional Court unequivocally affirmed that²⁰

[t]his is antithetical to the entrenched independence of IPID envisaged by the Constitution as it is tantamount to impermissible political management of IPID by the Minister.

This judicial emphasis underlines the gravity of ensuring that legislative measures do not erode the institutional independence of the IPID, a cornerstone for the effective oversight of the SAPS and MPS.

It is both perplexing and concerning that the proposed IPID Bill appears to contradict the explicit directives of the Constitutional Court's Judgement. While the Bill purports to align itself with the precedent set in the McBride Judgement, its provisions suggest otherwise. Such a direct divergence from the apex court's definitive stance not only undermines the ethos of the Judgement but also questions the sincerity of legislative efforts in genuinely upholding the independence and integrity of the IPID. This inconsistency further diminishes public trust in the proposed changes. Any amendment must be in accord with the Constitutional Court's decisions and not merely in superficial alignment.

We pause to highlight the imperative for legislation that champions the spirit of localised decision-making, decentralisation and federalisation. In a landscape where the national government has shown considerable shortcomings in ensuring the safety of South Africans, the essence of a democratic society hinges on solutions tailored to the unique challenges of various regions. Such visionary legislation should champion transparency and fairness, resonating deeply with the aspirations of local communities. The focus should shift from mere procedural adjustments to transformative actions that prioritise the selection of independent, adept and progressive leaders, particularly at local and regional levels. Their roles become pivotal, not just for the functionality of our justice system but also in restoring and upholding the trust of the South African public. By embracing a decentralised framework, we believe that we can pave the path for a more adaptive, transparent and efficient criminal justice system for the future.

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²⁰ McBride v Minister of Police and Another [2016] ZACC 30 at para. 38.

Insights from AfriForum's study on decentralised policing (2023)

AfriForum has proactively presented the case for a shift towards decentralised policing based on its extensive research. This study not only paints a vivid picture of the current state of law enforcement in South Africa but also sheds light on the implications of the proposed IPID Bill. It highlights the need for robust independence of oversight bodies, such as the IPID, to ensure the most effective decentralised policing structures which are sensitive to local needs.

The research unequivocally shows that the South African government's centralist approach, particularly within the law enforcement sector, has been underperforming in the face of the country's diverse challenges. The sole reliance on a national body, the SAPS, has demonstrated operational limitations. This study's insights underscore the necessity of revisiting and, where necessary, revising provisions in the current Bill to ensure the effectiveness of policing and oversight mechanisms. The efficacy of an independent IPID is inherently linked with the capability of the police structures it oversees. A decentralised police force responsive to regional needs ensures that the IPID's oversight is not holistic and specialised.

Centralisation brings with it an intrinsic concentration of decision-making authority. This not only hinders agility in decision-making but can also cultivate inefficiencies. The SAPS, for instance, has faced numerous challenges, from political interference to a documented "crisis of top management" and incidents of police brutality.²³ By placing authority predominantly at the national level, we inadvertently stifle local initiatives and solutions that might be better suited to specific regional challenges.²⁴ A decentralised approach advocating regional autonomy would streamline the IPID's task, allowing more focused and tailored oversight rather than a stretched and generalist scrutiny.

Crime, by its nature, has varied manifestations across different provinces and municipalities.²⁵ For instance, certain areas might be more prone to taxi-related violence, while others might experience higher rates of farm murders or illicit mining-related incidents. A one-size-fits-all strategy, often resulting from a centralised approach, is ineffective in addressing these varied challenges. A federal approach, on the other hand, allows strategies to be tailored to address

²¹ AfriForum. 2023. Decentralising policing services in South Africa: a case in numbers. Available at https://afriforum.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/Decentralising-policing-services-in-South-Africa-a-case-in-numbers-Johan-Nortje-August-2023.pdf. Accessed on 19 September 2023

Roelf, N.L. 2019. Decentralising the South African Police Service: Does South Africa's current public safety crisis and the de facto decentralising of policing necessitate a critical evaluation of its present policing model? Unpublished master's dissertation, University of Cape Town. Available at https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/33014/thesis law 2020 roelf%2onicholas%2olouis.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

Accessed on 19 September 2023.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ ISSAfrica.org. 2017. Police not coping with serious violent crime – ISS Africa. Media statement on 24 October. Available at https://issafrica.org/crimehub/analysis/press-releases/police-not-coping-with-serious-violent-crime. Accessed on 19 September 2023.

²⁵ Bruce, D. 2022. South Africa needs less nationally focused policing responses. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies Africa. Available at https://issafrica.org/iss-today/south-africa-needs-lessnationally-focused-policing-responses. Accessed on 19 September 2023.

each province and municipality's unique challenges and causal factors. Such an approach would foster the efficient allocation of resources and pave the way for more effective crime prevention and reduction strategies tailored to local nuances. Furthermore, this federal approach would enhance the IPID's ability to operate independently and impartially, insulated from overarching centralised pressures.

In conclusion, the insights from AfriForum's 2023 study are not only academic observations but constitute a clarion call for change. They stress the need for a nuanced approach to policing that acknowledges the diverse challenges across the nation and adapts accordingly, promoting effectiveness, accountability and community trust. This dual strategy of both decentralised policing and an independent IPID provides a comprehensive solution for a safer and more transparent South Africa.

Addressing criminality within the SAPS

The publication of the report, Broken Blue Line 2: The Involvement of the South African Police Service in Serious and Violent Crime in South Africa by the Institute of Race Relations and AfriForum in 2015 underscores the concerning realities within the SAPS. The report asserts that the very individuals entrusted with upholding the law are the culprits in numerous instances, eroding the essence of the police service. The report's findings and recommendations are indispensable in bolstering the IPID's role in addressing these challenges.

This report highlights police involvement in heinous crimes such as murders, rapes, and armed robberies rather than petty misconduct or corruption. Utilising media reports, the project identifies patterns within 100 incidents of alleged or proven police criminality, aiming to determine the extent and nature of such infractions.

In an alarming trend, police officers are involved in planning and executing a significant number of violent crimes. The persistence of this issue since 2011, despite numerous arrests, prosecutions and dismissals, suggests that efforts from within the police force are insufficient to curb the problem. Current disciplinary structures seem overwhelmed, and without a change in policy direction, there's little indication this will improve.

The report argued that the IPID must be better equipped to deal with the SAPS' involvement in crime. The IPID's resources must be amplified urgently, including a better workforce, a more substantial budget and enhanced communication between the IPID and the police. Furthermore, any decisions by the IPID should be binding, ensuring that prosecution is pursued when grounds for it are found.

It is clear that the IPID's independence is crucial in effectively addressing this issue. The IPID's role as an external oversight body ensures unbiased investigations free from internal police pressure or influence. It is imperative that the IPID's autonomy is reinforced, ensuring that the Directorate can operate without interference from the SAPS or any other governmental entity. Additionally, the decentralisation of police functions, a principle AfriForum firmly believes in, would facilitate more localised and community-centric approaches to policing. This can provide an additional layer of accountability, ensuring that police services are more responsive to the unique needs and concerns of individual communities.

Given the report's emphasis on the breakdown in command-and-control structures, the IPID must prioritise investigations into breaches of protocol and command. The IPID can further advocate for a merit-based system that supports career officers' ascendancy to leadership roles. Moreover, drawing inspiration from the report's recommendation to elect police station commanders, the IPID should pilot community-based feedback mechanisms to gauge local satisfaction with police leadership and performance, which ties into AfriForum's call for a more decentralised policing structure.

The silver lining in this concerning scenario is that policy solutions do exist. The challenge does not lie in the absence of remedies but in the willingness of the government to put them into action. Each proposed solution, including reinforcing the IPID's independence and decentralising police operations, is wholly within the ambit of governmental power to enforce. The onus now rests on the government's commitment to transformative action and its dedication to building a trustworthy and reliable police service.

Recommendations

AfriForum, with its deep commitment to ensuring a just, efficient and community-centric approach to policing in South Africa, presents the following recommendations regarding the IPID and its future operations:

1. Transparent and inclusive appointments

The appointment of the Executive Director of the IPID is of utmost importance to ensure its smooth and impartial functioning. AfriForum recommends that this process should be transparent and incorporate opinions from a broad spectrum of stakeholders, from community leaders to legal experts. Such an approach would bolster public trust and ensure the best-suited individual is chosen for this critical position.

Guaranteed operational independence

The success of the IPID hinges largely on its autonomy. Clear boundaries should be set to ensure the IPID's operational independence, shielding it from potential political interference. This would ensure that the IPID can carry out its mandate without fear or favour, placing justice above all else.

3. Strengthening the IPID's mandate

To ensure the IPID's unbiased functioning, AfriForum suggests introducing mechanisms or additional provisions that underpin its mandate. This could include regular third-party audits, the establishment of an oversight committee comprising members from varied backgrounds, and mandatory public reporting of major findings, thus enhancing transparency and accountability.

4. Emphasis on decentralised policing

As underscored in AfriForum's 2023 study, the need for a federal approach to policing cannot be overstated. Such an approach, which considers regional crime patterns and community-specific challenges, could pave the way for more targeted and effective crime prevention strategies. Hence, AfriForum strongly advocates for the IPID and other related entities to factor in a decentralised or federal perspective in their operational methodologies, ensuring that the unique needs of every community are met.

In sum, these recommendations aim to fortify the foundations of the IPID, ensuring it remains an unbiased, effective and trusted entity in the eyes of South African citizens, playing a pivotal role in the nation's quest for justice and safety.

Oral submissions

Should the Portfolio Committee on Police call for oral hearings, AfriForum kindly requests the opportunity to present its submission to the Committee.

Conclusion

AfriForum remains steadfast in its dedication to championing a policing service in South Africa that is rooted in transparency, accountability and the unwavering pursuit of justice. We believe that for our nation to thrive, its citizens must have unwavering confidence in the integrity and efficacy of its law enforcement agencies.

We recognise the intricate challenges that the policing sector faces and are fully committed to playing an active role in its transformation. In this light, AfriForum extends its willingness to participate in any further discussions, consultations, or public hearings pertaining to the IPID Bill. Our insights, rooted in on-ground experiences and comprehensive studies, can significantly contribute to the discourse and, ultimately, to shaping a Bill that truly serves the interests of the South African populace.