

**COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: THE
CASE OF THE LANDLESS PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT IN
THEMBELIHLE, JOHANNESBURG**



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DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Masters of Arts in Development Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.



On 21st Day of July, 2016

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the millions of people who find themselves marginalized and are constantly making efforts to be heard. May your efforts towards a just society be noticed and fulfilled.

To those advocating on the behalf of the marginalized, may you not tire in your efforts.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABSTRACT

The emphasis in making government more accessible to the people has produced dismal effects, this has led to the emergence of civil society organizations claiming to give the voiceless a voice and facilitating participation of the marginalized towards how they are governed. This research, through a case study of the Landless People's Movement in Thembelihle (LPM – Thembelihle) focuses on the internal dynamics of a community's participation in social movements. The study questions social movements' efforts in nurturing participation within them and whether the assumed claims of representation are reflective to the participants needs. The report argues that social movements do not necessarily nurture democratic principles such as participation within them. The reasons for this are: 1) social movements have been engineered to focus on the state as the adversary thus their efforts are outward looking 2) the nature of the issues they tackle are highly politicized and thus attract a large following regardless. Analyzing data from interviews and various documents, first and foremost the study aimed to investigate the level of participation by the community in LPM - Thembelihle using the concept and typologies of participation as stipulated in the ladder of participation. Secondly, the aim was to connect the level of participation to the representation of the participating community in an attempt to find if at all there is a correlation. The findings revealed that in spite of community control of the LPM –Thembelihle branch, a deep degree of participation was not achieved but that did not deter LPM's representation of the Thembelihle community. As this may be a contradiction regarding the empowering aspects of participation, the study concludes by suggesting that community participation should also be used to enrich social movement organizations considering their structured nature and role as intermediaries.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AbM	Abahlali baseMjondolo
ANC	African National Congress
ARP	Alexandra Renewal Project
AVCC	Alexandra Vukuzenzele Crisis Committee
CBO	Community Based Organizations
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
GEAR Policy	Growth Employment and Redistribution Policy
LPM	Landless Peoples Movement
MST	Movemento Sem Tera
NLC	National Lands Committee
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OKM	Operation Khanyisa Movement
PAC	Pan-African Congress
RDP policy	Reconstruction and Development Programme Policy
SMO	Social Movement Organization
TCC	Thembelihle Crisis Committee

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1 INTRODUCTION: CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Government restructuring along the principles of good governance, especially at the local level, in attempts to make the state more accessible and responsive to local needs has not fully delivered desired outcomes. Local governance structures in South Africa are inefficient and yet the state remains the center of representation and expectation. At the same time, the need for representation and unfulfilled expectations are the causes of frustration and increased mass protests experienced in South Africa. This has led communities to respond in anger and to search for alternate means of representation. In spite of the challenge of state co-option that plagued civil society in South Africa at the democratic turn, at the turn of the millennium the emergence of new social movements changed the political environment.

The perceptions of social movements as politically independent has enabled a large portion of society to get involved in attempts to participate in socio-economic and political initiative, and to reach, confront and challenge the state. This has enabled social movements like the LPM to claim that they are giving the ‘voiceless’ a voice to speak for themselves. The focus of this research was to investigate, through the case study of the Landless People’s Movement (LPM) in Thembelihle, the relationship between social movements and those it claims to represent. My aim is therefore to critically assess the level of community participation within the movement (LPM). In doing so, I explore and analyze community members’ perceptions of, and the levels of collaboration with, the LPM.

1.1 The Landless Peoples’ Movement: The Rise and Demise

The Landless Peoples’ Movement (LPM) was constituted of various organizations that had already been tackling the issue of landlessness from across South Africa that came together in 2001 to form a national body that would propel their struggle forward in a united manner (Ballard et al., 2006). The very existence of the LPM is as a reaction to the frustrations incurred by the poor and marginalized with regard to access to land. Since the democratic dispensation in 1994 to the time of the LPM’s emergence, the land redistribution policy according to activists and analysts was said to have failed (Alexander, 2004 & Mngxitama, 2006). It is against the backdrop of such rhetoric that the LPM emerged to, among other things, pressure the government into hastening the land redistribution process and keep the ANC accountable to the

promises it had made. Sadly, twenty one years into democracy, the implementation of the land reform policy can be described as slow and inefficient and to a certain degree as having failed to meet its stated goals (Anseeuw & Mathebula, 2009).

Before I delve deeper into the history of the LPM, it is important that I discuss the National Land Committee (NLC). The NLC is an important actor in understanding not only the rise of the LPM but land agency in South Africa. The history of the NLC as a land rights Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) dates back to the 1980s¹ (Alexander, 2004; Khan, 2007 and Moyo, 2005). In the 1980s, the NLC campaigned for communities under threat of eviction to be reprieved and for the return of communities to their land. In the early 1990s at the start of democratic negotiations, the NLC was working in conjunction with the ANC and joined the debates on restitution and redistribution of land (Harley & Fotheringham, 1999). The differences in land activism by the NLC in the periods mentioned above exemplify the state of civil society in South Africa; the NLC has played an adversarial as well as a collaborative role.

At the onset, the collaborative relationship between the ANC and NLC worked to the benefit of the landless. As noted by Alexander (2004), most accounts of the early debates over land reform saw the landless people marginalized from discussions. Subsequently with the role played by NLC as an NGO, the landless were able to develop their own demands, attitudes and expectations. This saw the increased participation of the disenfranchised and landless as the NLC network grew with the consolidation of land NGOs across the country, leading to at least each province being represented at the national forum. Thus the NLC network became the only segment of civil society with a national presence struggling for land ownership patterns to change (Mngxitama, 2006). The general view within the NLC was that land distribution “will either be resolved through a fundamental restructuring of the government’s land reform program, or it will be resolved by a fundamental restructuring of property relations by the people themselves” (Thwala in Alexander, 2004:10-11). Subsequently, the NLC organized the 1993 “Back to the Land” Campaign and the 1994 Community Land Conference as platforms where the landless could actually affect land reform policy. This signified the shift by NLC from supporting opposition struggle to carrying out the technical work of information dissemination,

¹ During apartheid era, the organization was the National Committee Against Removals and later transitioned to the NLC in 1991

capacity-building, legal support, research, mediation, and other forms of interventions with the aim of closing legal and bureaucratic gaps in the newly proposed land reform programs (Alexander, 2004 & Mngxitama, 2006).

Throughout the early and mid-1990s, most NGOs and people alike were optimistic that land reform could be achieved through the enactment of adequate government policy. Towards the close of the 1990s, the optimism begun to wane as the government and the policies proved to be slow and antithetical to reform goals especially with the adoption of the neo liberal GEAR policy in 1996 which states that redistributive reform are to be regulated by market mechanisms (Khan, 2007; Mngxitama, 2006 & Anseeuw & Mathebula, 2009). Two years earlier in 1994, under the RDP macroeconomic policy, the government promised to distribute 30% of agricultural land to the majority poor within 5 years of democracy, this was certainly not the case as majority of the population remained poor and continued to face land tenure insecurity (Moyo, 2005). Following these events, the plight of the landless was exacerbated and their patience tried and tested and thus the LPM with the support of the NLC was formed in the year of 2001.

At its inception, the LPM was influenced by four factors², each of which represented redistributive events occurring locally and internationally. Locally, there was the failure of the land reform program, which highlighted the government's lack of willingness to actually redistribute the land.³ Secondly, there was the sudden change in policy from the welfarist socio-economic based RDP to a neo-liberal macroeconomic policy focused GEAR.⁴ This action highlighted the disparities in what the ANC promised upon taking the reins of government and their action while in power. Internationally there were also two events that were of influence to LPM's emergence. First, there was the land reform "fast tracking" happening in Zimbabwe or the "Zimbabwe factor" which proved to be an example to land insecure South Africans, that it is possible for property to be reclaimed from the settler colonialists. Secondly, more encouragement came from the *Movimento Sem Terra* (MST) of Brazil where NLC officials were able to draw similarities from as they established an international landless network. Andile

² The influence of these factors can be seen in the LPM's founding statement adopted in August 2001

³ For more details see Wildschut, A & Hubert, S. (1998). A Seed not Sown: Prospects for Agrarian Reform in South Africa.

⁴ <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/south-africa%E2%80%99s-key-economic-policies-changes-1994-2013>

(16/09/2015) emphasizes in a personal interview: “they shared with us this idea of a real movement of the landless peoples’, so we started studying it.” During this time the MST was a force to be reckoned with as it became the face of the landless against the globalization campaign (Eveleth & Mngxitama, 2003; Alexander, 2004 & 2006; Greenberg, 2004 & Mngxitama, 2006). These factors did not only provide examples to the LPM but they were able to increase the movement’s confidence and act as catalysts towards the efforts of giving the landless ownership and active involvement in their struggle.

Given the ripeness of the environment for the LPM’s cause, the movement was able to quickly gain momentum around South Africa. From its beginnings the movement was largely rural based considering the setup of the land reform policy which emphasized security of tenure for farm workers, restitution and agriculture as primary land use. This quickly changed around 2002 when the poor and marginalized urban dwellers in Gauteng province – mainly in Johannesburg – were experiencing housing insecurity as they faced increasing numbers of evictions in an attempt to make Johannesburg ‘a world class city’. Despite the disparities in locations and needs between the rural and urban dwellers, the LPM came to the conclusion that the underlying cause of their major problem was land (Mngxitama, 2015).

In the period 2001 – 2004, the LPM was able to grow in membership to the extent that due to its support base and a variety of tactics – legal and extra-legal – it was able to force the hand of the government to listen and act upon its pleas. Despite the growth of the LPM from rural to urban areas, the movement came to a standstill or a regression in some areas. The cause for regression according to those who have written on the LPM, emanated from its close ties with the NLC. The NLC found it a challenge straddling the state/civil society line while at the same time mentoring one of the most prominent post-apartheid social movements (Alexander, 2004 & 2006; Moyo, 2005; Greenberg, 2004 & 2006 and Mngxitama, 2006). The other reasons that contributed to the regression or standstill were government repression and a lack of a unifying ideology within the movement on how to advance their cause. This was not special to the LPM as most social movements that were established at the dawn of the millennium, reached their peak around 2005 and from then, they experienced a decline (Ballard et al., 2006). This was true

in the case of the LPM as the mid- 2000's saw its rupture, and in some areas such as Thembelihle there was a total downfall.

1.2 Thembelihle in Context

Thembelihle is an informal settlement located in region G, South of Johannesburg, within the historically Indian township of Lenasia – between sections 9 and 10 of the township. According to the municipality of Johannesburg:

Region G lacks formal housing and social services infrastructure, it has the highest rate of unemployment in the city, and most of its residents live below the breadline.⁵

Thembelihle's history can be traced back to the 1980's after the owners of the land that it occupies left the country. Prior to Thembelihle, the area was home to the bricks manufacturing factory known as SA Block. Between 1989 and 1992, the settlement experienced a rapid increment in its inhabitants as 47% of its households took up occupation. With an existence of over twenty years, Thembelihle has since grown and become a well-established settlement with about 6000 units housing a population of about 17,000 (Veriava, 2006).

The initial inhabitants of Thembelihle claim that they occupied the land with the consent of the apartheid government, despite the tight regulations on movement especially to urban areas. They claimed that they received building materials such as iron sheets from the Transvaal Provincial Administration in order for them to build informal or temporary houses on the land (Wilson, undated). Given the influx of people into Thembelihle, the settlement underwent a regularization process approved by the provincial administration which earmarked it a transit area in order to curb illegal squatting. The regularization of Thembelihle led to the marking and enumeration of residential stands and the installations of utility services such as water, electricity and telephone (Wilson, Undated). The partial recognition that was accorded to Thembelihle resulted in the increased commercialization of the area – sharklordism – and proved a hindrance for relocation purposes (Huchzermeyer, 2006).

⁵ Description of region G on municipality's website
http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1873&Itemid=198

In the early 1990s as apartheid was visibly losing its grip on South Africa, the Southern Metropolitan Council – the predecessor to Johannesburg municipality – carried out a geotechnical survey in 1992, in an attempt to see the feasibility of an in situ upgrade in Thembelihle. This revealed that the informal settlement is built on dolomitic⁶ land. Subsequently, two more geotechnical surveys have been carried out, one in 1998 and the other in 2000; the former was carried by the City of Johannesburg Municipality whereas the latter was funded by the residents of Thembelihle all concurring that the land is indeed dolomitic (Wilson, undated & Mabasa, undated). The discovery of dolomite in Thembelihle has been the center of contestation between residents and the municipality.

The issues of Thembelihle are captured well by Pingo (2013), who notes that the most pressing issue is that of security of tenure. With the commercialization of Thembelihle which resulted in the private ownership of stands compounded by the geotechnical issues highlighted above, Thembelihle residents found themselves in precarious living conditions. Since the results of the first geotechnical survey in 1992, the residents of Thembelihle have found themselves under constant threats of eviction (Wilson, Undated).

The municipality of Johannesburg had a plan for eradicating informal settlements by the year 2007. These plans were outlined in the Sustainable Housing Strategy for the City of Johannesburg⁷. In the documents there were two ways in which eradication was to occur, one was formalization through in-situ upgrading and the other was formalization through the physical relocation of individuals to specified sites which have been formalized and secured (Wilson, undated). The determining factor of how informal settlements were to be formalized depended on technical aspects and local councilors were given the task of informing their constituents of those aspects. For Thembelihle, the notice came in 2002 that the municipality will provide security of tenure and means in which to build houses. As much as the residents should have welcomed this news, the downside was that their security of tenure was contingent upon their relocation some 8km away from Lenasia to the newly earmarked settlement of Vlaktefontein and some 3 km to Lehae (see figure 1) (Pingo, 2013; Wilson, Undated).

⁶ Dolomite is a rock which dissolves overtime leading to subsurface gaps that have the potential of becoming sinkholes - <http://www.iol.co.za/the-star/lenasia-informal-settlement-a-dolomite-zone-1.1138706>

⁷ Sustainable Housing for the City of Johannesburg: Johannesburg Department of Housing, October 2001.

The community albeit not a homogenous unit – some wanted to leave while others wanted to stay - did not respond well to the news of the relocation and acted in resistance. The people of Thembelihle took to the streets challenging the municipality's decision. Whereas others wanted to leave they still had concerns that were not addressed by the city; for instance, the idea that they would be evicted from Thembelihle and taken to another shack instead of a proper house. Another reason that made the people of Thembelihle protest together was because of the “relative economic and social advantages of Vlakfontein and Thembelihle” (Wilson, Undated: 12). The municipality responded to their claims with force and was able to divide the residents of Thembelihle as they threatened them with demolitions. Those who felt threatened caved in and moved to Vlakfontein while those who remained continued to challenge the municipality (Segodi, 2015).



Figure 1: Map of Johannesburg with a focus on Thembelihle and its relocation sites ©Nyawade, 2015

As can be read from the map, the distance from the center (Johannesburg) is considerably far, with negative effects on Thembelihle residents. With Thembelihle being 40km away from Johannesburg, its economic prospects are dim, although its proximity to Lenasia avails opportunities for its residents to find casual labor in the Indian township. Also, residents of Thembelihle are able to use social amenities available in Lenasia to compensate for the lack of in Thembelihle. In general, Lenasia is the main economic hub in region G and receives a lot of support from the municipality.

Despite their persistence, the community's claims were met with deaf ears at the municipality and the only reaction was that of the use of state apparatus to repress the protests. It is at this juncture that the assistance of the LPM was called upon. The community leaders at the time knew what the municipality was doing was unlawful but they did not have the resources to pursue formal channels. The LPM had vast networks as it was a national movement, although mainly active in the rural areas of South Africa. The LPM was also known for assisting in fighting forced evictions and thus the LPM established a branch in Thembelihle.

1.3 Research Questions

This section focuses on questions that guided this research. To that effect, my main research question is:

What are the dynamics of participation of the Thembelihle 'community' in the activities of the Landless Peoples Movement (LPM) in Thembelihle?

In order to answer the main question the following sub questions were used to offer direction

- What mechanisms does the LPM use to ensure community participation in Thembelihle?
- To what extent does the LPM represent, and advance the objectives of (sections of) the population in Thembelihle?

1.4 Rationale of Study

The quest for deepening democracy to enhance citizens' realization of their rights has been a major challenge all over the world. Governments, NGOs and various civil society organizations have over time acted towards expanding democracy to otherwise marginalized groups. Whereas governments are constantly being scrutinized in regards to citizen participation, it is evident that the civil society often goes unchecked. This research, with a focus on participant involvement in social movements is an attempt to go beyond the public portrayals of social movements as it uncovers internal dynamics of social movements. Holding civil society accountable to the principles they advocate for prove interesting to academic inquiry.

Undoubtedly, within the discourse on governance it is acknowledged that governance involves a myriad of actors – this includes the state, corporations, civil society etc. Also acknowledged through governance reforms is the idea of citizens as co-governors. The idea that citizens should not only follow what the state stipulates but rather they should be actively involved in determining how they are governed. The attempts at executing all-inclusive governance systems have continued to perpetuate the status quo. The continued marginalization of the disenfranchised within any governance system has resulted in the rise of social movement organizations as a response to lack of social political and economic change.

Studying community participation in social movements is an attempt at reconciling participation principles with those of social movements. Whereas social movements stand alone in their theories, within the literature on participation, social movements are regarded as the epitome of participation. Indeed this perception has been maintained as social movements are described as radical and challenging to state power. As part of civil society, social movements provide for a good case study as they involve the mobilization of people to affect policy and social change through participation and various forms of representation. Automatically in the principles associated with the role of social movements lies the idea of democracy.

Using the LPM as a case study offers an opportunity for this study to adequately gauge the level of community participation within a movement in its attempts to affect policy. First, the LPM is dealing with a hotly contested issue (land) which is affecting the majority of the population in South Africa. Second, the LPM is the first national landless people's movement, bringing together various organizations and people across South Africa. Considering the scope the LPM covers, the social movement has to be very well organized in order to carry out its strategies. It also has to ensure the inclusion of the various social groups in order to move ahead and to effectively challenge the government.

The LPM claims to be an avenue where the landless actually have a voice, and the purpose of this research is an attempt at locating the people's voice within the LPM. The community aspect of this research is therefore necessary in the sense that it enables us to locate just how they participate in the LPM. In this sense, what is of importance is how the community affects LPM's strategies and decision-making. This study therefore analyzes the interaction between the

community, the LPM and the state thus giving us an opportunity to see how the exchange of information happens and how each party reacts.

As civil society, social movements safeguard the people's interests and assist in holding the state accountable. On the other hand social movements as representatives of a selected constituency (the landless) often times go unaccounted for. This study emphasizes on community participation as an attempt to hold social movements accountable to the community of Thembelihle. This study is therefore not only interested in the attainment of set objectives by the LPM but important for assessment is the process in which those objectives were met and the role the community played in the process. Participants in social movement are often looked at with reference to protestors, without denying their importance in protests their involvement should be much deeper. Participants are capable human beings whom because of their existential experience may offer a lot more to social movements in tackling their plight. Locating the community in the processes of social movement is therefore an important point of study as it enables the community to participate towards affecting policy.

1.5 Key Terms:

This list contains some definitions of what have been deemed as the key terms that are significant to this research.

Participation: Process where inputs from the (prospective) beneficiaries are necessary for development to be relevant, sustainable and empowering in relation to governance and decision making (Hickey and Mohan, 2005).

Community: An informally organized social entity, which is characterized by a sense of identity (White, 1982)

Social Movements: Forms of collective action with high degree of popular participation, which use non-institutional channels and formulate their own demands while simultaneously finding forms of action to express them (Jelin, 1986 in Escobar & Alvarez, 1992:15).

Governance: The management of the course of events in a social system (Burris, Drahos &

Shearing, 2005)

1.6 Dissertation Structure

Chapter one looks at community participation in context. In this regard, the chapter entails background information on the LPM and Thembelihle. This chapter sets the tone for the rest of the report therefore together with the background information it includes research aims and objectives; key terms; and provides the outline for the report.

Chapter two explores relevant literature to this study. In this regard, I will attempt to exhaust material on participation, governance and social movements as the theoretical concepts that underpin this exploration. Firstly, I look at the concept of participation and the idea that it is liberating and leads to improved governance. Secondly, pulling from the literature, I seek to look at social movements. On this note, social movements are regarded as the emblems of participation in that they are seen to radically challenge the status quo and I therefore attempt to situate social movements within the discourse of participation and governance. This will be reviewed in accordance with both international and local trends.

Chapter three details the process of information gathering in order to answer my main research question. These include the research approach, research methods, research tools as well as sampling methods. It will also delve deeper into my research experience highlighting the successes and challenges in regards to their impact as far as information and subsequently findings.

Chapter four is the first of two analytical chapters. This chapter will focus on the level of community participation in the LPM- Thembelihle. In an attempt to identify the degree of the community's involvement, I will look at the collaboration between the LPM with various aspects of the community (CBOs and ordinary community members). I will also examine the different strategies employed to generate community participation as well as the actual participation of residents of Thembelihle.

Chapter five offers another aspect of analysis. This chapter looks at how the community's wants and needs are represented within the national scale of the LPM as well as to various levels of government. The discussion will dig deeper into the workings of the LPM in order to highlight

the pros and cons of social movements in an attempt to offer a holistic notion of social movements. Also considering the developments of the LPM where it is no longer in existence and that it has since split up and led to the creation of other movements, I will delve into the concerns regarding the split and its implication on the landless and social movements in South Africa.

Last but not least is the conclusive chapter, making it the sixth chapter. This chapter will bring together the various arguments in the report and their implication to participation, governance and the LPM on Thembelihle.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter explores the conceptions of community participation, governance and representation and social movements in literature - conceptions that also underpin this study. At the onset, I examine the literature on participation which highlights its pros and cons as it relates to empowerment. The main shortfall of participation is its ability to be diluted and becoming a buzzword that is easily thrown around by various actors, I concur with Cornwall and Coelho's (2007) advocacy for the re-politicization of participation which urges an examination of power dynamics that exist within participatory practices. They further argue that the re-politicization of participation offers the best opportunity to tackle issues of governance and representation that are rampant and which mostly affect the disenfranchised.

Following this is an examination of the governance and representation systems that are deemed appropriate for successful participation. In this there is an emphasis for the opening up of the state to civil society actors whose intentions are to bridge the lack of representation. The civil society that is represented is social movements. The interesting discovery is that civil societies are often times romanticized in their approaches towards inclusion and participation. This forms the basis of this inquiry as I perceive civil societies to be organizations and very much systematic in their operations. Secondly, their role as mediators forms an interesting aspect of inquiry as regards their nurturing of participation. I therefore argue that social movements do not necessarily advance the principles of democracy such as participation.

2.1 Community Participation

Participation was intended to reverse the way development practitioners work. As a practice, it emphasized bottom-up, and local diversity approaches as well as development as a learning process, leading to complete reversal in how development is exercised (Chambers, 1994). Since then, the concept of participation has been applied in various other fields and thus propelled various definitions depending on the context in which it is applied; as a matter of principle, practice or as an end in itself (Mathbor, 2008).

Hickey and Mohan (2005) define the concept of participation as a process where inputs from intended beneficiaries are necessary for development to be relevant, sustainable and

empowering.⁸ This definition has further been stretched with many scholars emphasizing transfer of political power to the people as a reaction to the sense of powerlessness felt by the people in their relationship to government and decision making bodies (Arnstein, 1969; Brager, Specht & Torczyner, 1987; Armitage, 1988; Chappel, 1997). These definitions not only look at participation from the perspective of development projects, but also from a greater political perspective in which participation takes place. Thus, participation as noted by Mathbor (2008: 8) is usually modified with adjectives resulting in terms such as ‘community participation, citizen participation, public participation and popular participation.’

Focusing on Arnstein (1969: 216), she identifies citizen participation as a categorical term for citizen power. In that regard she defines it as “the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic process to be deliberately included in the future. This definition by Arnstein will be used in this study due to the focus on the transference of power to the have nots. This is also appropriate as she develops a typology dubbed the ladder of participation which can be used in the analysis of the power transfer. The basic idea of the ladder is to assess the type of participation claimed to have occurred and how it translates to participant empowerment. It ranges from levels of non-participation to community ownership. The advantage of this ladder is that it also addresses strategies and actions of those claiming to advocate for participation which are represented by the 8 rungs which separate the various degrees of participation. Given that one of the aims of the study is to identify the level of involvement of the community of Thembelihle in the LPM, Arnstein’s ladder of participation is relevant to this study as it can reveal how much the community members are involved and highlight LPMs tactics of participation.

Ballard (2008) contends that participation carries promises both material and immaterial. Material benefits would be service delivery and infrastructure development, whereas immaterial benefits would be empowerment and the deepening of democracy. The premise in community participation lies in what is referred to as social capital, whereby involvements and participation in groups can have positive consequences for the individual and the group (Portes, 1998). Essential in this theory as developed by Bourdieu (1985 cited in Portes, 1998) is that individuals

⁸ Similar definition as World Bank 1995 and across Chambers’ works (j1992, 1993, 1994 & 1997)

will deliberately come together for the construction of sociability for the purpose of creating this resource which will be invested towards the group for the acquisition of other benefits. The dangers however for linking the notion of social capital to participation outcomes – material or immaterial – is that there is an already pre-determined outcome. Another danger is that this may affect participation adversely in that more efforts will be geared towards social capital at the expense of meaningful participation.

Williams (2004) contends that the process of participation is not as simple as it is perceived; participation may be a form of ‘subjection’ as it uncritically celebrates the community. The perceived danger is that an obscured perception of local power may produce tyrannical effects of participation. Likewise, Bardhan and Mookherjee (2006) pre-empt a possible capture of local government by local elites, which will further marginalize the ‘weak’ in the decentralized systems. Veron et al. (2006) in their study of corruption at the local level of governance, showed that tyranny is not always one sided and that local political elites and civil society may be in collusion to defraud the locals of their participatory promises.

Another way to analyze the community and tyranny as suggested by Purcell (2006) is through what he calls the ‘local trap’. The ‘local trap’ is the habit of assuming something inherent about the local which is always taken as good. Local outcomes, he adds, are contingent upon particular agendas that are already agreed upon by those empowered by the localization and therefore there is no way that positive outcomes are inherent to the local. This relates to the contention of the term community in participation by Mohan and Stokke (2000) as they explain that the term is used frequently by the state and outside organizations. The danger in this narrow conceptualization of the community is that often times it fails to achieve the stated agendas of empowering the whole community. This is so as Crehan (1997) laments, the community cannot be taken as a homogenous unit, considering that it is a social organization which is rife with cleavages which automatically rule out any notion of homogeneity and harmony as well. Sharing through participation does not necessarily mean sharing in power. In fact the abstraction of the idea of community participation risks depoliticizing development as it fails to engage with power and politics thus essentially depoliticizing what is actually a political process (White, 1996; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Mohan & Stokke, 2000).

Hickey and Mohan (2005) emphasize that participation is indeed a political process as it involves the interaction between institutional norms and agency led practices. This therefore allows for the expression of agency and claims for citizenship as subjects of a particular community and thus claiming socioeconomic resources. Concurrently White (1996), Arnstein (1996) and Cornwall and Coelho (2007) are of the view that participation without power is a wasteful process for the powerless. In order to have meaningful participation, the process should be politicized given the competing interests between the community, the state and civil society.

The views on participation have indeed been exhausted in such a manner that directs one from making romanticized assumptions regarding participation. Participation is such a dynamic concept that the literature alludes to the need to create a balance between the abstract and the real. Further we are reminded that participation is indeed a political process (White, 1996; Arnstein, 1996; Cornwall and Coelho, 2007). This process is expected to produce outcomes – material or immaterial – although literature seems to be moving towards the increase of immaterial outcomes (Holston, 2009; Von Liers, 2007). How then can participation produce immaterial outcomes which are said to lead to empowerment and the deepening of democracy, thereby enhancing governance?

2.2 Governance and Representation

Closely related to the idea of participation is that of governance. Hickey and Mohan (2005) contend that development requires liberal democracy with a responsive state and a strong civil society. Similarly, Béné-Gbaffou (2011) notes that there is an assumed progressive inter-relationship between decentralization, participation and democracy – with decentralization intended to facilitate participation and thus affecting governance. Fukuyama (2013: 3) defines governance as ‘government’s ability to make and enforce rules and deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not.’ His definition does not take into consideration the notion of democracy, meaning that governance can occur regardless of the system and places governance only within the realm of the state disregarding other actors who might exercise power over others. As recognized by Fukuyama and implied in development programs, the emphasis on democracy is essential as it transcends governance to imply good governance.

The emphasis on good governance can be problematic in the sense that it perceives governance as a responsibility of the state and neglects to place responsibility on the multiple actors exercising some degree of governance. As highlighted by the participation literature, there are many forces at work all exercising their power to a certain extent which has had unintended outcomes on the process of participation. This is also true with the literature on governance which suggests that in the era of liberalization there are many forces which are exercising some form of governance over a people simultaneously, which impact on participation and representation. This is referred to as nodal governance, meaning that governance is spread out within different actors adding to the complexities of governance which are presently experienced (Burris, Drahos & Shearing, 2005). For instance, if governance was seen as a responsibility by all given that everyone has interests – even the social movements – perhaps there would be some limitations on the tyrannical effects of participation at the local level. And this in my view would be the deepening of democracy, notwithstanding that the state is to create suitable conditions for enhanced democracy.

Given the failure of most centralized governments in expanding and deepening representation, decentralization has acquired a buzzword like status as it is one of the most sought after governance reforms. This is indicated by the attempts of many countries to decentralize and receive high approval ratings within the development sphere (Bardhan, 2002). Faguet (2013) contends that decentralization as a reform is very important, as its aim is to reconstitute government. Similarly, Conyers (1986:88) regards decentralization as the “transfer of authority to plan, make decisions and manage public function from a higher level of government to any individual, organization or agency at a lower level.” Embedded within these identifications is the idea that reaching the local is equal to good governance and therefore empowerment.

Decentralization has been considered as enhancing democracy through participation of civil society. The combination of the two propelled participatory governance as a method by which to promote development through collaborative processes involving varying stakeholders (Ballard, 2008). Participation became the new buzz word in development as evidenced by the World Bank’s efforts to incorporate participation through its voices of the poor report subsequently placing it within the deliberative discourse as it coincided with the deliberative turn in

democratic theory.

According to Dryzek (2002), democratic legitimacy is reflected by the ability or opportunity for subjective participation and deliberation by those affected by collective decision. A deliberative approach to democracy, therefore, is said to offer democratic control whereby competent citizens engage thus resulting in substantive rather than symbolic democracy. Furthermore, Dryzek contends that deliberative democracy is well suited to liberal democracy given that liberal democracy is concerned with rights and deliberation or that participation is a right. Indeed, within this view of democracy, links are instantly made between participation and democracy as a form of governance.

In fact, the essence behind the deliberative turn is moving the state to the people, and according to Heller (2001) doing so is a political project. Heller is of the opinion that no technical or organizational process can be free of power and politics. Furthermore, the state is an object for mobilization and at the same time has the prerogative in determining who is considered a subject; ultimately the state provides the spaces for participation (Cornwall & Coelho, 2007). Given the role of the state as a guarantor of citizenship it therefore affects how claims are made. While examining the spaces for participation which are deemed necessary for participatory democracy, Miraftab (2004) brings to our attention the concepts of invited and invented spaces. Invited spaces are those that are made available and legitimized by donors and governments intervention. Invented spaces are often created by participants and lack legitimacy in the eyes of the authorities as they challenge the status quo; while the former offer coping mechanisms and maintains the status quo. These spaces are not static but have been seen to be fluid especially invented spaces become invited spaces, the point of analysis is therefore important.

The concepts of invited and invented spaces will also be employed as analytic tools in this research. Whereas Arnstein's ladder is useful in measuring participation, it largely does not talk of the circumstance in which participation occurs. In order to grasp the politicized nature of participation, Miraftab's concept on spaces will be useful in explaining the strategies of representation and the tactics which are applied by the LPM. It will also aid in highlighting the nuances involved with each space and how they impact on the participation.

Similarly, White (1996) and Mohan and Stokke (2000) recognize the duality in participation whereby it has transformative abilities in challenging structures of domination, but can be easily be co-opted and thus produce contrary outcomes of degenerating and reproducing existing power relations at the micro level. Bénit-Gbaffou (2011) realizes the inclusion of civil society raises the need for the literature to examine local participation and decentralization in relation to democracy, which she reiterates has the ability to give rise to un-democratic processes.

The advancements made in governance with the inclusion of non-state actors and the emphasis on citizen as evidenced in the already presented literature has implications on representation. Whereas the literature focuses on the benefits to be gained by citizens, it doesn't address the challenge to representation with the involvement of multiple actors. Advocates of participatory democracy are emphasizing that increased involvement of other actor in governing is testament to deepening democracy. Alternative actors like civil society groups are seen to be opening up the states and granting those marginalized access to the state. The breaking of the monopoly on governance is seen as undoing the effects of representative democracy (Houtzager & Lavalley, 2010). Countering this view is that the involvement of these new actors is a sign of crisis in representation. The main argument here is that these new governance organizations lack legitimacy of political representation. Unlike traditional institution of democracy which through the vote, representation is legitimized and held accountable, the new organizations lack these two mechanisms (Houtzager & Lavalley, 210). To some degree, I concur with those questioning the legitimacy of the new governing institutions mainly on the issue of accountability. For instance social movements, the leaders are not obliged to fulfill any promises to the supposed constituency and therefore there is nothing stopping them in pursuing their own personal agenda. Also as far as participation and representation is concerned, there is no way to determine that what those who participated wanted was represented. This is the dubious relationship of who is participating and who is represented. Houtzager and Lavalley (2010), explain this contradiction well as they state:

“The strong normative commitment to direct participation hides an important reality – many participatory institutions are designed for civil society associations rather than individual citizens, and in those designed for direct participation, many of the participants

are leaders of civil organization who come to represent particular groups, values and identities.”

The idea that participation operates well under decentralized systems of governance has indeed been advocated for. But the opposite may be true, in that the more the system is divided into micro sections may actually make the state less accessible and there is a risk that a section does not really fit into the whole. Furthermore, the breaking down of the state system in order to make it accessible has in some cases produced worse undemocratic outcomes and poses a challenge in knowing who to hold accountable and at what level. This also can be seen to have adverse effects on movements and their objectives as they are forced to adapt to local needs but may face difficulty in reconciling them to the bigger picture of challenging the system. Furthermore, focusing participation towards governance or development process may overlook participants needs as success rates of these movements is not looked at from the internal dynamics but rather how well they challenge the state. In this case participation in social movements may not look at how the leaders of these movements are accountable to their ‘constituent.’

2.3 Social Movements

This section of the literature review is essential in bringing together the various components that are associated with participation and governance given that civil society is a bridge between the state and the people. Social movements are distinct social processes and are one of the ways in which collective action is exercised (della Porta & Diani, 2006). Social movements in fact emerge when individuals within a society make a decision to participate. Social movements’ actors engage in conflict whether political or cultural with the aim of promoting or opposing social change (Tilly, 1978). In this regard, social movements could be considered as rational, purposeful and their actions organized as they derive from calculated costs and benefits (Zald, 1987 and Tilly, 1978). This rational consideration of social movements perpetuates the ideas of participation and governance to be outward looking and most criticism directed towards their public display of dissent or support. This evident contrast is seen in debates that have often demonized social movements with emphasis placed on their un-institutionalized nature and their political behaviors deemed as unusual. The distinguishing factor between social movements and other social actors is that social movements are usually established under circumstances that

make them critical of conventional participatory and governance approaches. They therefore opt to make claims by way of protests instead of conventional approaches such as lobbying. Although as time progresses they embrace a mixed method approach – both conventional and non-conventional (Alberoni, 1984 and Rucht, 1990). Furthermore, a change in tactical approach by a social movement is often credited to external environment rather than to the individuals who make up the social movement. This will be clearer later in this section as the political process is explained.

The above perceptions and consideration indicate towards the difficulty of concisely defining what a social movement is. Researchers, as noted by Snow et al (2004), tend to define social movements via particular emphasis on the different aspects that are found within and without social movements. Taking into account factors such as collective action; interest groups; change oriented goals; extra institutional collective action, degree of organization; and degree of temporal continuity. Snow et al (2004: 6-11) therefore define social movements as:

“Collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based in the group organization, society, culture or world order of which they are a part of.”

Social movements as per their formation and above definition are well located within invented spaces of citizenship as defined by Miraftab (2004), given that actors that occupy this space are highly politicized and seek to change the status quo. Actors in social movements are seen to be proactive agents as they seek means in which to combat their exclusion from conventional structures and instead employ the idea of social capital by mobilizing resources for political gain given a political gap (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). In this sense, social movements arise out of conflict in the intersection of the lifeworld and the system – private and public sphere (Habermas, 19870). Therefore, the existence of social movements signifies a break down in institutions of mediation between the people and the state.

Although many social movements have a revolutionary orientation, their methods are not always seen as combative. Over the years they have been seen to protest around a plethora of issues such

as peace, feminism and homosexuality, which in the case of Europe displaced class based political mobilization in the 1970s and 1980s forcing a new theorization of social movements (Touraine, 1981; Cohen, 1985 and Castells, 1997). The new theory of social movements developed towards identifying how these movements identify themselves and reconcile interests, given divergent yet novel forms of collective action. Similarly, in North America, there was a push towards the formulation of a new theory which could explain the emerging trends of social movements. The emergence of the new social movement theory and the notion of social mobilization were attempts of constructing a general theory of movements thus resource mobilization theory (Foweraker, 1995).

Resource mobilization theory arose out of debates strongly linked with the transition from industrial to post-industrial society which created a new society. In this new society, social actors correspond to their capacity for self- reflection and thus distribution conflicts were identified and gave rise to protests (Cohen & Arato, 1992). The new social movement theory is therefore a reaction to the new actions created by the structural changes in society. This theory begins with the premise that social discontents are universal but collective action is not and thus the problem is how to mobilize resources in order to maintain and expand the movement (Foweraker, 1995). Resource mobilization is a challenge as participants are perceived to be rational beings who weigh the cost and benefits of their participation in determining the worth of the movement (Olson, 1965; and McCarthy & Zald, 1977). This original definition of the theory was criticized for basing collective action on an economic model. It was later changed as critics emphasized that concepts of resource mobilization theory do not only refer to the objective realities but to the capacity of social actors as well (Hirschman, 1982 and Scott, 1991). The redefining of the theory to include various forms of resources allowed it to explain why deprived participants were able to participate (Tilly, 1978; and McAdams, 1982). Social mobilization is essential to social movements as it produces more diverse opportunities for resource mobilization (Foweraker, 1995).

Despite the explanatory expansion of the social theory, it was still seen as a theory that focused only on why people mobilized but did not really look at the factors that made people do so. In attempts to solve the problem, social movement theorists developed the political process

approach. This approach attempts to repair and expand the resource mobilization theory to offer some cohesion in analyzing movements (Mamay, 1991). According to the political process approach the emergence of social movements is dependent on three factors, namely political opportunity; organization and mobilization; and interest (Tilly, 1978; McAdam, 1982 and McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2001).

Political opportunity results from events that serve to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is structured and thus rendering them vulnerable and placing the opportunity in favor of the movement (McAdam, 1982; and Tilly, 1978). The second factor borrows from social mobilization theory; organization and mobilization refers to the levels of unity, identity and networks (Tilly, 1978). This is contingent on strong leadership that will create a merger between pre-existing organizations with current ones for the widening of communications network and individual ties (McAdam, 1982). The third factor is interest (Tilly, 1978); this represents the potential gains from participating. McAdams (1982) refers to this as the cognitive liberation among potential social movement participants. This requires that the participants must have similar feelings of discontent towards the political system and that their participation will result in meaningful change. Cognitive liberation is a result of group processes and flows from political opportunities and local organization (Caren, 2007).

This political process approach is also another useful concept given the subject matter is social movements. The political process and its three factors offer the opportunity to understand social movements from their establishment; their operation and function; as well as their strategies. This concept will although be applied cautiously as its focus is on the social movements leaders as they react to the context of the political environment. It is as though despite having participants, the political environment determines any decisions and progression of a social movement. None the less it will be useful in laying out the foundations of social movement participation as far as internal dynamics are concerned and offer a departure point for analysis to begin.

The literature on participation describes social movements as the most radical, but within it there are assumptions which continue to plague it that might be the nature of civil society. For instance

social movements are the most radical but democratic as they challenge political structures. The focus on the capabilities of social movements has diverted attention in actually studying what is within it. For instance, it is almost always predicated that there is participation in social movements. I mean this not in the form of actually partaking in a protest but in the form of creating structures and outlining strategies. Who sets the objectives in movements and how do they decide on how to fulfill them?

2.4 Participation, Governance and Social Movements in South Africa

Research done on the South African context has focused on social movements and civil society; municipal institutional history and change; and on electoral patterns and behaviors at the local and national levels (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2008). From a political point of view, South African civil society's involvement has always been curtailed. This is due to the restrictive era of apartheid governance where the government was in tight control of the people and especially on blacks. As noted by various scholars, despite the transition towards a democratic dispensation, restrictions on civil society have continued to hinder participation to varying degrees (Ballard et al., 2006; Bénit-Gbaffou, 2008; Bond, 2004; Staniland, 2008 and Deacon & Piper, 2008). Bond (2004) concedes that the South African civil society terrain is not easily located within traditional liberal definitions, which place civil society between the state and the people. In other words, politics opt to use civil society for its own gains while those that oppose are demonized, demobilized and repressed.

According to Ballard et al. (2006), South Africa's participatory sphere and the rise of social movements are easily located into two distinct periods. In the 1980s, which generally mark the apartheid era, social movements spawned in reaction towards a racist oppressive government. Collective action ensued as revolutionary political parties such as the African National Congress (ANC), Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), labor unions; most notably COSATU, NGOs and civic organizations (see figure 2) became an organized unit towards the global anti-apartheid campaign and fundamentally paved the way for democracy. Post 1994, South Africa's transition to democracy was indeed a euphoric moment. This euphoria fueled high expectations of the government and likewise, the government set itself high expectations. This was especially true given the reforms promised to the people at the time. For many across the country, the long and

usually adversarial social struggles with the state were seen to have come to an end and indeed for some period this was true as many civil groups opted to collaborate with the government. Many of the movements that played a role in attaining democracy opted to operate within invited spaces and thus became absorbed in the state, leaving the government to operate largely unopposed by the public. In the long run, the cooperation between government and civil society was seen as a form of co-option, which resulted in their repression and thus a reduction in social struggles by civic groups (Ballard et al., 2006).

Indeed, the honeymoon phase did not last long until late 1990s when government seemed to renege on its own set goals such as the redistribution of 30% of agricultural land within 5 years of democracy. There was strong sense citizens felt that the new government continued to marginalize the poor majority through the adoption of neoliberal economic policies – Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) – which continued to favor the owners of capital (Greenberg, 2004). Nonetheless, the state, though not so powerful, remains the center of representation and expectations. These expectations are the cause of mass protests whereby citizens are contesting the lack of provisions as promised by the government (Bénit-Gbaffou & Oldfield, 2011). It is from these experiences in the democratic era that South Africa witnessed a sudden emergence of new social movements (Bond, 2014 and Ballard et al., 2006).

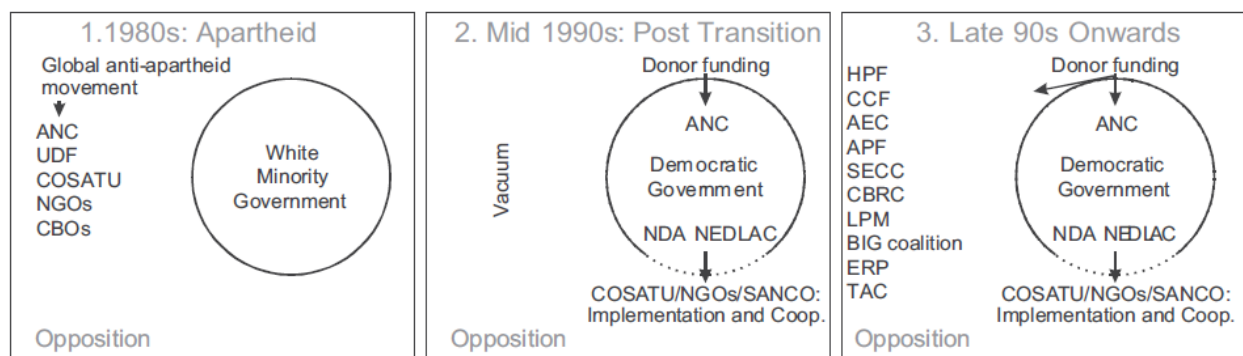


Figure 2⁹: The reinvention of South Africa's social movements (Ballard et al. 2005:622 & 2006).

⁹ The new social movements that emerged as per the diagram are the Homeless Peoples Federation (HPF), Concerned Citizens Forum (CCF), Anti-Eviction Campaign (AEC), Anti-Privatization Forum (APF), Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC), Coordinating Body of Refugee Communities (CBRC), Basic Income Grant Coalition (BIG Coalition), Education Rights Project (ERP) and Treatment Action Campaign (TAC)

In attempts to locate the contribution of these contemporary social movements on the political and socio-economic sphere in South Africa, Ballard et al (2006) look to aggregate the South African experience with trends and themes of international social movements. The sudden burst of social movements witnessed in South Africa in the late 1990s is largely viewed to be a result of the post-apartheid moment. This moment is characterized by economic crisis witnessed in unemployment and increased poverty rates. As well as by the new democratic and liberalized dispensation that ensued, reflecting the conflation of globalization and democratization in South Africa (Ballard et al., 2005; 2006). Given the characteristics of the post-apartheid moment, it is no wonder that perception regarding the impact of social movements is polarizing; to public officials, social movements are a hindrance to democracy; to academics and movement leaders, social movements are necessary for the advancement of democracy (Ballard et al., 2005; 2006).

In as much as the sudden burst of social movements was good for collective action, it was also worrisome given the history of social movements in the country. This worry is due to the limited continuity of social movements from the 1980s to the 1990s. In the 1980s social movements took the adversarial role against the government. In this sense they wanted to create a revolution and overthrow the system. In the 1990s as noted by Ballard et al. (2006), the only similarity that is visible amongst South Africa's contemporary social movements is that of their genesis. The reality is that they are heterogeneous and thus simple generalizations about the movements and characteristics of the participants do not paint a true picture of these social movements. This is evidenced by Ballard et al (2005, 2006) through their investigation of the various typologies that could define South Africa's social movements. A key recognition is that due to the overlapping nature of claims, these movements could be easily characterized as homogeneous despite their differences and perhaps this plays a role in their quick rise and demise, as they are different and yet very similar.

Unlike social movements in the apartheid era, contemporary social movements do not harness their energies and resources towards a single counter hegemonic project focused on state capture like the African National Congress (ANC) once did. Instead, these contemporary social movements have diverse claims. Some can be categorized as rights based opposition and others as counter hegemonic often times with these two conflating (Ballard et al., 2005, 2006).

Considering the high degree of overlap and conflation by social movements, the demarcation between these two categories I believe may be considered permeable and not necessarily distinct. This is reflected in the tactics employed by contemporary social movements. They may collaborate with the government; or even become institutionalized while making and emphasizing their claims; they may opt for illegal approaches whereby state laws are blatantly disregarded. Furthermore, the irony is that all contemporary social movements while using extra-legal means will make claims to the violation of their rights as they define and frame their movement (Ballard et al., 2005:2).

Given the sudden rise of diverse social movements and the challenges they encountered as they attempt to check the state, how then did these contemporary social movements impact on participation and ultimately to how South Africans are governed? This is the big question regarding post-apartheid social movements by a plethora of researchers (Ballard et al. 2006; Pithouse, 2008; Beinart & Dawson, 2010; Thompson & Tapscott, 2010; Sinwell, 2011a). An important observation that has been noted by various researchers of contemporary social movements in South Africa is that participation is highly influenced by local experiences and thus they are manifestations of the apartheid legacy: exclusion, poverty and marginalization (Ballard et al., 2006:567). In this regard, the idea that social movements are revolutionary has been seen to mainly exist in the academic sphere as participation and claims are drawn out of everyday experiences (Ballard et al., 2005 & 2006; Barchesi, 2004; Desai, 2003; McKinely & Naidoo, 2004).

As regards participation in general, the state has indeed attempted to deliver on its promises on restructuring the country. The post-apartheid era is marked by government restructuring along the principles of good governance, especially at the local level in attempts to make the state more accessible and responsive to local needs (Bénit-Gbaffou & Oldfield, 2011). Despite the well-intentioned attempts towards inclusive participatory processes, Bénit-Gbaffou (2008) concludes that institutional participatory mechanisms in place in South Africa do not work. This is because of the lack of accountability and the inability of ward councilors to bring their constituent grievances to the council given that local governance structures are still highly centralized and due to a single dominant party system, which operates in a clientelistic manner preferring to

reward loyalty over productivity. Similarly, Deacon and Piper (2008) assess the failure of participation at the local level by looking at ward committees. They contend that these committees are ridden with inefficiencies resulting from ignorance of community participation stakeholders – civic, residents and councilors – towards the power and structures of local government or they are meaningless and powerless given the role of party loyalty on individuals.

The plight of the invited participatory channels can best be summarized as:

‘Invited spaces’ in which communities can engage the local state constructively, the poor design of these spaces, a lack of genuine will on the part of the elites and the relative power of key social actors mean that in practice, they are either meaningless processes or simply co-opted by political parties” (Piper & Ndavi, 2010:212 cited in Ping, 2013:17)

These results are reflective on governance and have led communities to respond in anger. According to Pernegger (2015), the post-apartheid state, especially the local government, has borne the wrath of 578 protests between 2004 and 2012, with 2012 alone having 173 protests. The protests have since grown in frequency and in violence, making them the main source of contention against state action or inaction. This is alarming given that all these protests revolve around service delivery issues and their recurring nature is indicative of inaction on the part of the state to deal with dissent.

The inadequacies found in the official channels of participation have forced citizens to participate in other means, whereby they bypass local structures and seek for an audience at higher levels of government – provincial or national. In this way citizens are looking to go beyond projects and instead are making a series of demands and challenges to power holders and filling a political gap (Mattes, 2008 and Ballard et al., 2006). The results being the growth in scale of social movements, given the diversity of social struggles they seek to address (Ballard et al., 2006). Social movements which are politically independent are required if structural changes are to occur and the emergence of the Landless Peoples’ Movement in 2001 was as a result of lack of structural changes in land and housing policies.

By advocating for politically independent social movements does not only refer to their relationship with the external environment. Political independence can be said also to refer to the

internal nature of these social movements in South Africa. Being a bottom up approach, Mdlalose (2014) captures the intended internal dynamics perpetuated by the notion of participation in social movements as he states:

“A social movement organization is one formed by people to discuss and solve the social problems of the people. It is an organization that practices and implements democracy. Its decisions come from the people and not individuals” (Mdlalose, 2014: 345).

Such emphasis and holistic perceptions of participation in social movements, especially in the South African context “romanticizes poor people’s agency” according to Sinwell (2010). As to every pro there is a con, Sinwell (2010) and Mdlalose (2014) findings show the cons of social movements. Mdlalose exposes us to the internal workings of the Abahlali baseMjondolo (ABM), where he reveals that prominent social movements are prone to external influence – be it the state or sympathizers (donors and researchers). Sinwell offers another means in which to rethink direct action as tactic of participation. He emphasizes that collective action can also have adverse effects as indicated by his case study of the Alexandra Vukuzenzele Crisis Committee (AVCC) versus the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP). In this instance the AVCC decided to occupy houses being built by the ARP and ultimately received ownership for the houses that were occupied but the consequence was they did not follow due diligence and in so doing denied the rightful owners of the houses to occupy them. This act further threw the housing allocation system into disarray. The idea that a social movement’s actions are believed to derive from individuals participating within it or that these same actions are regarded as transformational might not necessarily be the case and calls for deeper analysis are warranted.

2.5 Conclusion

The literature has focused on participation, governance and social movements in an attempt to show how they intersect. Faguet (2013) is of the realization that most of the literature focuses its analysis on policy relevant outcomes such as education and healthcare. These policy relevant outcomes produce success stories but do not show attempts in studying the underlying dynamics. The underlying relationship is that of governance and within it carries questions of power which effectively cannot be easily depoliticized. There have been studies and literature, which focused

on unpacking participation within the context of power as seen by Williams, (2004); Cornwall, (2008); Harris et al., (2004) and Boyat, (1997). The curiosity is to try assess whether participation within social movement provides the necessary space for the powerless to participate and if so, how much of a power shift is experienced and from whom?

3 METHODOLOGY

This chapter details the methods that were utilized for the fulfilment of the stated research objective of unpacking the community's involvement in the activities of the LPM. The chapter entails detailed descriptions of the research processes such as methodologies, data collection instruments, description of research site and sampling techniques. I will also provide some insights on my field experiences, highlighting the successes and challenges and how all these contribute towards the analysis of information and the compiled report

3.1 Answering the Main Question

This study mainly relied on qualitative research methods and approaches. The decision was influenced by the need and intent of acquiring in-depth knowledge about community participation (Thembelihle) in social movements (LPM). Ragin (2000) contends that the use of qualitative methods offers the opportunity to collect information that has depth and provides ability to fully understand the matter under investigation. Communities are structures that produce varying information despite single locale; the use of this approach allows for the examination of participants experiences and understanding the meanings they derive from these experiences (Hennink et al., 2011). In this regard, qualitative designs are better suited to studying social phenomena as they dig deeper into detail.

Given the challenges of making findings derived from a qualitative study universal, it is advised that a phenomenon is studied within its natural environment (Hennink et al, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). A single case study approach was therefore used in this report with the LPM in Thembelihle as the case. LPM-Thembelihle provided the ability to study the two elements which are at the center of this study within one location; there was the community itself being Thembelihle and the social movement being the LPM and its subsidiary branch in Thembelihle. . According to Merriam (1988:21 quoted in Merriam, 1998), “a qualitative case study is “an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon or social unit.” This is further reiterated by Hennink et al. (2011) and Denzin and Lincoln (2008) as they note that the work of a qualitative researcher is to understand the “contextual influences” in order to interpret particular phenomena. Thembelihle therefore permits me to conduct the study in one location as

I was able to access both the community and the movement. I worked with the presumption that the movement's proximity to the community would provide deeper insights given that it is embedded in the local environment while maintaining a national outlook. This was in fact true as many of the community members were to some degree knowledgeable about the LPM.

The case study approach was useful as it allowed for the concentration and grounding of the research as far as limitations of the study was concerned. Also it required considerable attention into details that highlighted the specific nuances that are relevant to the final product. I was able to therefore understand how and why community members of Thembelihle are so involved in matters of the community; and how this plays into participation in social movements. It also allowed for scrutiny with great depth into the participatory tactics employed by the LPM.

3.2 Data Collection and Sampling

The methods that were employed as identified by the qualitative criterion in order to gather information for the stated questions were in-depth interviews and document reviews. These two instruments informed one another, for instance I read a lot regarding the Thembelihle Crisis Committee (TCC) and this made me realize that they were a key community organization and I needed to interview someone from this organization. Also after an interview, depending on the details, I would request if there are documents available that corroborate the stated event e.g. memorandum of request.

This research utilized document analysis both as a method of data collection and analysis. The documents that were analyzed included various primary and secondary documents related to the Landless Peoples' Movement. These included news articles, media and press releases, and relevant internal documents like letters to the municipality. Document analysis offers an opportunity to recollect the LPMs past and offer an evaluation on their progress as well as act as a check on the validity and reliability of the views collected through interviews (Silva, 2012). The primary documents mainly memorandums to the municipality were sourced from the leaders who were interviewed. Also, something worth noting is that a lot of the documents from the LPM can easily be located on the internet via various civil societies' web pages. The documents were unaltered and only used these web pages as hosts for the documents. This also attests to the

solidarity that was present at the time amongst civil society organizations (Ballard et al., 2005).

Interviews formed the bulk of the data collection tool. The interviews were in-depth, one-on-one discussions with various individuals within the community of Thembelihle and those who were necessary as regards the LPM leadership. This method was important for this study as it allowed for the capture of people's perceptions towards the LPM. The interviews were designed using unstructured interview guides which outlined key open-ended questions. The latter will be reconciled with documents in order to capture data that provides the basis for answering the main question and to attend to the sub-questions of the study (Merriam, 1998). The use of this tool is an attempt to make the interview flow like a conversation without the tensions and formalities of rigid interviews.

To capture the full story of community's participation in the LPM, the interviews were done formally with prior arrangements with the interviewees. The interviews involving community leaders and LPM executive committee were generally longer as they had more in-depth information regarding the issues they had pursued and also they understood the politicization of land. These respondents were very much passionate in discussing about Thembelihle, government leadership or lack thereof as well as the social movement itself. I also was able to interview ordinary community members. They are ordinary in the sense that they did not occupy any leadership positions at the time when the LPM was active in Thembelihle and their status has not otherwise changed since. Interview response from ordinary community members were short and more generalized giving off feelings that they were not too comfortable in sharing too much or they did not know too much. Nonetheless, through enough probing I was able to gather information that could be used for analysis.

Given the fact that the study is qualitative in nature, and needs informed views from the leaders of the LPM as well as the community – other community leaders and ordinary community members – non-probability purposive and snowball sampling were used. Given that I interviewed two sets of populations, purposive sampling was adequate in extracting information that I deemed very essential in understanding the phenomena that I intend to study. Purposive sampling allows for judgement call which will be necessary for the collection of data that is not already available (Laher & Botha, 2012). Snowball sampling on the other hand is based on

referrals made by people who know others that might possess necessary information for the purpose of a study (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981).

As I intended to capture community perceptions on participation in the LPM, purposive sampling allowed for a balance to be created amongst those who were avid supporters and those who rarely participated; this was necessary in order to capture varying views. I also employed the use of snowball sampling. This was especially necessary when I wanted to get in-depth information after a series of interviews provided general and shallow information. This involved asking around in Thembelihle for community leaders who dealt with the particular issue of land and housing. The interviews were targeted first towards LPM-Thembelihle officials and community leaders and the remaining interviews were administered to individuals within the local area. A total of 15 interviews were conducted but not all were used in the analysis as some information collected reflected general information and did not necessarily provide new information.

3 LPM officials were interviewed, as they were the only ones available considering that LPM's ceased to exist in Thembelihle in 2006. Despite of the small number of those interviewed, the information was in abundance. They had information appropriate to my research questions and their involvement and interaction with the community made the indispensable. To that effect those who were interviewed that were representatives of the LPM were:

- Andile – Initially worked for the NLC as lands policy advisor but later became part of LPM's national secretariat when it was formed. Andile was also responsible for introducing the LPM in Thembelihle where he became so involved, despite his position at the national level.
- Mzwandile – was the main connection to the LPM as he previously knew of Andile prior to the LPM. He contacted Andile asking for assistance and was convinced to establish LPM's Thembelihle branch. He subsequently occupied the position of chairperson.
- Mofokeng- was also part of the secretariat, he occupied the position of organizing secretary

The community leaders were identified by asking within the community and from newspaper

articles on Thembelihle. These are individuals who have been charged – formally or informally – with the responsibility of representing resident's issues and concerns on various platforms. These leaders were from community organizations that worked with the LPM. Their involvement was necessary as they offered insights of a different perspective and together with the LPM they are all charged with representing the people of Thembelihle. Those interviewed as community leaders were:

- Sphiwe – The chairperson of the Thembelihle Crisis Committee, a local community organization
- Lebogang*¹⁰ - member of the ward council
- Themba* - affiliated to the ANC local chapter

Last but not least, the remaining interviews were those of getting community perception in general. These were ordinary community residents who do not hold any leadership position either in the LPM or various community organizations. These participants were identified through purposive sampling as this research required residents that were politically informed with the issues of the area. Those interviewed were Thembisio*, Musi*, Sibusiso*, Dlamini*, Katlego*, Ndumiso* and Xolani*

3.3 Research Experience

Before the start of data collection, I was contacting persons of interest to this study and they were very receptive. This quickly changed upon setting my first appointment for an interview. The data collection officially started in September 2015, but took longer than had been planned. In as much as former leaders of the LPM were willing, they were currently occupied with new movements in which they were in the process of launching. The hastiness in establishing these new movements was as a reaction to the announcement that the restitution deadline will not be extended beyond 2019. This was a hurdle as my research was thought to have direct impact on their cause. This pressure mostly came from the leadership of the Land Reform and Restitution

¹⁰ All the names indicated with * are pseudonyms as the respondents opted for their anonymity for their involvement in the study

Movement which included Mzwandile and Ndumiso. Upon my clarification that I was unable to assist in the manner in which they were requesting, it increasingly became difficult to set up subsequent sessions for interviews.

Despite the onset challenges data collection resumed. Most of the interviews especially those with community leaders and LPM leadership were done in locations which were convenient for the respondents. These locations were within Johannesburg CBD. I travelled to Thembelihle numerous times as I needed to get information from the residents of Thembelihle. Getting access to residents was a challenge. My initial contact became occupied with another activity and could no longer be fully committed. Seeing that time was not on my side, I decided to approach the residents by myself. In order to approach the community without a contact, I needed to have translated all my interview guides and consent forms into one local language, in this instance I chose isiZulu. Along with isiZulu versions of my interview guides and consent forms, I went with my translator. At this instant I was to interview community members and other community leaders.

Going alone into an informal settlement requesting for information is not an easy task. At the onset majority of the people were very suspicious of us and were reluctant to participate. Whenever I would ask to talk to a community leader, I was automatically directed to organizations that were politically aligned and this would result into further problems of trust. Their reaction was understandable, as I had not set a prior appointment and political loyalty needed to be upheld. As I assured them that the purpose of the research was for a greater understanding into how the community participates and that they could choose to stop their participation at any time, they seemed open. This also tested my interviewing skills as I had to make sure that I go straight to the point, as the community leaders always seem to be in a hurry and short of time.

Another aspect of interviewing in Thembelihle was that an individual was not comfortable being interviewed alone. This was especially applicable in talking to ordinary residents. I did about 2 group interviews. There seems to be an unstated group mentality where one cannot speak before being authorized to speak. Most of the time when I approached an individual there would request that I wait a bit as they went to bring more people to participate. Those who I interviewed alone,

refused to do so outside of the group. They preferred I talk to them in the midst of the group. Overall, it was an exercise that needed patience and after several trips to Thembelihle, I found that people became more open as they started sharing more information which was interesting but could not be used in this current study.

3.4 Challenges in data Collection

The main challenge was time. Considering that access took time, it affected the whole research process. As I indicated, data collection begun in September, but due to people's commitments, the collection went on until early December. This was especially exacerbated by the fact that the LPM was no longer present therefore people found other causes to dedicate their time to. Another aspect is the availability of the interviewee vis a vis the interviewer. Whereas as the researcher, I dedicated my time to this project, the interviewee could only manage to slot me in whenever convenient for them. This affected the pace at which the data collection process occurred.

Another challenge was that of translation. This posed a challenge as the informed conveyed after being translated did not reflect the respondents emotions and passion when replying to a question. I found that the flatness of the translated materials hindered further probing. The idea that things really do get lost in translation was especially true, as the information translated often appeared as a summery and very much affecting the depth and breadth of what is conveyed. This is a result of difference in cultural contexts of whatever is being conveyed and who conveyed this information. Using a translator also hinders natural flow of conversation that is stipulated in qualitative research methods (Legarde et al., 2003). Techniques such as interjections or further probing were not easily applied as the translator did not know when to do so. In the event he interjected, the response reflected his personal need of information. Also the person being interviewed affected the interaction. In the case of Mzwandile who is an elderly man, the translator kept referring to him as *Tata*¹¹ this had cultural implications on how the conversations flowed and there was not a lot of back and forth.

¹¹ Tata simply means father but used widely to refer to elder men as a sign of respect.

3.5 Data Analysis

Qualitative data collection through interviews generates textual data. This is done through transcription of the recorded interviews (Hennink et al., 2011). In analyzing textual data, it is advised that one uses both inductive and deductive strategies to code the data (Hennink et al., 2011). Coding involves the act of carefully reading the data in order to locate themes that are regarded as important to the description of the phenomenon (Hennink et al., 2011; Freeday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Thematic analysis aids in the identification of pattern within the data that will later form categories of analysis. This process does not happen at once but as identified in the literature, qualitative data analysis is an ongoing process which involved simultaneous interactions of the data collection phase and the analysis phase (Freeday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

In that regard data for this study was thematically analyzed using both deductive and inductive strategies. This means that resultant themes were mostly emphasized in the research questions which were informed by extensive research on participation, whereas other themes arose from the interviews without placing any necessary focus on them. In order to arrive at the identified themes, a rigorous process of transcription followed every interview. Upon transcribing, I went through the transcript identifying and labeling various sections into themes which showed mobilization processes of participants, community participation, ways in which communities are represented and the dynamics associated with it such as politics and leadership.

3.6 Ethics

Given that this study is dealing in direct contact with humans, I have to ensure that I carry out an ethically accepted research. The ways in which I ensured high ethical standards is by first and foremost following the rules and guidelines stipulated by the university before I embarked on this research, this entailed acquiring an ethical clearance certificate upon the submission of my proposal to the non-medical ethics committee.

Obtaining the ethical clearance certificate means that means that I not only convince them but uphold that I will not put my participants in any form of danger and this involves exploiting them, being insensitive or intrusive. As required by the ethics committee, I ensured that

participants were well informed about the purpose of my study this brought challenges as they expected more from me. In the event that the participant understood the terms – voluntary participation and recording of information – of this study I made sure they signed a written and informed consent form. The issue of confidentiality was important and to that effect I assured the participants that I will protect their privacy and confidentiality by the use of pseudonyms. Pseudonyms were not applied to some LPM officials and community leaders as they were well known within Thembelihle and as regards the LPM. Also anonymity was not maintained as they were comfortable in being represented as themselves. As it is my responsibility as the researcher to ensure that participation in my research will not in any way, shape or form put the participant's life in harms' way (Ogletree & Kawulich, 2012:63-65). I made sure that the participants had contacts in which they could reach me or other stakeholders involved in this research – supervisor and the Wits University – in the event they feel something is amiss and want to report or change something.

4 TOWARDS MOBILIZATION: INTERROGATING COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE LPM

Then it meant now that these people start speaking for themselves, before all these time – because they were so disorganized – there was no landless peoples’ voice (Andile Mngxitama, former LPM and NLC; current chair of BLF)

4.1 Introduction

Thembelihle as an informal settlement faces a myriad of challenges most of which are synonymous to exclusion. In this regard, Thembelihle residents, just like many landless people are economically, socially and politically excluded and therefore are always attempting to reach the state through multiple channels. The LPM as an invented space was established as a channel through which residents of Thembelihle could use to advance their claims against the state, I am more interested in how these residents were in fact able to influence the LPM as a voice for the landless and to what degree can their participation be evaluated.

In this regard I will attempt to argue that a deep degree of participation was not achievable given the circumstances that led to the involvement of the LPM in Thembelihle. Whereas this aspect is in itself a reason for that which I am investigating, it also forms a basis for analyses of other aspects, which I look to investigate in supporting my claim. This chapter will therefore examine the community’s involvement within the LPM by documenting LPM’s origins in Thembelihle and its motivations for formation as well as its operations with emphasis on its leadership structure and tactics. Analysis regarding mobilization tactics and strategies will be informed by the political process approach, specifically the aspect that pertains to organization and mobilization. Also as I attempt to determine the degree of participation, it would be helpful to use the ladder of participation (1969) and relate it to other authors who write on power struggles in participation. To that effect, I concur with Arnstein’s perception of participation, which she identifies as the struggle for power; in this case community participation is about community power (Arnstein, 1969).

4.2 Mobilizing the Landless: Creating an Identity

As mentioned earlier, Thembelihle as an informal settlement especially since 1994 has endured continuing marginalization. Also just like many informal settlements and the majority of the South African population, the residents of Thembelihle do not have legal ownership of land and thus are subjected to tenure insecurity. With such an existence it was not difficult for the people of Thembelihle to be convinced to rally behind the LPM. Andile Mngxitama puts it well as he says:

“Thembelihle is a squatter camp right. Gauteng is urban but there is a land question that presents itself more in the squatter areas. Naturally we got a lot of people from the squatter settlements come to inquire and at one point it became so big that we had to respond to this. In fact only in Gauteng [is] where the LPM was organized around squatters and everywhere else was more rural but these people were simply landless and this was a landless peoples’ movement, what can you do? So we had to organize” (Interview, Andile; 16/09/2015).

Thembelihle is indeed an unusual case for the residents to recognize themselves as landless. Notwithstanding that it is an informal settlement, the difference is that it existed with the consent of the municipality and its previous institutions; and it had been regularized and serviced. This normalcy was quickly disrupted in 2002 by city officials as residents were threatened with forced evictions. The residents of Thembelihle took to the streets resulting in one of the most significant protests not only for service delivery but against the municipality’s plans regarding upgrading of Thembelihle (Wilson, Undated & Murray, 2008). These events acted as a precursor for the existence of the LPM in Thembelihle as detailed below:

“The LPM came through Andile. But how they came in and why they chose Thembelihle... [Mzwandile] was living in Thembelihle and he knew Andile from another NGO that Andile was working with. They were having problems with evictions and were *toyi toying*¹²; they had been given a notice by government to be evicted within 7 days. He knew Andile so he went to Andile and asked for Andile’s help in terms of getting a lawyer. Andile together with another American lady went to Sandton to go look for a

¹² A Southern African dance, long used in political protest and loosely used to mean protesting

lawyer but they didn't find a lawyer... but while on this meeting, Andile told him he wasn't with that NGO the he was working with but was with the LPM and the LPM can help them in Thembelihle in what they are being troubled with. His whole thing was that guy's join LPM so that LPM can be able to help you in Thembelihle in problems that you have... that's how Andile came to Thembelihle with LPM" (Translated interview, Mzwandile; 9/9/2015).

The above reiteration of how LPM got involved in Thembelihle is not unfamiliar in social movements. It is the act of mobilizing. Simply defined, mobilization is the 'process of increasing the readiness to act collectively' (Gamson, 1989 in Edwards & McCarthy, 2004:116). Mobilization as a resource can be a two-way traffic. As evidenced above, Mzwandile approached Andile because he was certain that Andile had the resources to assist towards their claim against the government and likewise Andile was adamant that the people of Thembelihle should come together under the banner of LPM to strengthen both parties' collective actions. "It had reached a point that if they don't organize they are not going to go anywhere" (Andile, Interview; 16/09/2015). Andile's insistence is in fact in line with one of the four main resource mobilization processes, namely organization building which the success of the other resources namely money and labor are contingent upon (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004).

To borrow from economics, resources are scarce and their true test is how well they are distributed between involved parties. This is true to social movement mobilization in an effort to effect social changes. The more individuals are able to organize towards a social movement, the more the availability of resources increases. One of the major assumptions related to increased resource mobilization is that there will be an increase in social networks and the idea behind this is that there will be increased participation for the individuals within this network (Diani, 2004). Enlarging the network is part of creating an identity that will act as a unifying factor for strengthening collective agency and furthering the appeal of a cause. This is indeed true of the LPM's inception in Thembelihle, in question of how he was able to convince the residents of Thembelihle to join the LPM Andile replied:

"But it was time for movement building, it was natural for us to say come to our meetings come check how we organize and they did. I don't remember the details right now but

our response would have been it is better to assist an organized people” (Interview, Andile; 16/09/2015).

The process of LPM movement building was able to convey to the residents the idea of coming together as one and to show that progress is easily achieved via unification. Furthermore, in the above statement, calls for organizing could instantly be used as sites of participation and these meetings were claimed as such by the leaders of the LPM Thembelihle branch. Mobilizing or organizing of individuals is essential in order for a social movement to appear as an effective political force. In order to prove their effectiveness, Klandermans (2004) notes that they may point to the powerful allies they have, amongst other things. A movement’s ability to further mobilize rests upon its ability to command a large constituency as exemplified by turnouts at protests, membership numbers and large donations (Klandermans, 2004). All of which the LPM possessed by the time they were invited to Thembelihle to assist with the threats of eviction and as such they invited the residents of Thembelihle to witness their organizing capabilities by calling them to join the larger struggle of the landless.

Notably, movements offer to act on behalf of one’s group and chances of succeeding are better enhanced if people identify with the group strongly. Therefore, part of mobilization requires invoking a unifying identity. Simon (1998) concisely defines identity as a place in society. People have multiple identities but as movements, they have to emphasize a single identity for the purpose of collective action. This is evidenced in the case of Thembelihle where there was a clear change of direction of who they organized in terms of the space they occupied in society. While mainly operating in the rural, LPM national officials had to be creative in a way that will be able to link both the rural and the urban aspects of the cause.

“In the same way in some ways they all wanted land. If you go to Thembelihle people, there is a land question but an urban land question. We were trying to get the movement to understand that there is an urban land question and a rural land question but all these questions are land questions, so it is better to have a massive pressure point to deal with these demands for everyone” (Interview, Andile; 16/09/2015).

Reconciling the identity of the residents of Thembelihle with that of the wider LPM admittedly brought about a difference in the course of the landless people's struggle. Whereas in the nascent years, mobilization of the landless was only in rural South Africa and from land CBOs that were already working with the NLC, therefore converting them to the LPM was instantaneous and the only thing left to do. As noted by Andile (Interview, 16/09/2105), the urban element came in late in the struggle and there was some resistance to it. In hindsight, he flirts with the idea that this new addition might have derailed the cause due to the changed dynamics.

Mobilization is indeed very important as it indicates how individuals participate in social movements. Through the process of mobilizing the foundations are set for the desired outcomes and how to go about them. Looking at how the process of mobilizing occurred and most importantly the attempt to create a rallying call through the establishment of a single identity in the LPM branch of Thembelihle, there was some hastiness in the process. Prior to becoming a single LPM, there was two parties involved – the residents of Thembelihle and the LPM – each with the same goal but different agendas. The residents of Thembelihle who were already protesting in the streets needed expert advice whereas the LPM was movement building and needed actors. The inception of the LPM Thembelihle branch's mobilization process supports Klandermans (2004) postulation regarding maximization of participation in social movements. The postulation states that, demand – Thembelihle residents –, supply – LPM – and mobilization should continuously work to reinforce each other.

4.3 Collective Action Culture and its Importance to Participation

Learning that the LPM in Thembelihle was amongst the most vibrant branches triggered my interest into exploring more into the decisions of the LPM to open a branch in Thembelihle, which effectively added to and changed the cause of the landless people's struggle. Talking to community leaders from various CBO's in Thembelihle both political and non-political, their lamentations on how the LPM established itself in Thembelihle provided new insights which were easily reconciled with the literature on mobilization and participation. These insights also aided in the formulation of my argument regarding participation in the LPM by the Thembelihle community.

The people of Thembelihle have never been shy in expressing themselves and fighting for their rights. The will to challenge is a testament to their character which the LPM took notice of “Thembelihle are a fighting people so anything that’s got to do with a big struggle they will lead it” (Interview, Andile; 16/09/2015). Even before the LPM had some level of presence in Thembelihle, the residents were active in challenging the status quo and it was something they were proud about “the whole Gauteng province, the first *toyi toyi* it’s for us. We made a big *toyi toyi* here in 2001 and 2002” (Interview, Ndumiso; 27/11/2015). Klandermans (2004) is of the opinion that a lack of collective action despite widespread dissatisfaction is as a result of inadequate organization to stage any action; clearly this is not the case for the people of Thembelihle as it is evidenced in the above statements. In the case of LPM in Thembelihle, this aided their growth but also affected its continuity in the long run.

As noted in the introductory chapter, the residents of Thembelihle were issued with an eviction notice in 2002; subsequently the municipality followed this order with the deployment of Wosani Security Company (red ants) who was responsible for demolishing identified shacks in Thembelihle. The residents reacted with protests that halted the demolition of the shacks. As this was prior to LPM’s involvement in Thembelihle, who then was responsible for bringing the people of Thembelihle together to fight against the government’s eviction notice? Speaking to a leader of the Thembelihle Crisis Committee (TCC) – a well-established community organization and a close rival to the LPM at the time – informed me of the politics that took place in Thembelihle just before LPM took root:

“During that situation the two characters [Andile and Anne Eveleth] that I spoke about came to Thembelihle through the NLC, an NGO. They came and attended one of our mass meetings – we had regular mass meeting because the issue [unwarranted forced eviction] was not normal, so we’d often have mass meetings on the way forward. When they came, they claimed they were coming to pledge solidarity with us, which we obviously appreciated. What happened was that shortly after the arrival, TCC was split into two and then out of one splinter group the LPM Thembelihle was formed” (Interview: Sphiwe, 24/11/2105).

Despite an unpleasant introduction, the community, people and organizations alike, especially the TCC, chose to put politics aside and collaborate for the progress of what was at stake. The struggle to retain their land was thus perceived more important. Sphiwe even acknowledged the gains the LPM had made in Thembelihle in terms of recruiting participants:

“The positive side of it is that the LPM managed to recruit other new layers within the community of youth and others and it became a sizeable and strong organization” (Interview: Sphiwe, 24/11/2015).

He added:

“We adopted a position that said we need to forge a collaborative spirit with the LPM and fortunately some of the youth that had joined the LPM we had a good relations so we managed to collaborate; despite some challenges we would encounter with some leaders of the LPM including the chairperson but generally we maintained good relations and tried to collaborate as closely as possible with the LPM” (Interview: Sphiwe, 24/11/2015).

The above sentiments provide insights to the contexts of mobilization but also how these contexts affect social networks. Within the literature regarding networks and participation, Kriesi (1989:58) stipulates that where countercultural networks are strong, majority of the people recruited happened through personal friendship networks or other forms which are not network based. This is true of the LPM’s meteoric rise in Thembelihle in terms of mobilizing and organizing people. While essentially outsiders, Andile on behalf of the wider LPM relied on the connections of a well-respected community leader. In response as to whether there was a formal membership process during the mobilization process; Andile replied “Yeah but Mzwandile and them [others who took up leadership positions in the LPM’s local branch] were very well known and respected leaders in Thembelihle, so it wasn’t very hard to get people to support” (Interview: Andile, 16/09/2015).

Given that Thembelihle residents have a strong history of organizing, the association with respected leaders by the LPM was meant to yield dividends in terms of increasing the social network of LPM Thembelihle. Networks, as far as participation is concerned provide the

channels in which communication and exchange occurs thus enabling the emergence of collective actors (Diani, 2004). There are two ways in which mobilization and participation via networks occur in any call for collective action. There are networks which are gotten due to membership to other organizations (Diani, 2004: 341). This explains the collaboration between the TCC and the LPM Thembelihle to rebel against City of Johannesburg's orders for eviction. A member of the TCC best described their decision to collaborate with the LPM as he said "the LPM language is that they are fighting for land, so we had more in common than anything" (Interview: Xolani, 26/11/2015). The other way is networks through strong bond to leaders and influential members (Diani, 2004:341). This is applicable to the LPM Thembelihle's case as those who left the TCC during its break, all followed Mzwandile to LPM. The new recruits also joined as they could relate to Mzwandile and his position within the community, amongst other things.

For the LPM to have been supported locally by Mzwandile is in line with Diani's (2004) thinking that the more costly the collective action is to participants, the stronger and more numerous the links are in determining participation. While it might have worked at the onset, in the long run movements are encouraged to get participants to have links with the organization than links with leaders or other members. The dangers to be expected in the event that strong links are not with the movement or organization is that mobilization might not occur despite availability of social networks. It is therefore encouraged that participants be recruited from outside social networks and in a place like Thembelihle this is highly plausible given its counterculture history (Diani, 2004). Sadly for LPM Thembelihle, it reached a phase of non-participation which coincided with Mzwandile moving out of Thembelihle considering that he was the chairperson of that local chapter:

"So what happened is that [Mzwandile] ended up moving out of Thembelihle. So what [Mzwandile] is saying is that there is a case of them staying in Thembelihle is still an ongoing court case until today. But he's no longer staying in Thembelihle he's now in Tshiawelo in Soweto. So he is no longer directly on the ground as to what is happening but where he left off is when they had taken government to court. That's where he left" (Translated interview: Mzwandile, 9/9/2015).

This exemplifies the over reliance on personal social networks for participation even three to four years in, instead of cementing an idea on the participants regarding the movement. It was as though Mzwandile was LPM Thembelihle and when he left, so did LPM Thembelihle.

4.4 Community Participation in LPM-Thembelihle

Snow et al. (2004) are of the realization that social movements do not exist in a vacuum but rather through their nature of collective action, they require some forms of coordination resulting in organizations. In effect, the LPM Thembelihle branch would be characterized as a social movement organization (SMO) as it is “a formal organization that identifies its goals with the preference of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals” (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). In as much as social movement scholars understand the importance of organization in understanding movement activities, there has been a healthy debate regarding the “forms, function and consequences of organization” (Snow et al. 2004:9). Organization comes in a variety of forms and degrees; single vs multiple SMOs or tightly coupled vs loosely coupled. The manner in which an SMO organizes carries with it varying consequences. The LPM as a national movement uses a combination of the forms and degrees which have been aforementioned. As it relates to LPM- Thembelihle, I would identify it as a single SMO which was loosely coupled. This identification rests on the manner in which LPM was established in Thembelihle. I have mentioned before that the LPM is the brainchild of the NLC, which as a land NGO was already working with various land organizations across the country which later were brought together kick starting a lands social movement. In Thembelihle, the LPM did not affiliate to any existing organization but rather created one. LPM-Thembelihle was therefore a single SMO which was loosely coupled, and it is from this aspect that I intend to analyze the operation of the LPM-Thembelihle with a focal point on participation.

Snow et al. (2004) note that there are differences in consequences depending on how an SMO organizes; as I have argued at the beginning of this chapter, deep degree of participation was not achieved in Thembelihle by the LPM, considering that social movements are regarded as the epitome of participation. In this regard, using Arnstein’s (1969) ladder of participation offers a comprehensive typology of identifying different degrees and kinds of participation as far as beneficiaries of participatory processes are concerned. The ladder was created for use by

development practitioners and planners and was not initially intended to understand people's participation in social movements per se but it provides us with the good understanding on different types of participation *vis a vis* transfer of power. The ladder simply puts various forms of participation in a range of 'good to bad' (Cornwall, 2008). At the top of the ladder, the 'good' kind of participation results into citizen control, which is placed firmly in the category of citizen power. The 'bad' kind of participation falls within the category of non-participation with manipulation sitting at the bottom rung of the ladder. While straddling the middle ground between good and bad we have degrees of tokenism which include consultation among others (Arnstein, 1969; Cornwall, 2008). Essentially, participation is regarded by Arnstein as a transfer of power from the 'elite' to the 'have nots'. It is through this ladder that I will attempt to locate LPM-Thembelihle's participatory processes and how its forms and degrees of organization affected the community's involvement.

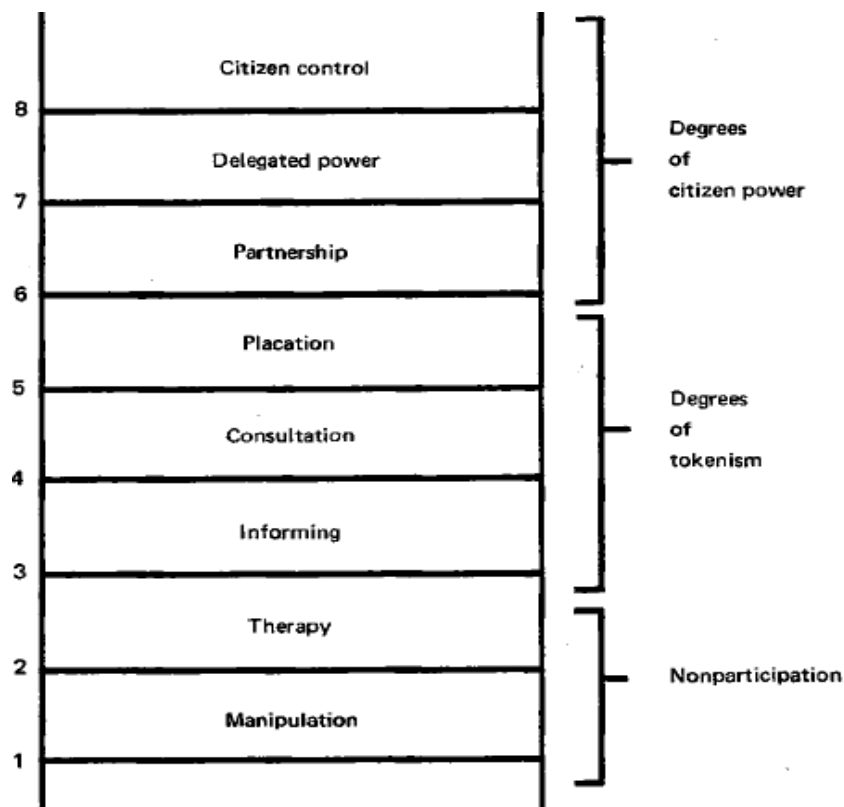


Figure 3: A Ladder of participation ©Arnstein, 1969

4.4.1 Tactics of Participation

Seeing that social movements and social movement organizations are in the business of carrying out collective action and depict themselves as tools to be used by the marginalized with claims of giving voice to the voiceless, it is imperative that these claims are put to test. At the onset, LPM-Thembelihle organized itself formally, with the branch having a formal hierarchical structure of leadership; most notable positions as indicated by the interview process were chairperson, treasurer, secretary and organizing secretary (Interviews from Andile, 2015; Mzwandile, 2015; Ndumiso, 2015 & Sphiwe, 2016). These positions were then occupied by individuals from the community and thus according to Arnstein (1969) achieved delegated power and citizen control of the participation process. This meant that the ‘have-not citizens obtain the majority of the decision making seats, or full managerial power’ (Arnstein, 1969: 217).

Off to a good start LPM-Thembelihle locally represented executive committee was in a position to deepen community members’ involvement in the LPM. In regards to the modes and methods of participation, the most used tactic was mass meetings as exemplified by some of the responses from interviews:

“You see we have called the meeting here in SA Block. We call the people there and tell them about the LPM” (Interview: Ndumiso, 27/11/2015).

“We had regular mass meetings because the issue was not normal, so we’d often have mass meetings on the way forward” (Interview: Mofokeng, 25/09/2015).

Arnstein (1969) reckons that meetings are indeed the foundation of any legitimate citizen participation and as such they are the first step of any participatory exercise. In spite of this, LPM-Thembelihle’s community involvement falls under the category of “degrees of tokenism,” the meetings had various degrees of informing, consultation and placation. Informing and consulting individuals about their rights, rights and opinions should generally be accompanied with other rungs of the ladder in order for them to be empowering or they may give a false perception of participation. They become disempowering if during informing, the exchange becomes a one way flow of information for instance from officials to participants, or during consultations when citizens’ opinions are not taken into consideration (Arnstein, 1969:219-221). LPM-Thembelihle fell into this trap.

“Eish, in meetings the speaking would come from the side of the organization but there would be limited space for people to also question and comment” (Interview: Musi, 5/12/2015).

Another community leader added:

“Sometimes the method of convening meetings, they would use lies. It’s like they [leaders] would sit and think that I want to call a mass meeting on a particular [issue], ok what should I say? Ok I would say the premier is coming and there is a report from the premier. Which we would [go and] find that the community members would come and no premier was there” (Interview: Lebogang, 30/11/2015).

Communities would continue to come to meetings as the circumstances they were facing were far greater, as narrated by a community leader when asked the community’s reaction to false advertising regarding meeting agendas he said:

“Well, sometimes obviously people would ask questions, what’s happening? Where is the premier? But you know in areas like these, people are so desperate that they would always be patient to try and come and hope that something better would be coming” (Interview: Themba, 06/12/2015).

As an SMO, LPM-Thembelihle was strongly attached to LPM-national and this might have affected its community participation exercises.

“LPM, I don’t know where it comes from. It seems like it’s an organization somewhere big. It only came here like branches, it never started here. Even when they used to have meetings, they used to bring their seniors” (Interview: Lebogang, 30/11/2015).

If we follow Arnstein’s (1969:220) characterization, the structure of the LPM-Thembelihle and how it operated locally would be regarded as placation. Placation refers to the act of placing “a few handpicked worthy poor” in positions of leadership and power in organizations without the “traditional power elite” conceding real power to effect changes. As noted by McCarthy and Zald (1977) when discussing SMO, they are aware of the relationship between the SMO and the social movement. They warn that in as much as an SMO may have its own organizational

structure, they are not necessarily free to decide as they please and are often under the pressure to tow the social movement line. Both of these acts of placation were visible in the LPM-Thembelihle. As far as handpicking is concerned, there was confusion in identifying how the local branch leaders were elected to the posts. The following statement was in response to how the chairperson took up the post:

“That’s a big question... yeah well he [Mzwandile] was not democratically elected. From the split he was the chairperson of the LPM – it [TCC] split and automatically [he] became the chairperson of the LPM. At no point did they ever have an AGM in his tenure. Until the last days of the LPM, but he left the LPM to go form the LRRM” (Interview: Sphiwe, 24/11/2015).

The leaders of LPM Thembelihle were placed in the positions of power by LPM-national as they were urged to organize when they went to ask for assistance. Due to this existing relationship, LPM-Thembelihle would always have to consult with LPM-national before acting on any matter. This occurred in Thembelihle as the community and the LPM-Thembelihle leaders seem to disagree on how to approach the government:

“For the first time they have advised us, they said you can’t burn our property [SA Block]. You can’t go to the road. But they [the community] said no, the government can never listen when you are talking straight with it, you must do something, let the government hear your voice. We never allow the people to go to the road but the people say no we are going there and what do we do, they will go on their own” (Interview: Ndumiso, 25/09/2015).

The other tactics which was used and received high participation were the marches and public protests. As much as community members of Thembelihle were not very vocal as regards matters of the LPM- Thembelihle, they were very vocal when it came to framing their demands and showing their discontent towards government in public. Talking to members and non-members of the LPM, they were keen on participating in the marches and protests and that was the reason they would attend meetings.

“But I must say that in our meetings as times went by, they somehow produced teams of support. They involved the community, well it depends on what activities but they did. Well if they do marches...especially those activities marches. Those are the ways in which the community will be involved” (Interview: Musi, 5/12/2015).

The idea that participating in marches is regarded as a deep involvement in the LPM-Thembelihle is actually to be expected. The roots of this SMO are set within a period of protests and that is what those who were involved, especially the members, perceived their participation to be. Also worth noting, the community's interest in marching and protesting was not without problems. As Sinwell (2010) stresses, just because a collective decides upon an action this does not in any way excuse the challenges posed despite them benefiting. This might have been advantageous at that moment in time for both residents of Thembelihle and the landless movement but over time it highlighted “infrastructural deficits” that affected meaningful participation resulting in a weak SMO in Thembelihle (McCarthy, 1982).

4.5 Conclusion

The mobilization process of the LPM-Thembelihle and its efforts to ensure community participation were strongly affected by the context in which everything was happening both locally and nationally. At the national level, LPM as a movement for the landless was just in the process of establishing itself and movement building was imperative. LPM was therefore keen on the quantity of participants. Locally, LPM-Thembelihle was formed under adverse pressure from the government and needed a quick and powerful response to counter government's actions.

Despite of the external factors affecting participation in one way or another, the act of mobilizing in itself is participation. As far as social movements are concerned, the need is towards a group consciousness that will lead to agency. The agency that will therefore be reached is therefore participation. In this sense participation is looked at from the lenses of protesting and challenging the government. The edge in this type of participation lies in the numbers of willing individuals to actually partake in events such as marches and occupations and thus resource mobilizing becomes very important in determining the level of participation in social movements.

Without undermining resource mobilization, the aim was to try and reconcile this theory with the larger literature regarding participation. Recognizing that social movements do not occur in a vacuum, there is a degree of organization that is required in order to maximize on the gathered resources. For the LPM, especially in Thembelihle, first, there was a recognizable organizational structure that the community could identify. Second, the main idea behind creating a local chapter was for the purpose of widening the resource base and also to get individuals belonging to this base closer to the greater movement without neglecting their particular needs. In this regard, residents of Thembelihle especially should have been able to have a deeper participation in LPM-Thembelihle. There was a clear disparity between participation in the movement and within the SMO – in the case of Thembelihle, sometimes participation in the SMO and in the movement conflated. The conflation was due in part of the counter culture history very present in Thembelihle.

Protests and marches were widely attended by Thembelihle residents, as well as community meetings. As far as a deeper form of participation is concerned, LPM-Thembelihle needed to have had a combination of tactics for a ‘good’ kind of participation. The deepening of participation would have allowed for the values of the LPM to be etched in the residents of Thembelihle instead of continuously relying on well-known community leaders.

5 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION, LEADERSHIP AND THE PUSH FOR REPRESENTATION

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the Thembelihle community and their participation in the landless movement and analyzed the mobilization and participation strategies encouraged by the LPM. This chapter seeks to link the three main concepts that underline this study; participation, representation and social movements in order to answer the question on representation of Thembelihle by the LPM, which is the objective they claim to do.

In that regard I argue that political representation by social movements is connected to but not contingent upon community participation. Representation is essentially about leadership and the relationship between a leader and their constituency (Saward, 2006). Implicit in this definition is the notion of legitimacy and the manner of representation is important for the maintenance of the leader/constituency relationship and thus has further implications; for this study. This chapter therefore investigates the manner in which the LPM attained legitimacy to represent Thembelihle; how it represented Thembelihle; and what were the gains from this representation. I will agree with the concepts of political opportunity as outlined in the political process approach which stipulates that a movement's development and impact are influenced by the context in which they emerge in. This concept along with other relevant literature will form the basis of my analysis into representation.

5.2 Right to Represent

As noted by Houtzager and Lavalley (2010), "organized civil society is laying claim to political representation." True to this statement, the LPM claimed to do the same on behalf of the landless who are the poor. In order to be able to grasp how the people of Thembelihle were represented by the LPM, it is imperative that the leadership and organizational structure be examined. Analysis of the leadership and structure will give an insight in the ways in which legitimacy to represent was given to the LPM on behalf of Thembelihle. Understanding the manner in which the LPM represents its constituency is important as it affects how people are mobilized into the movement. Furthermore, this offers a means in which to judge the success of the movements. As far as representations is concerned, the LPM according to Houtzager and Lavalley (2010) entered

the political arena and was engaging in public interest advocacy or lobbying on behalf of a social group's particular interests. Another aspect that makes analysis of social movement leadership necessary is to do with the political environment in which they operate in. Many researchers concede that participatory governance is advocated as "a compliment or even an alternative to the institutions of representative democracy on the terms that it counters the lack of responsiveness and accountability of the latter" (Houtzager & Lavalley, 2010; Fung & Wright, 2003; Avritzer, 2003; Dalton et al., 2003). Similarly, this view of a broken representative system affected the rise of Social movements in South Africa and the LPM is not an exception (McKinely, 2004).

The question of leadership was something the LPM had to deal with at its inception and it remained at the center of operations even as the movement progressed and grew; leading to an eventual downfall as well. Creating a leadership structure was necessary for the LPM to fuse the potential strength that the landless had. The structure though a classical hierarchical one, was made complex as the LPM was under the NLC. This also had an effect on some leaders as they had both positions in the LPM as well as in the NLC. At the helm of the movement sits both technocrats from the NLC and community leaders who are activists elected through the provincial body. This structure further gets more complicated as there is pressure on leaders to move up the hierarchy and the higher it gets, the fewer people are charged with making decisions on behalf of the various constituencies that make up the landless people. The danger that lies in this hierarchical structure is that leaders from many local branches may not make it past the provincial body. In the LPM – Thembelihle branch, as highlighted by the leaders whom I interviewed, the highest they got on the hierarchical structure was the provincial level.

Granted that leaders in social movements are not homogenous (Barker et al., 2001), the research currently done on social movement leadership can be broken down into roles and functions of leaders and the legitimacy of these leaders to attain their roles (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). As mentioned by the title of this section, the legitimacy of leaders is most appropriate for analysis. Max Weber's (1968 in Morris and Staggenborg, 2004) theory on charismatic leadership has assisted investigations on leadership and leaders' legitimacy. Charismatic leadership is the relational approach between followers and leaders where emotional characteristics of the

community results to the appointment of leaders based on charisma. Charisma being highly based on personality, it has the potential to draw out the various ways in which legitimacy is acquired by the leadership of the LPM. Houtzager and Lavalley (2010) contend that the challenge of representation for many of the new representative organizations is that they lack proper legitimacy. Legitimacy is measured in democratic terms and therefore these participatory governance organizations are seen not have the right to represent because they either lack membership through citizenship or selection of leadership is not by elections through territorially defined constituencies; thus resulting into questions regarding their claim to representation.

Andile is one of the leaders who sit at the national level. He is a technocrat in the NLC and is very passionate about land matters. He is also the advisor of the LPM. In a personal interview (16/09/2015), he stated that the LPM has a formal membership process where interested participants pay a membership fee and are registered as members – this was especially the case for the LPM Thembelihle branch. Membership is used as a guarantor of legitimacy as it is taken that the establishment of a membership base by a social movement is synonymous with members wanting to be represented on a particular issue. This was a big determinant on how the leaders became leaders. This is definitely along the line of charismatic leadership as Andile did not only stop at formal membership but he saw it necessary to attach the high levels of membership as a result of “influential and well trusted” community leaders who had decided to associate themselves with the LPM. This type of representation is what is referred to as assumed representation as these leaders are not formally elected therefore lacking formal channels of accountability (Houtzager & Lavalley, 2010). At the grass roots level – the local branches – we find that in Thembelihle the community did not vote for the leaders. This was revealed in an interview with Mofokeng as he could not reiterate how he came to occupy his position when asked.

“I was the organizer, Mzwandile was the chairperson and Mr. Zulu who has passed away was the secretary of this branch for Thembelihle... **[It was only the three of you?¹³]** You see the strongest was we three” (Interview: Mofokeng, 25/09/2015).

¹³ Emphasis added to show interjection

Mofokeng knew that he was a leader but could not specify how, as I dug deeper to find out he replied:

“You see I was busy. I have organized many comrades here for LPM. The meetings for the LPM were organized by me.”

He added:

“You see they are the people from Johannesburg there in Soweto who will be the provincial people for the LPM. We make a conference we go there and choose them to be our leaders, we have chosen the national and the provincial, because at the local it was we – we were here at the local.”

How were the local [leaders] chosen?¹⁴

“You see me I was organizer for the whole province of Gauteng and there are organizers from other provinces... [Who was for local then?] It was Mzwandile.”

The above affirms that membership and resource mobilization accounted for representation legitimacy of the LPM but also highlighted the complexities of social movement leadership structures – Mzwandile was both the chairperson and organizer of LPM – Thembelihle branch. This highlights the lack of cohesion in the leadership structure. On the one hand we have the community of Thembelihle not given a chance to elect their leaders yet on the other hand we see ‘assumed’ leaders exercise the democratic principle of voting in filling up other hierarchies of the leadership structure. This also raises questions of who is represented and how are leaders kept accountable. This according to the organizing and mobilizing aspect of the political process approach states that the “positioning of various actors within it makes some strategies of influence more attractive and efficacious” and this can only be understood and analyzed from the political context which determine the rules of the game (Meyer, 2004:128).

Indeed, it is leadership that sets the tone of social movement. Leaders are charged with making decisions regarding membership, framing of claims, and strategies to execute stated objectives (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). In short, they influence agency. Another manner, in which

¹⁴ Interview question that I asked, emphasis added to show the difficulty in understanding claims to representation

legitimacy is given, is through the creation of a ‘unifying’ identity. “Social movements are relationally defined by their place in political, social or cultural conflict” (Barker et al., 2001: 4), leaders must therefore create shared identities that define participants, allies and opponents. The creation of the identity was actually done by the NLC:

“NLC was helping these committees – we set up these committees – but they used to operate in isolated fashion as community based in their own communities. What we did was that we brought these committees together into a national space and these committees were actually formed into the landless peoples movement” (Interview: Andile, 16/09/2015).

As the LPM expanded it was realized by the NLC and LPM national leadership that it is better to have a massive movement to deal with the demand of land for everyone and thus the identity of the landless was used. In managing to demarcate an ‘us versus them,’ the leadership assumed the rights to represent the landless people and more specifically the community of Thembelihle. Barker et al. (2001) contends that any possibility of democratic leadership disappears as social movement leaders create a situation where people follow others views. Mdlalose (2014) is also of the same opinion as he believes the only way for South African social Movements to survive is if they stay true to the people. These opinions sum up the idea of identity and representation well as there will be a constant effort to feed the maintenance of these identities and can create an oligarchic system where a few define the identity and trajectory of the movement.

The LPM’s very close relationship to the NLC¹⁵ was bound to bring some leadership challenges. The heterogeneity of leader’s backgrounds essentially pits intellectuals, community leaders and community members against one another. The real contest of power was between intellectuals and community leaders but community members were most affected. There was a lack of democracy not only for supposed represented constituencies but also for the LPM leadership. The LPM from its inception had been operating under the directive arm of the NLC. At the onset, this was a compatible relationship as the NLC was well networked thus drew in finances on behalf of the LPM. The challenges became evident when the disparate groups of leadership

¹⁵ For more details regarding this structural arrangement consult Clemens and Minkoff (2004). *Beyond the Iron Law: Rethinking the Place of Organizations in Social Movement Research*

could not agree on strategies especially the more adversarial strategies against the state and often the NLC reacted by withholding the money (Mngxitama, 2006). This trend has been studied by Morris and Staggenborg (2004) as they note that leaders with diverse backgrounds are important for top leadership positions as they offer a variety of strategies which determines a social movement's success; in the event of LPM, it can also determine the failure. Granted they acknowledged that it can be a positive and a negative. LPM's mix of inside and outside leaders created sentiments of patronage. The NLC composed the intellectual arm of the movement whereas the LPM composed the people on the ground; this was bound to be problematic as "structural and cultural pressures inherent in insider-outsider interactions" become more visible as the movement progressed (Marx & Useem, 1971 cited in Morris and Staggenborg 2004). This resulted into leadership wrangles that gained national spotlight leading to the separation of the LPM and NLC. The NLC ceased to exist thereafter and the LPM gained independence for a short while but could not sustain the various branches and thus fractured (Mngxitama, 2006; paraphrased from interview with Andile, 16/09/2015).

5.3 Strategies of Representation

Strategies of representation deployed by LPM offer further insights into its insertion in local political dynamics; whereas the previous section dealt with the concern of legitimacy and leadership, strategies of representation aim to showcase how the leadership of the LPM performed. It offers means in which to judge the performance of the leadership, as we are able to assess the successes and challenges of the landless people. When it comes to claim making, this usually happens within a volatile political environment which offers opportunities and threats. Social movement leaders must therefore be able to apply appropriate strategies depending on what is served up by the political environment. Social movements are often guided by two strategies that of cooperation or that of contestation and the LPM is not an exception to this.

The two divergent strategies give an insight into the spaces that social movements occupy. In the case of LPM-Thembelihle branch refusing to adhere to the municipality's request to relocate, and instead opting to protest out in the streets is an act of contestation. Within the literature on participation and governance, contestation is within invented spaces of participation. Cooperation generally involves working with various levels of government and thus is referred

to as invited spaces – the community and LPM-Thembelihle branch also occupied this space (Miraftab, 2004; Cornwall, 2002). Inherent in these demarcations is the idea that traditional governance mechanisms hold the power and therefore are the ones to decide whether to invite people to participate. Overtime, there has also been a shift where invented spaces of participation actually force the government to act and thus have wielded power (Sinwell, 2010). This gives a good perception of the politics involved in participation thus highlighting necessary nuances that are associated with these two spaces.

As noted in the literature review, alternative channels of participation have both played adversarial and allied roles to the government, this means that they have very much occupied both invited and invented spaces. At the dawn the millennium it would seem that these alternate channels to representation were back to being adversaries. At the onset the Thembelihle community and various CBOs took to the streets to defy a municipal order in 2001. Relentless in their cause, they sought the assistance of the LPM in 2002, thus LPM-Thembelihle's history is firmly set within a period of contestation. Even though, LPM- leaders use a combination of contestation and cooperation, protests remain a very much used strategy and one which many of the residents of Thembelihle believe in. The LPM also was not new to the sphere of claim making. In the rural areas they applied similar strategies that they applied in Thembelihle:

“Land occupation, threats of land occupations, marches and demonstrations. Those were the main strategies, we used both illegal and legal means including going to parliament making submission but at the same time we would organize an illegal march. We also used direct action like marching to the farm of a farmer who kicked people out. Another big strategy we used was stopping evictions and reinstating people, so if farmers were trying to evict people we will come and physically stop that. Sometimes the police would evict people and after a week we would come and take them back and rebuild their housing, we had this to and fro but it was always about direct action” (Interview, Andile: 16/09/2015).

The diverse use of various as evidenced in the above statement is as a result of the opportunity structures that were availing themselves to the LPM. Opportunity structures involve nature of political cleavages, alliance structures, institutional structures and strategies of social movements

(Meyer, 2004: 131). A combination of these factors portrays a better understanding of how political opportunity affects citizen mobilization and representation.

Sections 16 -18¹⁶ of the Bill of Rights safeguards people's right to express themselves using various means and stipulates the legal processes in the event their rights are infringed upon. In many occasions than not, the rights of protestors were getting infringed upon to the extent that Sphiwe Segodi, a community leader whose organization the TCC collaborated with the LPM likened the experience to the apartheid era in an article detailing Thembelihle's struggle to be recognized.

“Reminiscent of apartheid days, the police implemented an undeclared and illegal state of emergency in the area in their quest to crush the protest action. Meetings were banned in the area, including those of the local branch of the ANC. The police disallowed and broke up any group of four or five people that they found in the area; such groups were harassed, intimidated, assaulted or arrested. The heavily armed police units deployed included members of the Johannesburg Metro Police Department, the Tactical Response Team, the Public Order Policing Unit and Crime Intelligence Unit. Thembelihle was under siege”¹⁷ (Segodi, 2015).

As noted by authors who have written on claim making and strategies, claimants always evoke the notion of rights to legitimize their cause despite extra-legal strategies (Cornwall, 2002; Chatterjee, 2004; Miraftab, 2002; Holston, 2009). Despite heavy state repression, Thembelihle residents through the LPM, in collaboration with other CBOs like the TCC continued to challenge the state. Indeed they were right to protest as many of their rights were being curtailed by the municipality in a spectacle that amounted to a show of power from the municipality. First, the evictions were unwarranted and the municipality did not follow due diligence as per the laws on eviction and relocation. Second, the municipality's actions in dealing with dissent, the excessive force essentially a violation of protestors' rights. Political opportunity process requires that social movements be constantly aware of what is happening in the political environment in

¹⁶ Protesting: Your Rights; The Regulation of Gatherings Act Arrests and Court Processes
http://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/gatheringsGuide_WEB.pdf

¹⁷ This is also echoed in a joint press release by the LPM and the NLC on 24 August 2002
<http://www.focusweb.org/publications/press-statements/wssd-2002/arrest-2.html>

order to recognize and capture opportunities. These opportunities or lack thereof can determine the success of social movements as they impact on their actions as they aim to progress (Tilly, 1978; McAdam, 1982 and McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2001).

The LPM and its leaders were definitely quick to capture and recognize the opportunity as they changed their strategy and decided to use invited spaces; in one occasion they organized a sit down with Gauteng premier Mbhazima Shilowa to discuss their plight and on another occasion they challenged the municipality through the justice system.

“Before the LPM came, we had to resist that forced removal where the City of Johannesburg wanted to remove us without a court order which is illegal and unconstitutional. Immediately after that, sometime down the line the city tried to institute a legal battle whereby they wanted to go through court procedure. By then we were already capacitated to say that we need to get some legal assistance. In responding to that legal battle we managed to work with the LPM so we worked on one case, we were represented by one legal representative from Weber Wentzel – Morray Harthorne. That was the attorney that took up our matter to oppose the attempt to get a court order by the City of Johannesburg to remove us” (Interview: Sphiwe, 24/11/2015).

The use of the justice system presents itself as another opportunity for the LPM as it is an example of the state facilitating access by inviting action. State action as recognized by Meyer (2004) affect volume of participation as well as its form and location. The volume of participation was definitely influenced by the state’s opening of the invited space which resulted in greater collaboration between LPM- Thembelihle branch and other CBOs. The LPM was therefore able to maximize on their resource mobilization resulting into a greater realization of agency. This is evidenced in the below statement by Sphiwe of the TCC:

“That case, I must say it somehow kept us close. We now had the case that we now needed to work on together in the interest of making sure that we are not removed illegally and that they don’t succeed in court, so we had to find ways in collaborating. Also politically we thought that we have nothing different with the LPM we had more or less the same language” (Interview: Sphiwe, 24/11/2016).

Sphiwe continues to elaborate on the results of the collaboration and the decision to cooperate proving that movement participation and representation is not always disruptive and confrontational. Social movements within their arsenal of tactics are capable of following the rules and procedures of invited spaces.

“When we opposed the court order with the LPM [in April 2003], fortunately or unfortunately the City of Johannesburg I think was intimidating us. They’d hoped that as poor people we are taken to be people without information and knowledge but fortunately we had that little information and knowledge at that time... Once we instituted our responding papers in court they had hope that the process will run its full course but things remained silent up to date. They didn’t pursue the matter further” (Interview: Sphiwe, 24/09/2011).

The above elaboration also highlights how the mastery of seizing political opportunities offered by the political environment. The leaders of LPM and others in Thembelihle had mastered the deployment strategy as they applied the proper strategy at the appropriate time and, indeed, it paid off. This court case provided further confidence into the leaders of the LPM- Thembelihle and the momentum of the movement in urban areas.

“NO LAND! NO HOUSE! NO VOTE!” campaign is another example of a change in representation tactics and an excellent example of opportunities in political cleavages. In the national elections of 2004, the LPM and the NLC introduced this campaign as means to compel the government into expediting land reforms and broadening their perceptions of land usage. This campaign qualifies as a tactical repertoire as it embodied the necessary features of contestation, intentionality and collective identity (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004). Simplistically, this campaign brought together groups of variant and competing interests with the strategic intention of producing change. Despite the variant interests, a common injustice was identified and a solidarity and oppositional consciousness was developed to counter the injustices (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004: 268-271). Shocking was that this campaign - considering the struggle for democratic freedom and the right to vote – prompted the government and its dominant party ANC to react fast in order to deal with the landless people. This often meant more use of force and repression. In the 2006 local government elections, a similar tactic was in place.

Thembelihle and its conglomerate of CBOs took advantage of this campaign and fronted non-aligned candidates for local positions through the homegrown Operation Khanyisa Movement (OKM).

The “no land, no house, no vote” campaign was successful in gaining the attention of the government. Despite the success, the state reacted offensively that we are again reminded of the state’s ability to repress dissent. Despite the unity that was witnessed during the 2004 national elections, on a larger scope, the LPM as a national movement was beginning to show signs of strains and disunity. This provided the state with the opportunity to further divide and conquer.

“The state was using two strategies rather, repression and bribing people out of the movement. For instance between 2004 and 2006, we were going through a court process – we were arrested for a protest that we undertook. It just took long and the case was thrown out but the energy it took and the threat to the movement. We were not the only ones – other people were being arrested for murder and you are gonna be in jail and in chains – so the movement came under extreme pressure from the state on one hand. On the other hand individual leaders of the movement were being made offers – so it was repression and winning their hearts and minds through giving them a piece of land or farms or something like this. Some of our key leaders in the Eastern Cape and KZN actually got farms” (Interview: Andile, 16/09/2014).

The foundation of the LPM was definitely rocked as leaders were seen to be paying the price for their tactical strategies. In as much as dividends were coming, they were not coming soon enough. The crumbling at the national level and major strongholds created a spillover effect that quickly reached the urban areas. Whereas in the rural areas they had always identified themselves as landless and thus had created that identity over a long period, we find that in the urban areas the identity was beginning to form. In the rural areas some traces of the LPM remained but changed their names while in the urban areas, especially Thembelihle, there are no traces of LPM left behind. Talking to people in the community, the LPM is but a distant past; all acknowledging it’s once vibrant existence and contribution but confirming that it is no longer there.

5.4 Adapting and Adjusting to the Political Environment

Considering the challenges faced by the LPM in tackling the political environment of representation, it does not portray an accurate picture on the agency of the landless or houseless people. With the LPM's eventual rupture and fracture – due to the leadership struggles at the national level between the NLC and the LPM and the successful implementation of repression and bribery tactics by the state – it may be easy to assume that the representation of this marginalized group dwindled. Upon carrying out this study, there was a lot of reflecting by those interviewed and created an opportunity to look at social movements with a more inquisitive eye and helped me raise some questions that I will address in this section. After the demise of the NLC and the LPM many researchers and former employees of the NLC have thought it necessary to research about land movements and land NGOs as regards land reform in South Africa (Eveleth & Mngxitama, 2003; Mngxitama, 2005; Greenberg, 2004; Moyo, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2007 a, Mdlalose, 2014). The main realization is that land reform should have happened concurrently with the struggle of independence as it was at the core of dispossession that underpinned the apartheid era but instead political power was first sought (Greenberg, 2004; Mngxitama 2005; Alexander, 2005). The attainment of political power has proved ineffective in changing the plight of the previously marginalized as they continue to wallow in poverty, with commentators suggesting worsened conditions. As this is still the current state of affairs in South Africa, it is safe to suggest that the struggle for land reform is far from over and merely experiencing a suspension.

Before providing evidence of continued land struggle, it is imperative that some concerns are highlighted. Are protests social movements? This was a concern in the attempts to place Thembelihle within the context of the landless social movement. A quick answer is no, a protest is not synonymous to a social movement. Protest is the “collective use of unconventional methods of participation” with the aim to “coerce authorities” into supporting the participants claims. Noted is that a protest encompasses a variety of acts which are adopted by various actors – political parties, social movements, ordinary citizens (Tyler & Van Dyke, 2004: 263). In this regard Andile had alluded that due to the inclusion of the urban element, it brought many changes to the landless movement. Perhaps the urban areas – like Thembelihle – were

experiencing protests, and expressive¹⁸ ones at that. It seems as though Thembelihle leaders and residents were able to stop the municipality's court order for eviction and their interest in the LPM dwindled. Greenberg (2004: 22-24) uses Stare's (1976) description of how people coalesce for a common purpose or perceived threat but as soon as the threat is at bay, the coalition disintegrates. This explains the existence of the LPM in Thembelihle.

Returning to the suspended land struggle, the advantage of doing this research through a hindsight perspective is that analysis can be done from the present with attempts to link it to the past. The LPM is no longer in existence despite the momentum it had begun with. The reduction in momentum is attributed to several factors. One, there was a noticeable lack of ideology underpinning the experience (Andile, 16/09/2015; Greenberg, 2004). Second, the mobilization contained a diverse group of people who had different opinions regarding movement strategy (Andile, 16/09/2015; Greenberg, 2004). Finally, yet importantly, due to lack of a definitive structure the deployment of strategies was affected – which were not politically sustainable (Greenberg, 2004). Indicated by the failure of the LPM, social movements are heavily reliant on leadership and strategies, of the three LPM leaders interviewed who were involved in Thembelihle, two of them are soldiering on with the struggle as they have formed their own social movements – Land Reform and Restitution Movement (LRRM)¹⁹ and Black First Land First (BLF)²⁰. To what extent can this be regarded as a tactical change for the movement of the landless and houseless? What does it say about social movement leaders, is it possible to separate a leader's objective from the movement's objectives? There is no definitive answer as time will be the judge but research on community leadership and representation delves into the subject of “double dealings²¹” (Bènit-Gbaffou & Katsaura, 2014; Chatterjee, 2004), which can be applied to this case to some varying degree. Using double dealings as a tactic, the formation of new social movements can still seem to represent the landless constituency – legitimacy from the bottom. As personal objectives, these new social movements can point towards the need for their

¹⁸ Tyler and Van Dyke (2004) differentiate between expressive and instrumental action. Expressive is more of personal change, whereas instrumental is towards a social change akin to social movement

¹⁹ LRRM is chaired by Mzwandile

²⁰ Andile chairs BLF and prior to establishing it, he was an EFF nominated MP

²¹ Bourdieu's (1986) concept emphasizes that political leaders have to fight for their constituency (social field) as well as for their own political survival (political field) to ensure continued representation of their constituency.

respective leaders to remain in the political field and “acquire and maintain political legitimacy” – legitimacy from the top (Bènit-Gbaffou & Katsaura, 2014: 3, 5-6).

Post LPM, Thembelihle has made strides in terms of securing its tenure. The current gains can be seen as slow but sure build up from the efforts of the LPM despite its short existence. This is what Sphiwe had to say in regards to LPM’s representation of the people of Thembelihle:

“Because of the activities they undertook, that indicated they were pushing for the development of Thembelihle. They would stage marches where they would be sending out grievances of demands which would be speaking to a better Thembelihle” (Interview: Sphiwe, 24/11/2015).

As recent as 2015, Thembelihle residents have partaken in more protests, campaigns and have participated actively in engaging the municipality. This resulted into Thembelihle finally getting registered as housing project on 30 March 2015. This means that Thembelihle is earmarked to receive development assistance from the government as funds can now be allocated towards the settlement²². The demise of the LPM gave the TCC an opportunity to lead Thembelihle and add onto what was done by the LPM.

“I wouldn’t attribute that [registration] to the LPM, but I would say that the LPM contributed to the struggle of resistance in particular. As I indicated, by 2010 LPM was very weak in Thembelihle. TCC was neither very strong but we were there and we were consistent. We tried to make sure that when we call meetings we become as honest as possible. When we open our meetings we make sure that people’s views are represented. We allow everyone to speak whether they agree with us, disagree with us; our method is to try and convince them by giving our perspective. We continued to use the strategies we used earlier on, continue to engage authorities and use legal means” (Interview: Sphiwe, 24/11/2015).

Although not all their problems were solved, but since the registration, there has been a mutual engagement between the municipality and the community of Thembelihle through their leaders.

²² Gauteng Cooperative Governance registers Thembelihle as housing project <http://www.gov.za/speeches/media-statement-special-freedom-day-people-thembelihle-government-registers-thembelihle>

Some residents still have to be relocated to the new settlement areas and title deeds and other basic amenities are needed in Thembelihle. The TCC through various memos and letters to the municipality have indeed found a method within formal channels to advance their claims. They are making use of this space as it is their right but this affirms their usage of the LPM for personal change.

5.5 Conclusion

Tackling representation is definitely a trying task but doing it on behalf of diverse groups with diverse and possibly competing interests makes the task even harder. The LPM leadership was wanting when it came to legitimacy, as the higher hierarchies were well organized and structured but the local or branch level was in much disarray. Connecting the leadership structure to the principles of democracy and participation, it would appear that the identified constituency – Thembelihle – was not involved in being a guarantor of legitimacy to the LPM Thembelihle branch.

In spite of the lack of democratic governance within the LPM, they represented Thembelihle satisfactorily. As it was later indicated, Thembelihle's needs were that of personal change by halting their possible eviction and as opportunity would provide, the LPM possessed the appropriate tools to assist in this matter. It is only fair to suggest that Thembelihle was not interested in their democratic right within the movement but more within the larger picture of the political environment.

In attempts to represent everyone, we see that the LPM was under capacitated. This stretched the movement leading to cleavages within the movement and ultimately its rupture. Post LPM Thembelihle is seen to be thriving, showing it had benefitted from its representation by the LPM, while the landless people are showing attempts of regrouping with the creation of two social movements. This shows that participation itself is not static but a socially constructed process that is adapted from time to time. The whole idea is perhaps not about reaching a stable level of participation – which is utopia – but rather a participation which is flexible, adaptive and constantly thriving for the best for its participants as situation demands. This seemed to be the case in this instance.

6 FINAL COMMENTS AND CONCLUSION

The study aimed to investigate the ways in which communities participate in social movements with a focus on the LPM in Thembelihle. The LPM was established with a vision of challenging the government regarding its land reform policies. A movement that was initially active mainly in the rural areas spread to urban areas, where many in the informal settlements were in precarious living situations due to the rise in eviction threats by the municipality. Given the focus on community participation, the study focused on how Thembelihle as community are involved in the activities of the LPM. This meant examining the ways in which they are mobilized to participate in the LPM and whether their participation translated to equal representation.

Attempts by government to expand representation have had adverse effects, where local governance structures have proved to be weak and ineffective for local communities. With continuous disenfranchisement, the marginalized are in search of alternate means to reach the state. Civil society has for a long time facilitated the interaction between the state and the people. Within civil societies, there are three distinct blocks namely NGOs, survivalist organizations and social movements which intervene on behalf of the people and the state for various reasons. Social movements are applicable in this study because of their revolutionary stances and bold political statements that offer the best chance for the participation to lead to structural changes. Social movements therefore claim that they are giving voice to the voiceless and offering ways in which people can make a change. Thembelihle as an informal settlement was indeed experiencing symptoms of neglect from the government and wanted to act in a way that will change the way housing policy is implemented.

The study used in-depth interviews and document analysis to investigate how Thembelihle residents' participation in the LPM affected it. Community Participation has been conceptualized as the ability for people to take part in decisions affecting their direct environment. The term also has connotation of power and the shift of it to the communities. The study therefore examined if there was a shift in power from the LPM leaders to the people of Thembelihle.

The study interrogated community participation in the LPM by analyzing the mobilization processes and participation tactics employed by the movement as means of empowering the

people of Thembelihle in making decisions on matters that affect them with regard to land and housing. The people of Thembelihle have always been ready to put up a fight regarding issues that affect them as they have always been well organized and advanced their claims through protests and demonstrations. By inviting the LPM to their community, I believe the people of Thembelihle wanted to be empowered. Whereas the LPM Thembelihle branch was quick to advance the claims of Thembelihle forward in the organization's structure – to provincial and even to national levels – or straight to the municipality, within the organization, the degree of participation as evidenced by the ladder of participation was found wanting. This is not to disregard that participation did not occur. Indeed it occurred, but not in the way that would genuinely shift power to the people of Thembelihle as far as the LPM is concerned.

In as much as a local branch was established in Thembelihle, the study found that the integration of the people in the LPM in Thembelihle was lackluster and done in a hurry. This shows that social movements do not happen in a vacuum and because of the political factors affecting them, the quantity of mobilization is very important. This means that when participation is evoked in social movements it is not necessary an exchange between two equal parties. The people do not affect internal systems of the organization but rather they are required to participate in the outward expressions towards the state. Related to this is that those mobilized were not of the realization that they can affect the social movement internally and most people joined for the purpose of protesting. Evident is that social movements activities are geared toward forcing a reaction from the state, the lack of people's involvement in the matters within the movement can lead to adverse effect especially for the communities which are involved. This was witnessed when the LPM collapsed and the people of Thembelihle were affected, as they could not carry on with the activities that the LPM was supporting in Thembelihle. There was an over reliance on leadership to direct matters and the participation was that of a top-down approach.

Considering that the LPM is but an intermediary to reaching the state, in order to capture participation accurately, the means in which they claim to respond to the people's demand is necessary. This study also explored the manner in which the LPM claimed to represent Thembelihle. Central to this investigation is looking into the LPM leadership and identifying how they got the right to claim leadership of the people of Thembelihle. As a natural

progression, the methods of representation were also necessary to capture the idea of community participation and representation. Using democratic standards of determining legitimacy, the LPM to some varying degree attained legitimacy to represent the people of Thembelihle. As far as democratic legitimacy is concerned, the LPM by way of mobilization and identity building was representing a constituency – the landless people. On the other hand due to lack of elected officials, the legitimacy of the local committee was questionable. The challenge to this type of legitimacy is that it results in an assumed leadership and provides no means in which the leaders can be held accountable. The dangers of weak legitimating factors can lead to an oligarchic leadership, where the few who lead may be interested in representing their interests at the cost of democratic process in the movement. This was something that was witnessed in the LPM especially in its high ranks where, leadership was involved in power struggles over strategies which ultimately led to the movement's collapse, regardless of the number of people they were representing. This here I believe is an illustration of why deeper participation is needed in social movements.

Related to this is representation. The question that lingers is how then were the people of Thembelihle represented if there was no sure way of ensuring their representation. My argument, which is that representation in social movements, is connected to participation but not contingent upon it seems to suffice in the case of LPM Thembelihle branch. Granted there are some degrees of participation which inform representation, the main one being through mobilization and forming a constituency. On a larger scale, representation by a social movement is bound to happen regardless of the people's deep involvement. The reason for this is that tactics and strategies employed by social movements are affected by the context in which they occur. For instance, let us assume that the LPM branch in Thembelihle was not in existence. If the LPM had been successful with its agenda in ensuring that land reforms happen, the people of Thembelihle would have duly benefited as they are amongst the population that is affected by the existing lands reform policy.

The idea that a social movement's political context is what determines the progress of social movements or lack thereof, explains why there is a contrasting understanding on the role of participation in social movements and within participation literature. This in turn affects the

whole operation of social movements as it has been shown in the study. Eventually social movements contribute to the empowerment of people but in order for them to reach such a point it is imperative that those who are involved are fully integrated and the value of their participation engrained.

The findings have highlighted the incompatibility of participation and social movements. The challenge with much of the literature on participation, it focuses on the facilitators of participation instead of looking at participation from the participants' perspective. This focus on the participant as a receiver and not as instigators, has affected the ways in which civil society organization such as NGOs and social movements regard participants. In social movements from the evidence above, there was the sentiment that participants add value to movement goals but are not in positions to enrich the SMO. Without disregarding the power of social movements and the involvement of participants, there is an opportunity for further investigations regarding participation and social movements. This is because firstly, social movements are intermediaries which are becoming more structured and organized. Secondly, given the changes in the world – especially technologically – the participants are not as powerless as they are thought to be.

The above was proven in Thembelihle after the collapse of the LPM. If the people of Thembelihle were mere recipients of participation from facilitators, they would have crumbled and probably be evicted from Thembelihle. As noted from the continued efforts by the community and local organizations in challenging the municipality and continuous engagement in the community, they actually succeeded in their goals as Thembelihle was officially registered by the municipality. All in all, participation and representation are themselves socially situated and just like social movements they make sense in context as they socially constructed and fixed ideal pictures of society.

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