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Institutionalisation of a social movement: the case of Thembelihle, the Thembelihle Crisis Committee and the Operation Khanyisa Movement and the use of the brick, the ballot and the voice.

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Institutionalisation of a social movement

The case of Thembelihle, the Thembelihle Crisis Committee and the Operation Khanyisa Movement and the use of the Brick, the Ballot and the Voice.

Submitted 10 May 2013
Nicolette Pingo
Research report submitted for the degree of Master of Science (coursework) in Development Planning

"All too often, it seems that the master categories of sociology- state and society, bureaucracy and industrialisation, class, development, modernity- struggle to encompass our realities and instead of illuminating them, impose a grid of concepts that leave us dissatisfied and with the sense that something crucial has been left out…"

(van Holt in van Holt and Burawoy, 2012:25)

Abstract

The contradiction between contestation with and loyalty to the ANC majority lead government has been interrogated by leading planning and political theorists (Booysen and Matlala& Bénit-Gbaffou, 2012). This case study aims to provide insight into a political phenomena in the contemporary South African political landscape, which challenges these, previously documented political trends. The emergence of the Operation Khanyisa Movement (OKM) in operates as a unique shift (albeit in a small scale) to ANC party dominance in impoverished settlements. The particular organisational structure that makes up the OKM as an umbrella configuration of social movements and its decision to enter the space of local government has not been seen elsewhere in the South African context.

This paper will explore the work of the current PR OKM councillor, Simphiwe Zwane to gain a better understanding of this distinctive strategy in attaining access to services in Thembelihle, an informal settlement in the Southern periphery of Soweto where she is based. The history of the Thembelihle context, as well as the formation of the TCC and OKM will be explored first to provide a basis for understanding the current role of the OKM. The research will explore the effects of the presence of an OKM councillor as a representative voice for an impoverished urban population.

More broadly the text explores the impacts of the Institutionalisation of this social movement configuration. What institutionalisation means at this point in time in a South African local urban governance context is unpacked extensively as a transitional space for contemporary South African social movements. The use of different strategies and tactics and their impacts as utilised by the TCC and OKM is explored with reflection on the functioning of the movement and the integral role of leadership in the OKM. These impacts will encompass many of the challenges faced by the OKM as an institutionalised form of social movements.

This research takes the format of a case study to explore a unique phenomenon in local party politics and the role of social movements in post-apartheid South Africa.

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Science (coursework) in Development Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any other degree or examination at any other university.

_____

Nicolette Pingo, 28 March 2013

Acknowledgments

Sincere thank you to Simphiwe Zwane who shared her time, thoughts and feelings with me so generously. Additionally thank you to other key members of the Thembelihle Crisis Committee and Operation Khanyisa movement in particular Siphiwe Segodi, Bayiza Miya, Siphiwe Mbatha, Trevor Ngwane and Zodwa Madiba. All of these members of the OKM and other residents of Thembelihle allowed me gain access to their world with patience, care and humour.

Thank you to my brilliant supervisor Claire Bénit-Gbaffou, who has greatly impacted on the way in which I seek to understand, describe and contribute to participatory urban governance.

To Planact, who provided me the opportunity to conduct additional action research in Thembelihle and allowed me to learn from the committed and knowledgeable staff, you have all contributed to this research in different ways; Hermine Engel, Mike Makwela, Shumani Luruli, Farai Chapisa and Simon Mayson. Two key networks were important in shaping my thinking and writing- the CUBES politics and governance group and the Gauteng Land and Housing Social Network, a particular thank you to Kate Tissington, Thapelo Tselapedi, Solomon Makhanya[1] and General Alfred Moyo.

Immense gratitude to my parents who have provided me with so much in a multiplicity of ways, it is deeply appreciated. Additionally thank you to my wider family and friends who have supported me in the research journey. Special thank you to Nicholl Benjamin Alexander who continually encouraged me to work harder and provided immense support for me to do so.

[1] Solomon Makhanya a committed community leader and activist of ISECC in the Vaal region of Johannesburg sadly passed away in December 2012. He often came to visit see me at Planact, where I assisted ISECC with internal governance matters as Soloman kindly shared his wisdom and experience of community activism with me.

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List of Abbreviations

OKM- Operation Khanyisa Movement

TCC-Thembelihle Crisis Committee

SECC-Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee

DA- Democratic Alliance

ANC-African National Congress

IDP-Integrated Development Plan

MSA- Municipal Systems Act (2000)

APF- Anti-privatisation Forum

RDP- Reconstruction and Development Programme

DLF- Democratic Left Front

LG- Local Government

CHAPTER ONE -Introduction

1.1) The story of my research

On the 24th of September 2011, I attended the Heritage Day celebrations in Thembelihle, Johannesburg. It was one of those strange Johannesburg summer days - hot, windy and cloudy, with the threat of an afternoon thunderstorm. We had driven for two hours from a Parktown to Thembelihle, hopelessly lost seeking out informal settlements in the hope of reaching our destination. At the time I was researching local activists in Yeoville as a part of course on Urban Politics and Governance at the University of the Witwatersrand, I came to Thembelihle with Marc Gbaffou, the chairperson of the African Diaspora Forum. He had been invited to speak in Thembelihle about migrant rights and to thank Thembelihle for being one of the few informal settlements in Johannesburg to defend and defer xenophobic attacks on its migrant population in the wave of xenophobic attack that swept the country, in May 2008.

As we eventually drove into the settlement my first thought was, "what a mess". The settlement appeared chaotic, desperately poor and very dusty. We turned into one of the few formal buildings in the settlement, an abandoned old local council office block. In the parking lot stood a white and yellow striped tent and a jubilant crowd, many in traditional dress. The programme included talks by prominent Thembelihle residents as well as song and dance to mark the celebration of diverse cultural heritage. After Marc gave an inspiring speech focusing on the commonalities, rich cultural traditions as well opportunities to learn from our brothers and sisters from further afield on the African continent, a flurry of young girls and elderly women gave song and dance performances. One of the most memorable performances was that of a energetic women in her thirties; dressed in a white T-shirt, beaded shirt she stomped her bare feet on the small stage to the beats coming through the cracked speaker. Whispers surrounded me, "That's the councillor".

In the months that followed as I learnt more about Thembelihle it began to enter my dreams, stories of protests, arrests and illegal electricity connections filled my imagination. One night I dreamt a vivid romantic image that stayed with me in the days that followed. The image was of a full moon, darkness surrounding me, a small torch a couple of meters away; I watch in silence as two men carefully connect wires to that of a street lamp. The sound of people breathing in and out fills my ears, then all stops. The small group of people look up into the darkness of Thembelihle and wait as light enters the settlement, it flicks off; but then returns as all breath a sigh of relief and satisfaction.

The reality of Thembelihle proves much more multifaceted and less romantic than the image that filled my dreams. The space of social movements and local governance are much more intricate than switching on a light. I reflect now that perhaps my dreams of the simplicity of the transformational quality of light to create a seismic shift in the residents lives is comparable to my faith in social movements and meaningful participation to bring about a shift in pro-poor discourse in the City of Johannesburg.

Practically much of Thembelihle is already in light, with generally permanent illegal connections more competently connected than that in my dreams. The image and description of Thembelihle represents much of my naivety in the beginning of the research process. The Operation Khanyisa Movement's more realistic understanding of its impact in local government and the complexity of political systems in which it operates took me largely by surprise. The electoral front established by various affiliates who formed a part of the Anti-privatisation forum, is largely self-aware of its role and functions. Yet there lay hope and endless questions leading to more questions. The positionality, the representative nature of the OKM, its organisational structure, its functioning, the myriad of individual life stories which shaped and continue to shape its existence, provided me with a small view into popular agency. The work of the OKM is long and tireless; in the creation of a meaningful space for participation there are its brave, flawed and human members. The complexities of this unique space that the OKM occupies are both overwhelming and fascinating. The OKM is unique for a variety of reasons in the South African context but most notably as a configuration of post-apartheid social movements entering the space of local party politics. This has been achieved elsewhere in South Africa the case of Balfour being the most prominent, yet it is the way in which the OKM operates and its particular context in the City of Johannesburg that makes it a truly unique case study.

The dancing councillor's name is Simphiwe Zwane, born in 1978 - the child her mother says has a spirit of a man. This is her story; this is also the story of Thembelihle, of the Thembelihle Crisis Committee and most importantly the Operation Khanyisa Movement. This story is also provides insight into the story of post-apartheid local politics in South Africa, the story of the effect of a dominant party on local politics and an innovative way to employ multiple strategies so that an alternative voice can be heard. The tactics and strategies are unique in particular to a South African context, where quantitative data illustrates a continued and in some instances growing commitment to the dominant party despite record numbers of community protests.

Simphiwe was born in Soweto. At the age of five, she went to live with her grandmother in KwaNdebele. After completing grade 7 in Kwa-Ndebele, Simphiwe moved back to Johannesburg to Naledi in Soweto. In 1990 she came to Thembelihle with her mother; they came to carve out a new family home, exhausted by the family politics of living with other households in Naledi in Soweto. There they built a formal dwelling in amongst the informal ones that surrounded it. The first battle the family experienced in Thembelihle was attempting to get Simphiwe into the local high school. The primarily Asian schools (as Thembelihle is located next to Lenasia, former Indian township in Johannesburg) resisted integration and this would be a key political challenge that Simphiwe would continue to be involved in.

Once Simphiwe began grade 8 in Lenasia extension 4, high school would provide her with an understanding of how those in informal dwellings were treated differently to those in formal housing. Simphiwe indicates that it is these living conditions that impacted her political consciousness most heavily. In 1993 Simphiwe jumped on a bus from Thembelihle to Boksburg to attend Chris Hani's funeral with another high school friend. When she returned after dark her mother was waiting for her angry that she attended the funeral without her knowledge. Already then Simphiwe at her young age understood the importance of collective mobilisation for the rights of the poor.

In 2001 the Red Ants[2] entered the settlement to evict the inhabitants of Thembelihle – an eviction order having been granted to the municipality, supposedly due to unstable dolomitic conditions of the area. Simphiwe, a Matric Student, feared for her ability to finish her high school education. Already involved in politics she attended a protest; this protest formed the catalyst for the establishment of the Thembelihle Crisis Committee. For the next ten years Simphiwe would serve as a member of the Thembelihle Crisis Committee, primarily involved in ensuring that the children in Thembelihle had access to local schools. Her political journey was aided and shared by a boy on her street, Siphiwe Segodi. This boy grew into a man with Simphiwe by her side. Siphiwe Segodi would become the chairperson of the TCC and play a major role in the development of her political trajectory.

In the beginning of 2011 Simphiwe attending a TCC meeting was selected as the representative for OKM councillor, should the OKM secure a seat in the local government elections. She was selected for numerous reasons: the first because she is a women and the OKM wishes to push forward gender equality; secondly because she was a committed member of the TCC; and lastly because the people at the meeting recognised a strength of her character, just the type of strength required to stand as an OKM Councillor. The research will tell the story from here, the story of councillor Zwane, the TCC and most critically the OKM.

[2] The security service utilised by the City of Johannesburg to evict residents is known as the Red Ants, because of the bright red uniforms worn by the employees and their deftness and worker ant attitude.

1.2) Socio-historical Context of Thembelihle

Thembelihle, (its literal translation is "place of hope" in Zulu) is an informal settlement situated in Southern Johannesburg as indicated in the map below:

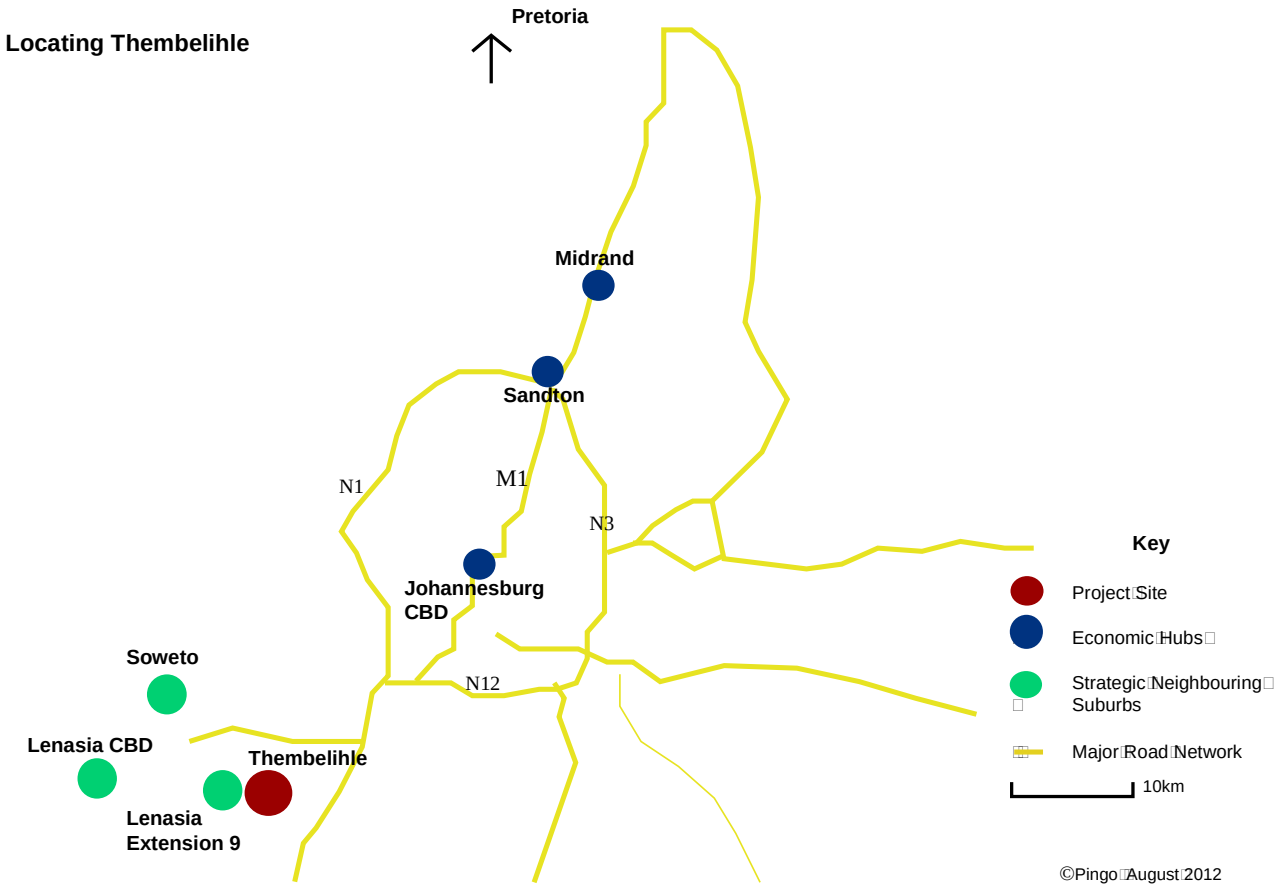


Figure 1 Thembelihle Location Map

Despite its location 40 km from the Johannesburg Central Business District, Thembelihle itself has multiple provisions for its residents. Firstly its proximity to Lenasia central business district as well its location with Lenasia extensions offers the residents of Thembelihle access to economic opportunities as well as access to primary and secondary schools, a primary health care clinic as well as numerous banking and retail amenities. The settlement is made up primarily of informal dwellings although the layout of the settlement as a whole (to an extent) follows more formal settlement layouts with a grid road structure throughout the settlement.

Thembelihle is situated in Region G, Johannesburg's poorest region (City of Johannesburg, Area Based IDP, 2009) and forms part of ward 8 (2011).The history of Thembelihle can be traced back to the 1980s as indicated by Stuart Wilson, who stated that people began to settle in Thembelihle in the 1980s, contrary to apartheid spatial segregation laws at the time, as the area was a designated Indian area (Wilson, undated http://www.ewisa.co.za/). Marie Huchzermeyer adds to a historical understanding by stating,

> "Thembelihle originated in the early 1980s. The Thembelihle land was privately owned by SA Blocks Factory, a company, which used to manufacture bricks in the area. The owners have since left the country…Thembelihle comprises between 4,000 and 5,000 units, with a population of between 16,000 and 17,000. The site has been occupied for more than 20 years now" (Huchzermeyer, 2006).

There are various contestations between the community and the state in Thembelihle but the issue of tenure security is the most pertinent. Factors such as land ownership (parts of Thembelihle are privately owned) have impacted on tenure security, however the biggest obstacle towards security of tenure in Thembelihle is the issue of the geo-technical conditions. Like many impoverished areas in Gauteng Thembelihle is situated in dolomitic land, as indicated by the map below:

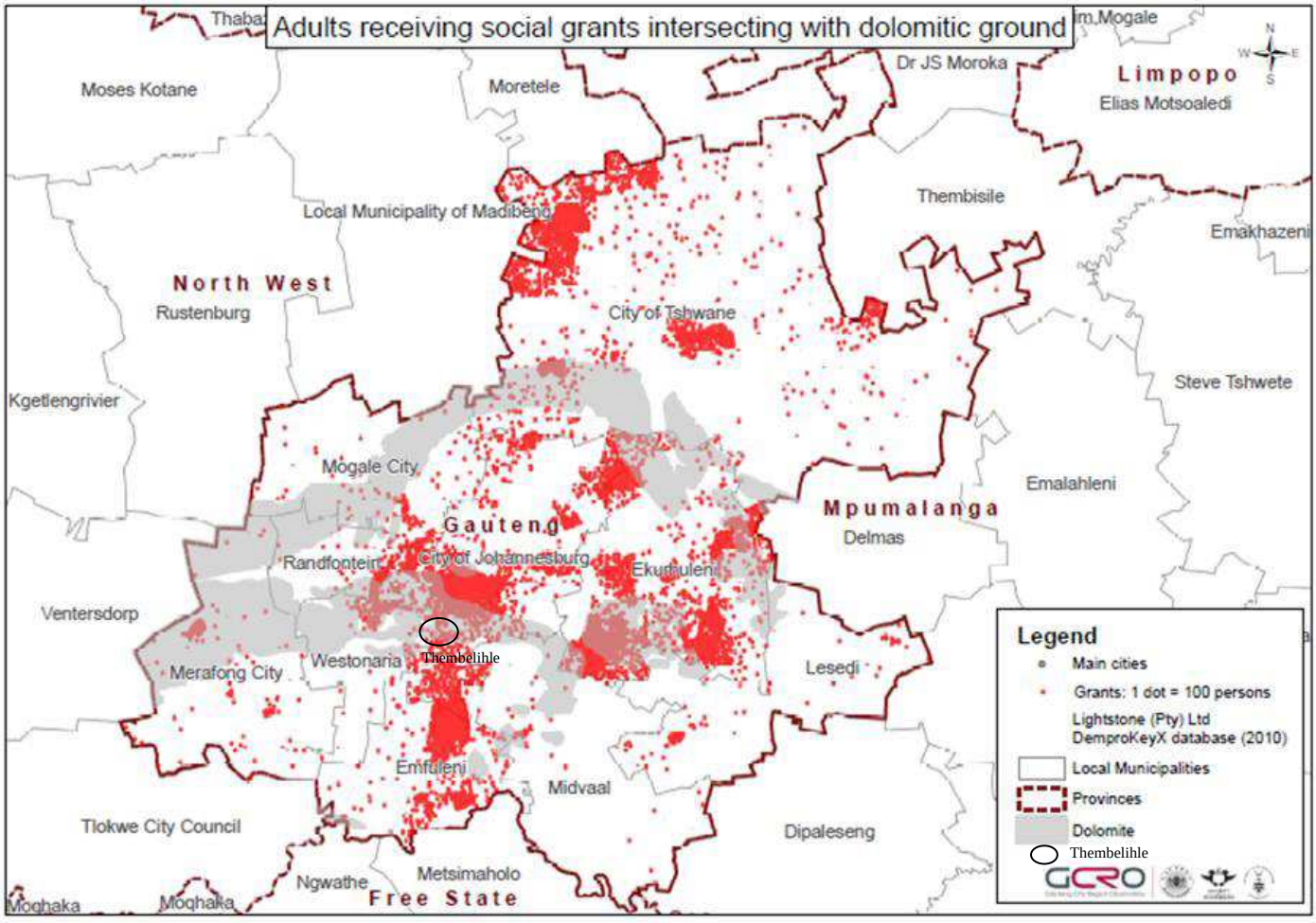


Figure 2 GCRO, 2011:
http://www.gcro.ac.za/sites/default/files/maps/pdfs/gcro_dolomite_intersecting_adult_population_receiving_social_grants.pdf

As early as 1992 Thembelihle residents have been under threat of eviction and relocation, as described by Councillor Daniel Bovu, former resident,former ANC ward councillor of Thembelihle from 2000-2011and currently Member of the Mayoral Committee for Housing:

> "I can just say Thembelihle was a united area up until 1992, when a study was made with the outcome that Thembelihle is situated on dolomitic land. I was young in the committee (Operation Masakane for the homeless) we broke when this committee said we must not report this news to the residents because it might not be good. I was amongst those who said if we are not reporting what then will we say? If people want development, what then will we say, because clearly we are told the place is not good, we have brought in the geo-techs Dr Patricks interconsult they were the ones who did the tech at the time on behalf of the former TPA[3]. So that is it" (Interview with Dan Bovu, 18/11/2012).

Dan Bovu's description of the first indications that Thembelihle is situated on dolomitic land provides an indication of the political aspects associated with dolomitic land. The committee did not want to lose political support by sharing the news with the residents. There was and also continues to be a large amount of distrust regarding the accuracy of the geo-technical conditions. As will be explored below many of the legal contestations regarding Thembelihle have centred on the accuracy of geo-technical conditions.

The distrust in the information regarding dolomitic conditions spurred mobilisation of community groups including the TCC, for the development of the settlement. Through consistent pressure exerted by the residents of Thembelihle, the City of Johannesburg has supplied the following basic services:
In 1993 the settlement was provided with water mains - the residents were responsible for installing their own connections to these mains.
The post-apartheid era (since 1994) saw the municipal authorities provide the following additional services[4]:

- Refuse removal service
- Regular grading of internal roads
- The construction of a tar road through Thembelihle
- The installation of streetlights
- In 1996 Telkom installed public telephones throughout the settlement.
- Cellular network infrastructure was installed in 1999-2000.
- More recently the installation of ventilated improved pit latrine has taken place in Thembelihle[5].

[3]Transvaal Provincial Administration (the provincial body in Gauteng at that time)
[4] This information is courtesy of Webber Wentzel, the legal representatives who have and continue to provide pro-bono legal representation in housing matters in Thembelihle.
[5] Affidavit submitted in matter between The City of Johannesburg and the occupiers of the Thembelihle Informal Settlement

However contestations over the geo-technical reports continued. Wilson discusses two government commissioned studies into dolomite and the suitability of the Thembelihle for residential, retail and light industrial land use. Both the study conducted in 1992 and the study conducted in 1998 concluded that people might continue to reside on most parts of Thembelihle provided water measures are adhered to. These water measures include better-secured drainage sites as well as larger foundations for top structures (Storey, 2012). Wilson demonstrates that the 1998 study, indicated that 90% of the site is suitable for residential, retail and light industrial land use as long as water precautionary measures are adhered to.

Given the above evidence the Thembelihle community in 2005 won a case against the state agreed to investigate in-situ upgrading of the settlement, yet not without reservations. As Huchzermeyer describes,

> "While the municipality has finally undertaken, on this basis, to investigate feasibility of *in situ*upgrading (City of Johannesburg, 2005), official pronouncements still are that the entire Thembelihle community will relocate to houses of a particular colour in Lehae (City of Johannesberg officials, personal communication)" (Huchtzermeyer, 2006: 8).

Lehae is a mixed-use relocation site earmarked by the City of Johannesburg where inhabitants from Dlamini and Thembelihle have been selected to relocate. Huchtzermeyer points to the fact the City of Johannesburg demarcated different areas of Lehae by painting the houses particular colours, for example the all the previous residents of Thembelihle have been relocated to green houses in the south of Lehae. Vlakfontein is another site earmarked for the relocation of residents of Thembelihle. The map below provides an indication of the location of Thembelihle in relation to the relocation sites earmarked by the City of Johannesburg:

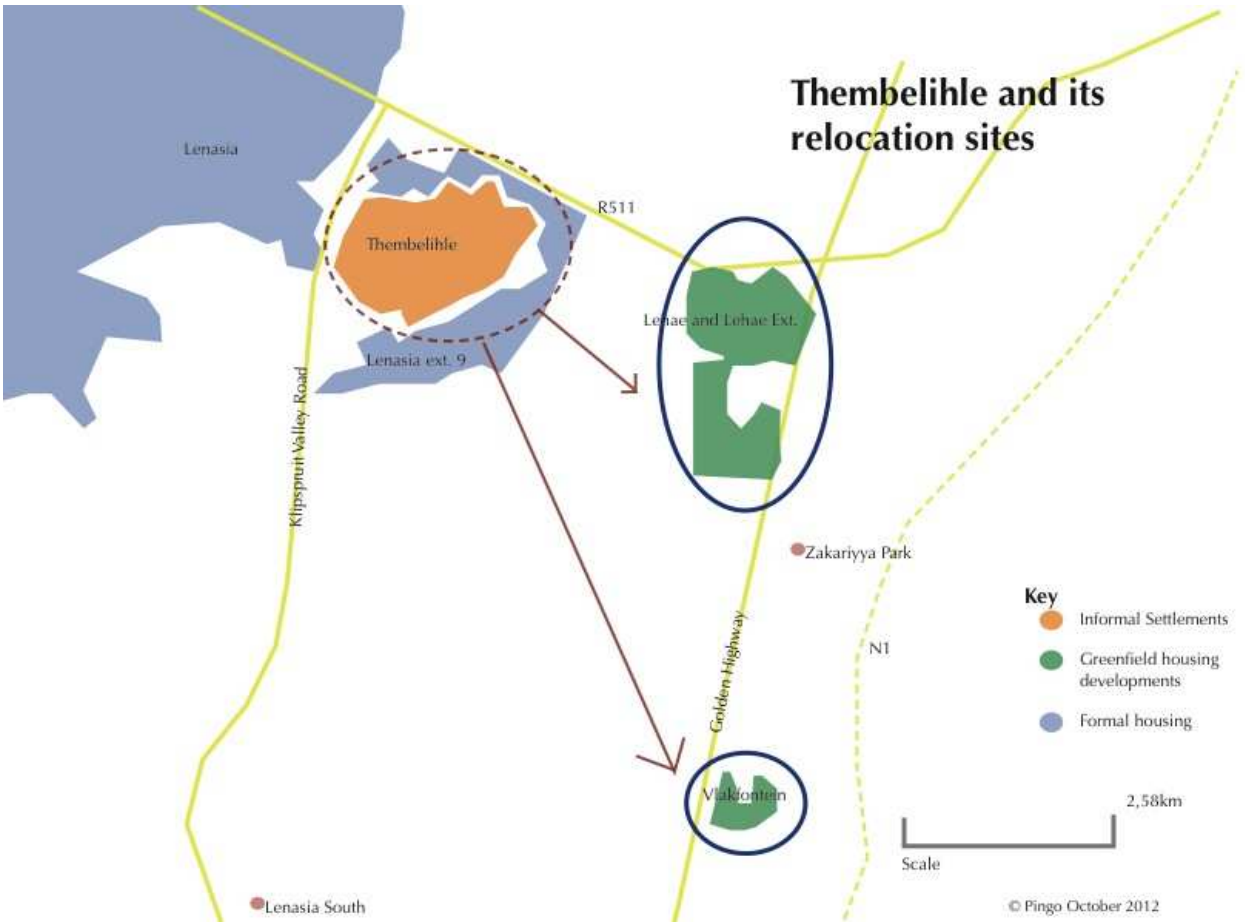


Figure 3 Thembelihle and its relocation sites map

Lehae remains the key relocation site, with some residents from Thembelihle relocated to the site since 2006. Formal housing exists on certain portions of the site, whilst further development is taking place. In a recent focus group interview[6] on the 16th of June 2012 with 23 residents of Lehae who were relocated from Thembelihle from 2006 onwards, there were various concerns raised. Although only 2km from the edge of Thembelihle, living in Lehae presents a multitude of challenges, from a lack of infrastructure in the form of incomplete roads, no school, no clinic, a lack of public transport due to taxi associations conflicts and a R5.00 taxi fare to employment opportunities. Residents of Lehae therefore need to continue to utilise all the amenities in and around Thembelihle, at an additional cost.

[6]Focus group discussions were held as part of work at Planact (as described in the methodology chapter), these formed part of research conducted into the participation of residents in informal settlement upgrading, housing allocation and relocation processes in Thembelihle.

The relocation additionally had a negative impact on social networks and relations for Thembelihle residentsrelocated to Lehae. The residents have been labelled as “sell-outs” by the TCC, therefore impacting negatively on previous social networks in Thembelihle. Furthermore new networks have proved incredibly challenging to form, as the “mixed masala” community; brings groups of people from different locations together requiring new connections to be built. The participants indicated that this lack of social relations has had a passivizing effect on the residents and their ability to voice their concerns with the new development. (Planact, Lahae Focus Group, 16th June 2012).

The relevance of Lehae to this study is twofold: firstly the site provides opportunities of “invited spaces of participation” for the Councillor, TCC and Residents of Thembelihle. Lehae also serves as an example of the consequences of housing developments without the participation of residents and the inadequate way in which the City of Johannesburg shapes the city in ways that are arguably harmful for the poor. Yet the housing allocation process to Lehae has remained a contentious issue within Thembelihle, where all residents encountered expressed the desire for a formal dwelling.

Despite the relocations to Lehae, the TCC remained committed to in-situ informal settlement upgrading; therefore after the 2005 Judgement, legal conflicts ensued regarding the validity of Geo-technical studies, where the city succeeded in raising valid questions regarding the accuracy of studies that indicated that Thembelihle is suitable for in-situ upgrading. Following these contentions in 2008 the City of Johannesburg Head of Development Planning, Dr Phil Harrison outlined several resolutions the City of Johannesburg had taken with regard to Thembelihle, which included relocation of most Thembelihle residents to Lehae and Vlakfontein given the current existing results of geo-technical reports. In order for the city to recommend in-situ upgrading on any portions of the site, a full geo-technical investigation would need to take place with 80 boreholes drilled, as opposed to the 20 drilled in previous studies.

The Thembelihle community appealed the 2008 city resolution in the South Gauteng High Court - where they appealed to the city to conduct further Geo-technical studies before moving forward with relocation. The appeal was dismissed in the South Gauteng High Court in 2009 as it was seen as financially ineffective to for the city to conduct further geo-technical studies at an estimated cost of R 800 000. No further legal action has been entered into since 2009.

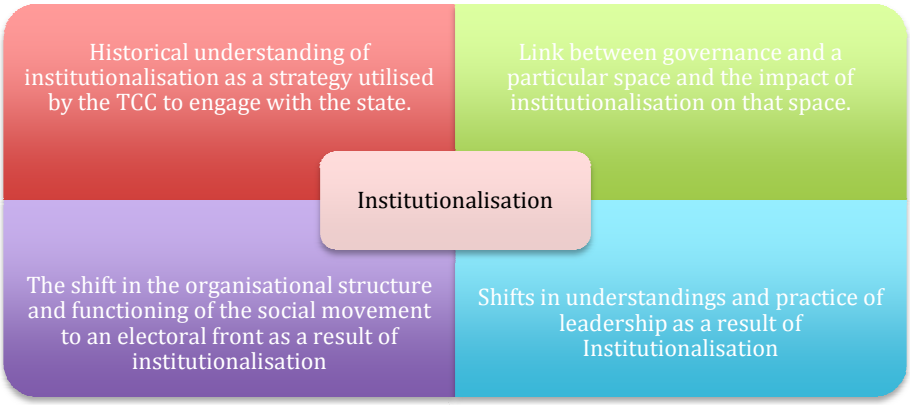
1.3) Research Questions and Sub-questions

Question: What are the impacts of the institutionalisation of the Thembelihle Crisis Committee (TCC) through the electoral front of the Operation Khanyisa Movement?

There are several ways in which the term impact is conceived of in this research report. The research aimed to explore the impacts of institutionalisation in way that focused on both the internal and external impacts of institutionalisation. The key impacts of institutionalisation explored may be classified as such:

(i) the TCC's use of strategies and tactics
(ii) improvement in material living conditions in Thembelihle
(iii) on the functioning, structure and growth of the OKM
(iv) on OKM leadership and Councillor Zwane as a community leader

The diagram below attempts to highlight the way in which the impacts are conceived in relation to institutionalisation:



There are multiple sets of questions that need to be posed in order to grapple with the larger overriding research question. These may be understood as background questions and include the following:

Background questions:

Outcomes of the Institutionalisation of the social movements in a South African context (particularly through Zwane's current work):

- Social Movements-The impact of protocols on social movements: How have Simphiwe Zwane's tactics, strategies and positionality changed since being elected as councillor? And also how have social movements strategies and tactics shifted (or not) since one of their members has been elected?
- Community and Change- What has shifted for Thembelihle residents since having a representative in council?
- Personal Level (leadership) what type of leadership structure does the OKM employ? Who are the key leaders who drive the electoral front forward? How have the leaders impacted on the structure and functioning of the OKM?

1.4) Structure of the Research

The research paper began with exploring key background information so as provide an indication of both the context of Thembelihle andthe Thembelihle Crisis Committee (TCC) somewhat. This chapter outlined the research questions that the research report will explore and provided an indication of key background questions. The chapter lastly explores the research background, this section provides an understanding of the national and local contexts from which the OKM emerges.

The next chapter, chapter two explores relevant literature in three specific thematic areas, Social Movement Theory, with a particular look at South African Social Movement Theory, Local democracy and Urban Governance and popular Agency, Participation and Leadership. This literature will form the lens through which the qualitative data will be explored throughout this research report. Additional theoretical work will be utililised to advance understanding of specific areas in the paper as a whole. The research is not situated within a specific conceptual framework due to the fact that it overlaps several theoretical frameworks and it is this position between these theoretical frameworks that it makes the question so interesting. It also means that the analysis is not uninform but is rather situated in an attempt to better understand agency, participation, social movements and urban local politics.

Chapter three will provide a brief overview of the kind of methodology utilised as well as an exploration of the specific challenges faced in terms of the research process. The methodological section also highlights some of the limitations of the study due to both access to longer-term data and therefore more measureable shifts in participation in local governance.

The next chapter, chapter four explores the functioning of the Operation Khanyisa movement, this is critical to exploring the impacts of the councillor on Thembelihle, the TCC and the OKM more broadly. Chapter four also aims to provide insight into an understanding of the daily activities of the councillor as well as shedding light on some of the internal dynamics present in the OKM. Through this analysis some of internal politics of forming an electoral front out of social movements are explored particularly in an exploration of the rationale and political history of the emergence of the OKM.

The chapter five explores the impact of the councillor on the growth of the OKM and some of the challenges faced in terms of the functioning of the system. The chapter sheds light on the quantitative data around the growth in the OKM constituency, some of the ideological challenges faced by the OKM, the use of the ward committee system to further OKM representation in local government structures and an exploration into the influence the OKM has on external networks through an analysis of the role of Councillor Zwane in the Marikana solidarity campaign.

Chapter six highlights the importance of leadership at local level. The chapter provides insight into the socio-political history of councillor Zwane and compares her style of leadership with other key leaders in the OKM. The chapter ends by exploring the impact of being a councillor has had on Zwane through the notion of “double dealings”.

The final chapter explores the dual impact that the councillor has had on Thembelihle as well as the way in which the institutionalisation of a social movement has impacted on its function and strategies and tactics. The chapter achieves this through use of comparing two dichotomous events, which highlight the use of contestation, and cooperation as key strategies utilised by the TCC and OKM. The chapter additionally aims to outline some of the non-material impact of a representative in council for the TCC and OKM.

The paper concludes by highlighting both the positive implications of the strategy employed by the OKM as well as some of the key issues that may be faced by the OKM moving forward. It is imperative to point out that the paper recognises the limited space available for a PR councillor from a small political party with only one representative to have an impact on the either material circumstances or wider policy in the City of Johannesburg. It is within this context, within the limited space that the work of the OKM is explored. These constraints are important to recognise and are explored to a certain extent in the paper, but the paper does however focus primarily on the agency of the individual leaders, the TCC and the OKM. The paper in its critical stance remains one filled with hope in collective agency.

1.5) Rationale

Extensive research exists in the field of social movements (as will be explored below -Tarrow, 1998, McAdams et al, 2001, Ballard, 2005), into the ways in which people mobilise, the types of issues that are mobilised against and the specific contexts under which people can mobilise in different ways have been advanced (Bayat, 2000, Holston,2009). Key research has also been conducted into the impact of social movements on systematic changes in governance (Hipsher,1998).

Separate to that literature is a body of work particularly in the South African context on local government and the participation of the poor in local governance with a focus on state initiatives to include the poor. This body of work has an emphasis on decentralisation as well as key tools focused on enhancing participatory governance such as community based planning, social audits and participatory budgeting (this type of literature is produced widely by the NGO sector- see in particular GGLN State of Local Governance reports & World Bank reports on participatory governance).

Yet within this South African literature the link to understanding the role of social movements in local government is very limited. In governance literature communities are referred to in blanket terms with community-based organisations understood as key stakeholders in government lead processes (Thompson & Tapscott, 2012). To some extent although participatory governance attempts to involve citizens in the structures of local government, it does so denying the unique complexities and stances of those popular agency formations. There is limited investigation into the role of social movements and popular agency within local governance structures, particularly through party politics. Claire Benit-Gbaffou's work in this arena in the South African context (2012) has highlighted some of the complexities of the intersection of party politics and local governance. Her work has focused on the ANC and space for opposition. While this research aims to share the experiences of social movement and the process of institutionalisation.

There are various ways in which the research question has an impact on planning practice. The first is that all planning processes, whether explicitly expressed or not, are political. As Fainstein argues, "Even though many aspects of the planning process are technical and 'non-political', the way in which a plan is formulated and implemented can be treated in the same terminology as political decision making." (Fainstein, 1971:1).

Secondly, and possibly most importantly, the issues dealt with by the TCC and OKM are essentially spatial it is about the right to live in Thembelihle and have access to basic services. It is about focusing on spatial segregation, on the basis of race and more recently class. It is also deeply embedded in the contradictions facing developmental local government, where balancing the collection of revenue perpetuated by New Management Principals and providing adequate services for the millions of impoverished South Africans remain as consistent challenges. The ways in which the Simphiwe Zwane tackles this contradiction through engaging directly in local government speaks fundamentally to the space for oppositional forces to shape the planning of the city.

Beyond the focus of the impact of decision-making on planning practice, the research has value in providing in-depth insight specificities of social movement and party politics in urban South Africa. The research further aims to explore resistance through individual leaders who are representatives of collective movements (in the form of Zwane and to lesser extents Ngwane, Miya and Segodi) through the examination of the minutia in terms of understanding trajectories, strategies and networks; princely how these key members and the movement specifically in Thembelihle function every day. In the realm of academia large theories and effects are often noted without an understanding of the everyday actions, which create that effect. Michel De Certeau explores this conception of examining the larger socio-political situation versus the smaller actions guiding it, and also the relationship between them when he states,

> "On the one hand then, there is the concept of the city which "like a proper name" enables an unstable and boundless mass to be managed, comprehended even, and on the other there is the experience of the city which is transitory and has no "readable identity" (De Certeau in Buchanan 2000:111).

De Certeau uses the analogy of the city to describe the concept of a wider discourse in contrast to the experience of the individual. This research aims to explore the 'experience' of resistance, which like "the experience of the city" is complex and has multiple identities.

The research has possible larger applications to understanding the formation of radical opposition electoral movements in urban informal contexts in the Global South. The research will attempt to make the connection between shifts in planning with the particular agenda to avoid relocation.It will also provide key insight into challenges faced in informal settlement upgrading in Johannesburg.

Chapter Two- Literature Review

There are various aspects within the larger subject matter, which will need to be explored in order to address the research question. They may be classed into broad streams of inquiry, which will be helpful to the study:

1.) Institutionalisation
2.) Social Movement Theory:
    -South African Social Movement Theory
3.) Local democracy and Urban Governance
4.) Popular Agency, Leadership and Participation

There is literature dealing specifically with each of the thematic areas as well as overlapping literature. This section will provide an indication of current theory, case studies and models that are being assessed directly related to the research question. It is important to note that the research is complex and therefore will not follow the structure of applying one theoretical framework to the multiplicity of phenomena noted here.

2.1) Institutionalisation

At this juncture it would be relevant to explore what is meant by the term 'institutionalisation' and why it is an important concept to study in relation to social movement actors. In the New Oxford American dictionary, definitions of the term the term carry connotations of following specific procedures within a pre-established organisational structure. Much of the literature specifically on the institutionalisation of social movements arises out of the Latin American Context.This literature focuses specifically on processes of institutionalisation of social movements and NGOs in transitioning democracies in Latin America (Hipsher, 1996 & 1998; Foweraker, 2001; Assies, 1999; Roberts & Wibbels, 1999). The focus of these studies are largely focused on the impact of institutionalisation on democratic stability, so cannot offer many direct inputs on the impacts on social movements.

Hipsher, who proposes that social movements follow cyclical patterns of functioning as manifested in the Latin American context, explores a more context-specific definition of social movements' institutionalisation, "Institutionalisation involves a shift in protesters' tactics. Institutionalized tactics rely on the use of "proper" channels of conflict resolution and are viewed as nonthreatening by elites "because they leave unchallenged the structural underpinnings of the political system" (Hipsher, 1996:275).

This must be situated within the Latin American context as Hipsher explores:

> "Cycles of democratisation have generated cycles of protest. The explanation presented here is that as authoritarians liberalize the political process and permit greater freedom of action, selected social movements emerge in protest… During the latter stages of transitions, when political parties return to the fore and confrontation is replaced by democratic cooperation and compromise, movements tend to decline and become institutionalized, thus completing the cycle. The institutionalisation of

> movements during the latter stages of transitions has variable impacts on movements and the larger political process" (Hipsher, 1998:154).

In Hipsher's understanding of institutionalisation is a process whereby social movements become a part of governance structures. In Hipsher's description many social movements become a part of governance structures through political parties; however social movements are also able to assimilate into governance structures through particular leaders or individuals who are brought into those structures often as a representative of the social movement from which they came.

This is generally a positive movement as it indicates a mainstreaming of political ideologies that were on the fringe. The institutionalisation of social movements generally indicates the demise of the social movement as a lobbying agent, as the lobbying is internal. As will be explored below, social movements have followed this cycle from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa (Ballard et al. 2006). However, as Hipsher explores, this cycle may yield different results depending largely on the political context. The political cycles followed by Chile and Brazil in the institutionalisation of social movements has resulted in different situations: in Brazil the cycle resulted in greater participation in decision-making however in Chile the social movement faced greater marginalisation.

What is perhaps more common is that institutionalisation has made no impact at all as expressed by Foweraker,

> "On the evidence, it is unlikely to achieve general policy change or innovation. On the other hand, it may succeed in pressing the state to fulfil some specific obligations, such as guaranteeing individual security, protecting the property of the poor from fraud and violence, or enforcing its own regulations and price controls. Contrary to the heady utopianism of the early commentaries on social movements, scholars were eventually exhorted to 'acknowledge just how limited their short-term impact really is"(Foweraker, 2001:847)

We may draw a more similar conclusion here however in South Africa, such a study of the post-apartheid institutionalisation of social movements has not yet been undertaken and its impact in the context of the cycles advanced by Hipsher is still to be explored.

Perhaps more pertinently OKM presents as one of the first post-transitional social movements to utilise institutionalisation as a mechanism and as this paper will argue the institutionalisation of OKM cannot be understood as a complete institutionalisation as the OKM remains largely on the outside of the inside of local government.

It is this key aspect, that of institutionalisationthat is largely lacking in social movement literature. Professor G William Domhoff offers some insight into the impact of the institutionalisationof social movements in Santa Cruz, California in his paper: 'The Leftmost City- Power and Progressive Politics in Santa Cruz [7]' (2008). The paper describes the development of a historical leftist politics in Santa Cruz and the impact of the

[7] 'The Leftmost City' (2008) is co-authored book (Domhoff & Gendron), while 'The Leftmost City-Power and Progressive Politics in Santa Cruz' (2008) is a paper authored by Domhoff where he argues for the applicability of the growth collation theory of urban power.

Institutionalisationof several key activists into city governance on shaping the development of the city between 1973 and 2010. Domhoff indicates that these progressive candidates emerging primarily from social movements were able to shape the city through increasing spending on social services, providing more extensive social welfare services, implementing affirmative action programs for city employees, held an investigation and removed police officers who brutailised homeless transients and held public discussion forums to improve public participation in local and international matters (Domhoff, 2008). However, the progressive contingency according to Domhoff were limited in their success,

> "They started out as socialists who wanted to bring about greater participation as well as greater equality in wealth and income, but they ended up as protectors of neighborhood and environmental use values" (Domhoff, 2008).

Domhoff's study is useful to the study of institutionalisation of social movements in local government urban context, however the relationship between the social movements and the elected officials is not adequately explored; although a declining membership for social movements was noted by Domhoff who indicated that members felt that their concerns were now addressed by elected representatives. More studies of this nature and its impact on social movement theory rather than urban governance are required. This would ensure that a better understanding of theinstitutionalisation of social movements as a mechanism for social change is gained. However, also pertinent to recognize that given its inability to influence decision-making and its reliance on various informal networks the OKM cannot be merely understood to be institutionalised rather the paper studies how the institutionalisationof a social movement takes place recognizing the multitude of limitations on OKM.

These frameworks of understanding institutionalisationare critical and will shape key thinking throughout the research report.

2.2) Social Movements

Prolific work on Social movements from various disciplines most notably from sociology and politics has emerged to shape thinking about social movements in particular ways. The summation of this vast literature is beyond the scope of this paper; rather it is more pertinent to explore key theoretical themes in social movement theory and their applicability to the research case study.

Ballard, Habib, Valodia and Zuern are key South African scholars who explore contemporary post-apartheid South African social movements, in doing so they provide an in-depth analysis of 3 schools of thought within Social Movement theory. Ballard et al frame these schools of thought, "relevant to our understanding of mobilization" (Ballard et al, 2005:618) as follows:

1.) "The structure of opportunities, and constraints within which movements may or may not develop" (political opportunity)
2.) "The networks, structures and other resources which actors employ to mobilize supporters" (mobilizing structures)
3.) "The way in which movements define or frame their movement" (framing processes) (Ballard et al, 2005: 2).

The first theoretical framework, which emerges from a vast range of international scholars on "political opportunity" including Oberschall (1993), Smesler (1971), Priven and Cloward (1979), Tarrow (1994) and McAdam (1996) offers much to the understanding of the context under which movements emerge and how that context shapes the functioning of the movement. Most relevant to this study is McAdam's classification of four aspects of "political opportunity":

> "The relative openness or closure of the instutionalised political system, the stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergrid a polity; the presence or absence or elite allies, the capacity and propensity for repression" (McAdam, 1996:27 in Ballard et al, 2005: 3).

The propensity for repression is also explored below in the use of police force to repress opposition as well as the larger judicial systems, which prevents the extension of the repression. As will be further examined, the democratic system in South Africa and more distinctly in urban areas such as Johannesburg, both creates the space for mobilization and arguably institutionalisation and limits the impact of these spaces. These political opportunities are built upon the historical action of other social movements, as Ballard et al state, "Protest cycles are expanded by heightened mobilization and rapid innovation as different actors learn from and improve upon existing models of collective action" (Ballard et al, 2005). The emergence of the OKM and its motivating factors are explored largely within this theoretical understanding of political opportunity.

Although the analysis of the OKM will rest largely on the theoretical notion of political opportunity, there are secondary theoretical frameworks that are relevant to the paper.The second theoretical framework employed to understand social movements, "mobilizing structures or resource mobilisation', which Ballard et al describe as the "branch of inquiry

[which] investigates how social movements organizations are formed, what local networks they build upon, what existing institutions they employ, and what access they have to political and material resources" (Ballard et al, 2005). Theorists exploring the "mobilizing structures' of social movements include the various "repertoires of contention" (Ballard et al, 2005), in this paper these repertoires are understood through the concepts of tactics and strategies. The analysis of 'repertoires' or tactics and strategies as a mechanism to understand social movements forms a key aspect of the analysis in this paper.

The unique strategy ofinstitutionalisation, how and why it arose as well as its impact forms the central point under which the OKM should be studied. These details of the emergence of the OKM have been outlined briefly above in relation to the APF. Furthermore it will be explored in chapter six. That chapter focuses primarily in terms of the rationale for the formation of OKM. However the choice to use local party politics as a mechanism of engagement is largely linked to political opportunity. The space for the participation of minority parties in South Africa are brought about by two state led initiatives; firstly the local government electoral system shapes PR system which allows OKM to be represented in council and secondly the ward council and ward committee system as participatory governance mechanisms as defined in the Municipal Systems Act (2000). This is an aspect of the political climate in conjunction with the dominance of the ANC and the widespread although possibly inefficient use of protest that shapes the social movements overall.

The third theoretical framework applied to the study of social movements may be understood as "identity-orientated paradigms, which stress the importance of social relationships for any understanding of movement activity; they therefore bring cultural frames including shared meanings, symbols and discourses into the analysis" (Ballard et al, 2005:4). This theoretical framework seeks to explore social movements through an examination of internal behavior, which causes individuals to mobilize against shared grievances, and the identities formed in that process. As McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly argue: "for a growing school of constructionists' social movements were both carriers of meanings and makers of meaning, that by naming grievances and expressing new identities, (social movements) constructed new realities and made these identities collective" (1997:149 In Ballard et al, 2005:5). The paper utilizes this theoretical thinking in the following way; it explores the historical basis of collective mobilization and the particular identities formed in the SECC, TCC and OKM. I would argue that a key aspect of this identity formation of the collective is the individuals (primarily leaders), which shape the identity of the movement as a whole. This understanding broadens the theoretical framework, although leaders can be understood as a key human resource under the framework of resource mobilization, they are as is explored in the analysis of the Simphiwe Zwane also integral to the identity of the social movement. Zwane's history and leadership style as well as those of key leaders in the OKM have an impact on the collective identity of the electoral front. Segodi and Ngwane's socialist links through their membership of a Trotskyite socialist group (Interviews with Segodi and Ngwane) has shaped the ideological stance of the OKM. This type of analysis is integral to understanding the way in which movements create meaning.

In summation these theoretical frameworks provide a lens through which to analyse social movements through understanding: (i) why social movements emerge in the larger political context through the "political opportunity model", (ii) how they function and the particular tactics and strategies employed through the "resource mobilization or mobilizing structures

model" and (iii) the internal localized model of understanding why collective mobilization occurs and how that shapes the identity of movements through the "framing or identity-orientated" framework. Ballard et al (2005) argue that these three frameworks each offer particular nuanced understandings of social movements and rather than arguing for the supremacy of one framework, rather all three can be applied to the study of social movements.

Another key theoretical distinction made by social movement theorists is that between historical social movements and contemporary social movements. A key political theorist, Manual Castells (1983) explores the distinction between contemporary and historical social movements, through indicating that "new" social movements differ largely from historical movements by their motivation or intent. Castells indicates that "new" social movements seek to adjust aspects of society within democratic systems, rather than adjusting governance systems as a whole. This distinction is echoed in Ballard et al, who view the distinction as follows,

- Old social movements may be understood as, "movements for liberation, independence and freedom which sought revolutionary change and the overthrow of the state" (Ballard et al, 2005:3)
- While new social movements are understood as, "self-limiting radicalism"…which demand greater equality and rights without challenging the structure of the formally democratic state and the market economy" (idem.)
- Beyond new social movements Ballard et al utilize della Porta's further distinction in the form of "new-new" social movements; which can be understood as "transnational movements which press for alternative globalisations and in so doing challenge powerful transnational and global political and economic structures" (Ballard et al, 2005:3).

The distinction between social movements in this way cannot be understood in historical terms but is rather reliant on the nature of the political context, for example the Arab Spring in Egypt could be understood as a movement for liberation and freedom, however with the use of technological tools and global networks may emulate some of the tactics (or repertoires) utilised by "new new" movements. Similarly the OKM's primary material aims (as will be explored below) are equality and rights based; yet the ideological stance of the movement is focused on the transformation of the market economy and its policies. Furthermore the OKM utilizes institutionalisation as a strategy of engaging with the formally democratic state.

The above summation of social movement theoretical frameworks guides the understandings of the OKM and its functions in the City of Johannesburg to a large extent. However, much of the social movement literature focuses on contestation through strategies outside of institutionalisation. The strategy used by the OKM is an engagement through state mechanisms to participate in the democratic space (which arguably allows for some form of contention). It is pertinent to point out that although comprising of two social movements, the OKM itself is not a social movement but the electoral front for social movements.

It is important to note that the bulk of literature reviewed in terms of social movements emerges from the global North.Any attempts to utilize these theoretical frameworks in a

South African context must ensure that are applied critically with an understanding of the South African social movement context. We therefore turn to South African specific social movement literature.

2.3) South African Social Movement Context

Matalan and Benit-Gbaffou outline three primary debates occurring with regard to social movements in post-apartheid South Africa, they may be summarized in the following way:

1.) "Many question the continuities and changes before and after 1994 – wondering whether the transition to democracy means the decline of social movements, whether current forms of mobilisation are new or inherited from past antiapartheid struggles (Seekings, 1998; Friedman, 2003; Habib, 2003; Gibson, 2006; Ballard et al. 2006; Nthambeleni, 2008; Beinart and Dawson, 2010; Friedman, 2010)".
2.) "Others question the nature (diversity or unity; radicalism or reformism; state-related or autonomous) of social movements in South Africa, and the extent to which they are able to influence South African political and social paths" (Gibson, 2006; Ballard et al. 2006; Pithouse, 2008; Beinart and Dawson, 2010; Thompson and Tapscott, 2010; Sinwell, 2011a).
3.) "More recently, some have started questioning the relationships between democracy, violence and social movements in South Africa, in the aftermath of the 2008 xenophobic attacks (described by some, provocatively, as a genuinely popular movement: Glaser, 2008); but also in the context of increasingly violent confrontations between protesters and the state" (McKinley and Veriava, 2005; Pithouse, 2008; von Holdt, 2010). (Matlala and Benit-Gbaffou, 2011:209).

Each of these key debates are useful to explore through expanding on one or two theorists work so as to have a better understanding of the South African social movement context. Ballard, Habib, Valodia and Zuern's analysis of social movements proves most useful in understanding the current South African political context as well as the historical role of social movements. Ballard et al point to the fact that post-apartheid social movements focus on shifting key policies and practices rather than advocate for systematic change in governance on the whole, within the realm of new social movements. The diagram below indicates this historical shift:

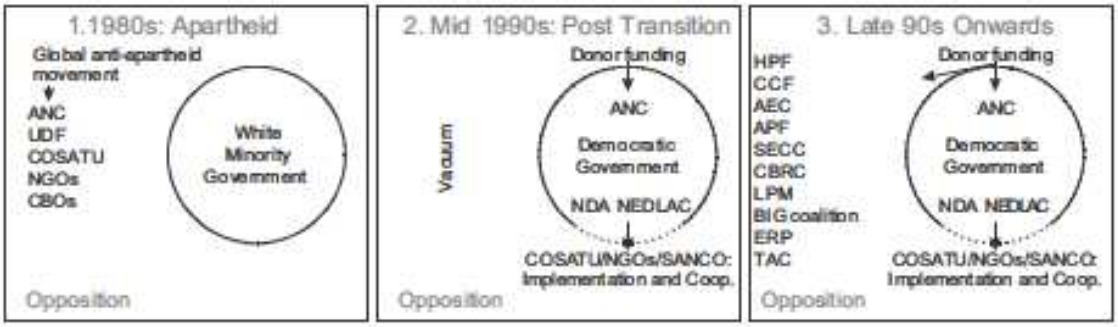


Figure 1. The reinvention of South Africa's social movements

Figure 4 The Reinvention of South Africa's social movements (Ballard et al, 2005: 622)

I would argue that the OKM presents a new era in social movements in its engagement in political space yet still as an opposition force. Using diagram 3 and creating a new diagram I will attempt to graphically represent this shift:

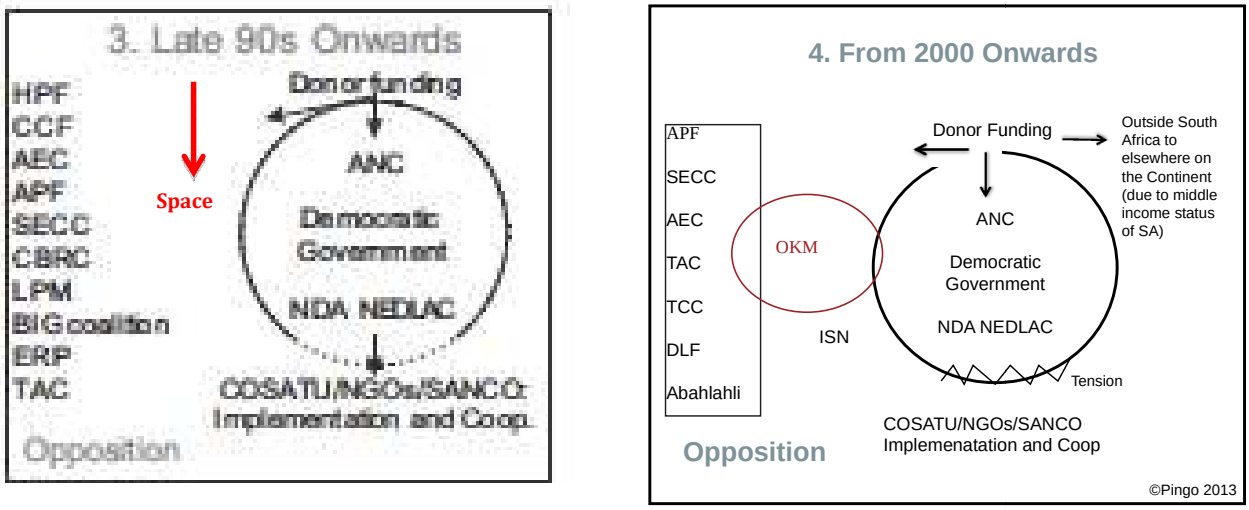


Figure 5 Comparison between Ballard et al. Late 90s onwards diagram and the space for social movements beyond 2000.

Social movements in apartheid were mobilized against apartheid and once the struggle had ended as indicated in the diagram many social movements were institutionalized into government as was seen in liberation movements across the globe, but particularly in the African context. Ballard et al describe the transition as follows,

> "Unlike the previous government, which did not have international or domestic legitimacy, this was now a democratically elected government that was seen to be working on the problem of poverty and deprivation rather than creating or exacerbating it" (Ballard et al, 2005:622).

The shifts in ANC in the process of institutionalisation to the governing party are beyond the scope of this paper. However it is important to acknowledge that the ANC movement towards more neo-liberal policies, in the form of the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) at a national level and in the form of iGoli 2000 in Johannesburg saw the rise of opposition in the late 1990s[8] (McKinley, 2000; Bond, 2000, Skuse, 2011 & Ballard et al, 2005).

It is from this political context that contemporary social movements in South Africa must be explored. This analysis is true even for the radical anti-privatisation forum as it seeks anti-privatisation policies to better suit the poor rather than a socialist or communist regime. This analysis and historical context provided by Ballard et al. contextualize the type of strategies

[8] Ballard et al. explore various social movements who represent vastly different issues at different levels, however "many movements suggest that they draw from class-based ideologies with notable self-descriptions as: anti neo-liberal, anti-capital, anti-GEAR, anti-globalisation, anti-market, and pro-poor, pro-human rights, socialist and Trotskyist" (Ballard et al, 2005:12)

and tactics used by social movements in a contemporary South African context.
However the institutionalisationof the movement as an electoral front may provide a challenge to Ballard et al's argument, although the impact of a local electoral front has little space for vast impact on policy (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2012) its intent may be to shift the political order rather than merely a platform for specific concerns.

This is highlighted in the diagram above; the post- 2000spresent some shifts within the realm of social movements. This is indicated in the formation of the OKM, who continue to occupy the oppositional space of post-apartheid late 90s model. However, the OKM bridges the space between government and social movements through acting as an oppositional force within government. How does this differ from the political opposition more broadly? The OKM occupies a unique space as it emerges and remains deeply embedded in the functioning of a social movement. Its contestation of local government elections as a mechanism to engage directly with location specific issues of its constituency, combined with a conscious decision to call the OKM an electoral front rather than a political party places it a grey space between party and social movement. The OKM and informal settlement network (ISN) represent a movement to engage more with government either from an oppositional stand point (OKM) or a cooperative stand point (ISN).

Withdebate and deliberation around whether the Democratic Left Front (DLF) and its affiliates willenter the elections (at various levels) the South African millennial social movement landscape may shift somewhat. This speaks perhaps to various contextual factors relevant to the "nature of social movements" in a South African context. Does entering into local government signal the de-radicalisation of social movements and intent to conform to the regulations of local governance? To some extent perhaps yes, however I think the argument lies more heavily on the socio-political context. Just as Matlala and Bènit-Gbaffou indicate that in terms of social movements research a growing interest has been noted between democracy, violence and social movements. The issue of police brutality and mass protest action is of growing concern and although Duncan and Royeppen are cited below for research specifically exploring prohibition of protest action and policing, von Holt et al (2011)highlights this concern when he states,

> "our studies of community protests show that police actions escalated confrontation and tension which rapidly took the form of running street battles between protesters and police officers. There was widespread condemnation in communities of provocative violence against crowds of protesters on the part of police. Even more troubling were the incidents of random assault and allegations of torture against suspected protest leaders and their families in some of the communities—reports and allegations that have been repeated in more recent protests, such as those at Ermelo and Ficksburg where protest leader Andries Tatane died at the hands of the police" (Kirsten and von Holt in von Holt et al, 2011:3).

The very real violent threats involved in the traditional use of protest action as a tool by social movements, means that millennium social movements are required to rethink effective strategies available to them. This coupled with Friedman and McKeizer's (2010) argument that protest action has little or no ability to shift policy again invites social movements to rethink its strategies and tactics. Von Holt, Langa, Molapo, Mogapi, Ngubeni, Dlamini and Kirsten (2011), provide several outcomes of the community protests examined; including

media attention, which often results in visits from high-ranking officials but with little room for engaging with those officials. Theonly serious outcome from protest action is the possibility of the local ward councilor dismissal. However the new ward councilors are often as or more disappointing than those ousted in the protest action.

2.4) Local democracy and Urban Governance

These two spheres of knowledge may be closely linked, as the way in which the practice of democracy is understood directly impacts the way in which government operates at all spheres. Literature exploring the South African local governance context is most applicable to this study as this directly impacts the tactics and strategies utilised by the OKM operating within local government. Theories focusing on of local democratic processes will be examined applying specific understandings of democracy to its functioning.

Ballard presents two broad notions of democracy:

> "Representative democracy emphasizes the role of politicians in determining policy as a result of the mandate they receive on Election Day. Deliberate democracy, by contrast, argues that in addition to a well functioning electoral system, citizens should have opportunities to challenge and debate policies and their implementation on an ongoing basis" (Ballard, 2008:169-170).

Ballard argues that deliberative democracy is key to participation in decision-making in invited and invented spaces of participation. He explores the "invited and invented" (Cornwall, 2002; Wills and Miraftab, 2005) spaces of participation and outlines some key participatory mechanisms existent in South African under those dichotomies. Ballard raises concerns about the state repression of "invented" spaces of participation in South Africa, particularly of social movements. He uses Souza's thinking to conclude that the invented spaces of participation used by socialmovements, "Far from undermining democracy, social movements are executing their democratic duty by resisting the pressure to become 'assistants' to the state planning apparatus and continuing to function as constructive critics" (Ballard,2008:183).

Ballard does not explore the instance of social movements operating in "invited spaces of participation" in a way that entails becoming "assistants to the state planning apparatus" (Ballard, 2008:183). A theory of democracy that encompasses oppositional thinking within deliberative democracy may benefit this discussion. Critical aspects are found in Chantal Mouffe's work on "agonism".

Andrew Schaap explores the nuanced differences between these different theories of democracy through exploring primarily Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson's *Democracy and Disagreement* as a definitive argument on deliberative democracy. While Chantal Mouffe's work on agonism is utilised as the primarily source of understanding the theory. Schaap's paper is particularly relevant as it explores the relevance and to some extent the applicability of these theories to divided societies using South Africa as a primary example.

> "Divided societies provide a hard case in terms of which to consider the explanatory and normative power of contemporary theories of democracy. In a situation of deep distrust between ordinary citizens, for instance, we might have good reason to be skeptical of the transformative potential of political dialogue on which consensus-models of democracy place so much emphasis." (Schaap, 2006: 256).

Thus Schaap posits that an agonistic framework of democracy may be more applicable to divided societies, "By contrast, Mouffe insists that 'instead of trying to erase the traces of power and exclusion, democratic politics requires us to bring them to the fore, to make them visible so that they can enter the terrain of contestation" (Schaap, 2006:264).

Perhaps the decision to enter local government as an electoral party indicates a shift from antagonism to agonism, a shift Mouffe argues is key to "modern democracy" (Mouffe, 2009) "What is important is that conflict does not take the form of 'antagonism' (struggle between enemies) but the form of 'agonism' (struggle between adversaries)" (Mouffe, 2009: 551). This concept will be key in exploring the strategies and tactics employed by the OKM. Relevant to this literature is the reaction of the ANC to political opponents particularly the poor. This argument is conveyed in the documentary, 'Dear Mandela' (2011) where the ANC work strategically with local communities to destabilize the social movement Abahlali basemjondolo. This type of behavior is seen in local level politics as discussed by Claire Bénit-Gbaffou, who argues that this antagonism has far reaching consequences to democratic practice,

> "It raises the question of the ANC's commitment to democracy, as indicated by Steven Friedman (2009), and of its ability to tolerate different, oppositional views, especially in low-income areas where the number of service delivery protests keeps increasing" (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2012:1).

The notion of deliberative democracy seeking consensus or agonism which may be understood as creating space for conflict to be aired as Mouffe explains,

> "In a pluralist democracy such disagreements are not only legitimate but also necessary. They allow for different forms of citizenship identification and are the stuff of democratic politics. When the agonistic dynamics of pluralism are hindered because of a lack of democratic forms of identifications, passions cannot be given a democratic outlet and the ground is laid for various forms of politics articulated around essentialist identities of nationalist, religious or ethnic type and for the multiplication of confrontations over non-negotiable moral values, with all the manifestations of violence that such confrontations entail." (Mouffe, 2009:552).

On an official level the local governance ward councilor system, instituted in 2000 appears to be inviting agonism into its structures through the creation of a system that invites opposition parties to be a legitimate part of the local governance system. However in the urban context of Johannesburg the ward councilor system as argued by Bénit-Gbaffou is often overridden by ANC branch structures, who because of their political network are better able to access much needed resources than those functioning in the hierarchical and bureaucratic local government system, "In many ways, ANC local branches are competing with local government participatory structures. For instance, they mimic the structures and functions of ward committees" (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2012:5). Thus the effectiveness of the ward councilor system as a structure will be a broader reflection, which may be alluded to from the primary data through reflecting on Simphiwe Zwane's strategies at ward level.

It is at this juncture important to gain an understanding of the ward councilor system into which the OKM was elected. The ward councilor system was instituted in 2000 to act as intermediaries between community needs and local government (Benit-Gbaffou, 2008). Cameron describes the ward councilor system as follows; "The electoral system for the final phase of local government was based on an integrated proportional representative (PR) and ward representation formula. Metropolitan councils and local municipalities with wards consisted of 50 percent ward councilors and 50 percent PR councilors (on party lists) nominated by political parties or groupings of civics/ independents" (Cameron, 2006:90). During local government elections (5 year basis) citizens vote both on a municipal ward level and metropolitan proportional representative level.

There are various relevant critiques of South African local government system, many of which are particularly important to urban governance. Piper and Ndavi summarise many of the concerns of participatory local governance through highlighting problems found in the "invited space" of local government,

> "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 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 and Ndavi, 2010:212).

These concerns are relevant to the paper in particular ways, the poor design of the local councilor system means that despite the fact that proportional representation allows for minority voices to be a formal part of the local governance, the inability to vote due to ANC dominance, the lack of geographical representation and most importantly the lack of genuine debate (party policy takes precedence) makes these spaces largely meaningless. As will be argued below, despite their presence in "invited spaces" of participation the OKM continually utilize informal networks in order to negotiate with those with genuine power. The lack of political will to ensure meaningful participation, transparency and accountability is also highlighted in the paper with regard to the ward committee system where residents spend months trying to ascertain the correct information regarding their relocation process. The way in which councillor Zwane is treated in council chamber also indicates a city-wide larger lack of political will to allow for meaningful political opposition. The use of ridicule is a well-known tactic of "agonistic" political competition the world over. however the personal attacks on Zwane and the OKM as threatening to the status quo of position of councilors speaks to a lack of will to engage with alternate political ideologies.

The evolution of the local governance system in particular decentralization and participatory structures will be key in understanding the context under which the OKM functions.

2.5) Popular Agency, Leadership and Participation

Issues of popular agency, leadership and participation theories are key as theoretical guides to explore how the OKM operates within the space of local government. This section will begin by examining theories of participation, then explore modes of popular agency which are linked to participation and finally explore key literature dealing with leadership as a key driving force in terms of popular agency and participation.

The historical underpinnings of participation can be traced back to the 1960s which saw a move away from authoritarian expert thinking inherent in master planning to a more participatory planning approach. Resistance and mechanisms of resistance form the basis of understanding participation and popular agency. From Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969) more nuanced understandings of how people participate have been developed.Examining both organized social movements and resistance more widely in the Western Cape is the work of Faranak Miraftab. Miraftab's notion of "invented" versus "invited strategies will form a key lexical reference in determining tactics and strategies utilised by the OKM. It is important to acknowledge, as does Miraftab that these concepts are built upon the work primarily of Holston (1995), Sandercock (1998), Cornwall (2002), Friedman (2002), Wilis and Miraftab's (2006) own work. However, Miraftab's most developed definitions prove most useful for this work,

> "Invited' spaces are defined as occupied by those grassroots actions and their allied non-governmental organizations that are legitimized by donors and government interventions. 'Invented' spaces are defined as occupied by those collective actions by the poor that directly confront the authorities and challenge the status quo." (Miraftab, 2006:195)

In the paper 'Feminist Praxis, Citizenship and Informal Politics' and his later paper 'Insurgent Planning: Situating Radical Planning in the Global South' Miraftab appears to examine "invented spaces" as those radical spaces utilised on a collective scale such as mass protest. In the case of the Western Cape the occupation of the street by residents refusing to relocate to the Joe Slovo Settlement is indicative of this overt communal use of an invented space. Taking from Miraftab's conception the research aims to explore how the OKM utilizes both invented and invited strategies as an oppositional political party.

This conception of strategies and tactics will shape thinking in the paper as whole as they are key tools utilised by social movements in order to participate more meaningfully in decision-making. Linked to notions of "invited" and "invented" strategies are Oldfield and Thorn's use of the concepts of contestation and cooperation (2008). Their paper explores the various influence contestation and cooperation has on the struggle for access to security of tenure and housing in Zille Raine Heights in Cape Town, South Africa. The way in which these authors unpack the struggle of the residents of Zille Raine Heights largely impacts my reading of strategies and tactics used by the TCC and OKM. These strategies used within a framework of "invited" and "invented" spaces of participation really are useful tools to explore the mechanisms used to participate more meaningfully in the limited space of local urban governance.

However, these strategies cannot be merely understood as aspects on a continuums, rather they are utiilsed simultaneously in various ways to gain access to the state and have claims heard. The multiple strategies utilised by the OKM are brought to life in the work of Chatterjee who explores the informal relations the "governed" have to enter in because of their position in society.

Chatterjee forms a key theorist in understanding the informal arrangement, which the poor have to engage in terms of accessing the state. Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura (forthcoming; unpublished) describes Chatterjee's work as follows,

> "Yet, in cities of the South where informality is the status of a majority of urban residents, there is a developing interest for the 'political society', as defined by Chatterjee in order to analyze how 'most of the world' is governed: through informal processes, temporary arrangements, political exchanges between urban residents characterised by incomplete citizenship due to their informal practices or status, and local brokers, patrons, politicians and bureaucrats. In a way, this meets the everyday practices of 'community participation' of civil society organizations, left-leaning activists and academics, or fractions of local government: as a messy, conflicted, fragmented and mediated exercise, where micro-politics are often crucial to understand for social or urban change to happen".

Chatterjee (2004) forms the distinction between "political society" and "civil society" indicating that for the poor informal networks and processes render them part of "political society" which renders them outside of state systems. The OKM serve as an interesting point of departure as will be explored below through their utilization ofboth formal and informal networks and ways of engaging in the state. The election of an OKM PR councilor to the City of Johannesburgprovides an entry for the poor to enter the space of "civil society", however even within this space "political society" strategies continue to be utilised. This may speak to an opening of the democratic system, however the limitations of impacting decision-making provides evidence that even within these systems in the urban Global South the boundary are not so definitive. Despite the formalization of the OKM in the formal space of local government it remains as much a part of "political society". This theory will be utilised to expand upon the ways in which the OKM operates within and outside of the Johannesburg City Council.

Chatterjee in the 'Politics of the Governed' explores the history of Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkarand his role in thinking about how the untouchables are governed in India however he does not extensively reflect on the role of leaders of political society, who they are, why they emerge as leaders and their impacts through networks with those in civil society. The issue of leadership is central to this paper in particular the exploration of councilor Zwane as a leader. Little literature on local leaders exist outside of the management sciences although Burns' conceptions of "transactional" and "transformational leaders" structures thinkingabout leadership typologies.

While more relevantly, Henry Munro's exploration of "new institutionalism" (2007), in terms of understanding how environments shape individual community leaders will serve to frame how the CoJ council has shaped Simphiwe Zwane, "Sociological institutionalism bases the study of institutions upon the changing behaviour of actors, their interactions and

interpretations so it is necessary to see small steps and changes" (Munro, 2007:9). This thinking is critical to this paper as a whole; Munro looks at leadership within a particular context and the notion of leadership within the OKM is largely embedded within the context of disappointment in local leaders especially councilors. The OKM employs strategies of control to ensure that leaders are responsive and accountable to their constituency.However, Zwane remains open to the influences of council chamber which to some degree also shape her leadership style.

Linked to the how the City of Johannesburg shapes Zwane in Bènit-Gbaffou and Katsaura (forthcoming) is use of Bourdieu's 'double dealings' in terms of understanding local leaders. Analysing double dealings of political delegates, Bourdieu writes:

> "One of the mechanisms that allow usurpation and double dealing to work (if I may put it like this) in all innocence, with the most perfect sincerity, consists in the fact that, in many cases, the interests of the delegate and the interests of the mandators, of those he represents coincide to a large extent, so that the delegate can believe and get others to believe that he has no interest outside of those of his mandators …The structural coincidence of the specific interests of the delegates and the interests of the mandators is the basis of the miracle of a sincere and successful ministry. The people who serve the interests of their mandators well are those who serve their own interests well by serving others; it is to their advantage and it is important that it should be so for the system to work."(Bourdieu, 1991 in Bènit-Gbaffou and Katsaura, forthcoming)

The notion of "double-dealings"will be utilised to critically reflect on the nature of the OKM leaders and the relationship of its leaders to its constituency.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.1) Qualitative Research

Qualitative research methodology was utilised to gain insight into the meanings of the action to become a political party and its qualitative impacts.Qualitative research is most applicable methodology to this study as Elliott discusses, "qualitative research methods may be understood as 'ideographic: that is they focus on the individual case and build up from that" (Elliott 2005:116). The research was collected from interviews and participant observations to gain an outsiders perspective on each participant.

Participant observation included attending council, TCC, SECC meetings, forums and protests with Zwane, this provided key insight into the roles, responsibilities and actions of the councillor and the her impact. The ability to observe the councillor in different institutional and physical spaces, utilising an ethnographic approach allowed for in depth knowledge of the site as well as the multi-layered positions in that site.

On a wider scale both formal and informal interviews were held with a number of key role players in the SECC, TCC and OKM. Formal interviews took place through scheduled interviews with structured interview guides, whilst more informal interviews took place on the phone, in the car, at meetings, in informal discussions and protests. These informal interviews proved incredibly valuable as they allowed for interviewees to interact in a more relaxed environment away from the additional power dynamics inherent between an interviewer and interviewee.

The formal interviews also served an important function as they allowed for time and space to prove key background information and grapple with more complex questions. Initially formal interviews were envisioned to take place in the beginning of the formal data collection period between March 2012 and November 2012. However, many of these took place much later than anticipated, this served to allow more complex questions to be asked as a basic understanding of the Operation Khanyisa Movement had already been gained through previous interviews and participant observations. In several instances second and third formal interviews were held with key representatives to gain a more extensive understanding of the key issues I was grappling with.

As indicated in the introduction, I was introduced to Thembelihle and the Thembelihle Crisis Committee in September 2011; these initial engagements also form part of participant observation for the paper as a whole.

The interviewees were selected based on their involvement in Thembelihle, the TCC and or OKM. This included interviewing general community members residing in Thembelihle[9], members of the TCC and OKM, the ANC ward councillor as well as key city officials both bureaucratic and political[10] that have been involved in Thembelihle in the past and present. The decision to include city officials in the form of the former director of development planning and the Minister in the Mayoral committee for housing and former ward councillor of Thembelihle was to gain a better understanding of how Thembelihle is understood from an institutional perspective.

While the primary focus on councillor Zwane serves to best explore the questions of impacts of the institutionalisation of OKM. This is due to several reasons: Given the structure of the OKM explored in chapter 6, councillor Zwane functions as the OKM representative, although she is linked to the TCC, Zwane is the only person whose electoral front position supersedes her social movement position. Additionally Zwane is closest to the processes of institutionalisation as the PR councillor. Zwane's understanding of the internal mechanisms of the OKM and the history of the TCC and Thembelihle make her one of the best-placed informants to gain information from. Finally, Zwane's political growth as explored below is largely tied to the OKM; so some of the impacts of institutionalisation may be understood as directly imprinted on Zwane.

The lists below provide an indication of the formal interviews and conventional spaces where participant observation took place.

Interviews

- In depth long-term (6 months) interviews with Zwane on a regular basis.

Extensive interviews and discussions:

- Siphiwe Segodi (Chairperson TCC)
- Bayiza Miya (Former TCC Organiser and Ward Committee member)
- Trevor Ngwane (SECC member, OKM and DLF founding member)

Background Interviews:

- Siphiwe Mbatha (TCC Organiser)
- Zodwa Madiba- (Former OKM councillor)
- Elizabeth Mbelele (TCC Member)

Once off official interviews:

- Janice Ndarala (ANC Ward 8 Councillor)
- Councillor Daniel Bovu (Minister in the Mayoral Committee for Housing)
- Dr Phil Harrison (Former Head of Development Planning in the City of Johannesburg)

[9]These interviews formed part of research conducted at Planact (a local Non Governmental Organization) into participation into in-situ informal settlement upgrading. Planact was producing key research on participation into in-situ informal settlement upgrading as part of its end of phase activities on a Ford Foundation Grant. The programme of work focused on enhancing participation in in-situ informal settlement upgrading.

[10] South African government at various levels have two different arms. The political arm's role is decision-making and the bureaucratic or technological arm is responsible for executing those decisions.

Key Spaces for Observations

- City of Johannesburg Council Monthly Council Meeting (held on a monthly basis attended several meetings between June and November 2012)
- TCC committee meetings, including General meetings, the AGM and smaller discussion groups (between July 2012-November 2012, 8 meetings overall)
- Protests (Informal settlement network march September 2012)
- OKM Local Government meetings and strategic planning meetings (held on a weekly basis, except when council meetings took place, approximately 7 meetings, attended numerous meetings between July and November 2012)
- OKM strategic planning meeting (1st September 2012)
- SECC general meeting (attended key reflection meeting in October 2012)
- DLF key meetings (3 key meetings attended)

Many more interviews with additional TCC and Thembelihle stakeholders took place and are informative to my understanding of the TCC. These additional interviews as well as some of my time spent in participant observations were made possible by my work with Planact (from August 2011- December 2012). Planact is a Non-Governmental organisation that works with a variety of communities on issues of integrated Human Settlements and Participatory Governance. In my role as Project Officer I was charged with completing research on participation in in-situ informal settlement upgrading processes in Thembelihle. This work gave me a wider background into Thembelihle and the TCC as well as afforded me with opportunities to spend time in the settlement for a variety of engagements. Planact has a history of engagement in Thembelihle since 2003 and although this specific project was research-based, the researchers largely lead to a more direct active assistance of the TCC, through capacity building opportunities and organisational assistance.

The table below provides an indication of the types of activities I was involved in that directly involved the TCC:

Type of Activity	**Subject Matter**	**Time Period**
Research Interviews and focus group discussion	Participation in in-situ informal settlement upgrading	July 2012-November 2012
Capacity building training for new TCC executive	Organisational development training Dear Mandela screening	August 2012 September 2012
Network building and capacity building	The Gauteng, Land and Hosing social network[11]	March 2012-November 2012 (monthly meetings)
Fundraising Development	Assistance in raising funds for the TCC	May 2012- November 2012
Creation of Educational Video	Dolomitic Land	June 2012- September 2012

My work at Planact created a tension between my research and active involvement with assisting the TCC move forward in its struggle for land and housing. As will be discussed below, working closely with key TCC members impacted on my objectivity. However it also allowed for a view of many of the internal organisational challenges faced by the TCC and OKM. Additionally because of Planact's long-standing relationship with the TCC and its involvement in Thembelihle; as a representative of Planact I was able to establish contact with key individuals in Thembelihle

The above data served to provide key inputs in the creation of key organisational framework tools such as network diagrams, timelines and organisational structures, which proved valuable in understanding social movements, leaders, connections, resources and structures.

Councillor Zwane's schedule was analysed to gain an understanding of the activities that form part of her roles and responsibilities as a PR councillor. Finally printed material in the form of constitutions, pledges and pamphlets from TCC and OKM were utilised as data.

These tools allowed for broader viewpoints in understanding the strategies and tactics used by the OKM. As interviews were utilised to provide insight into the history of the political party as well as to understand key leaders, it is important to understand narrative as methodology.The paper utilises both narrative and biography.The applicability of biography to this study's approach is highlighted by Plummer when he argued in Elliott, "studying an individual biography does not bring with it the isolated individual, but rather an awareness of the individual in society" (Elliott 2005:39). These individuals occupy a particular space that shapes the organisation as well as wider society.

Furthermore the use of narrative for the research ensures a marriage of form and content, as both Michel De Certeau and Edward Said explore narratives ability to capture the everyday realm. Both Said (Moore-Gilbert 1997:54) and De Certeau (Buchanan 2000:123) speak of narrative as a tool for conversation between the 'ideoscape' (official state ideologies and counter-ideologies)' (Appadurai 2003:26) and the personal realm. As stated by Said, 'Narrative, in short, introduces an opposing point of view, perspective, [and] consciousness to the unitary web of vision' (Said in Moore-Gilbert 1997:54). On a personal note the use of narrative of stories presents a way of seeing the world in way that has multiple nuances attached. I have always had a deep love of stories in various forms and narrative acts as a way to understand the world like no other. People construct themselves continually through stories. What is interesting to reflect here are the stories of the individuals and the stories of the social movements and where these stories meet and diverge.

At the same time it is important to be aware of the fact that narrative is a construction of the self and cannot be taken as a direct link to reality. Brown et al (2005) explore different ways of interpreting narrative so that a distinction between the interviewee and the content is established. Although Brown's insights into creating a distinction between the interviewee and the content prove interesting reading, the complexities involved in attempts to maintain

[11] The TCC are an integral part of the Gauteng Land and Housing Social Network (GLHSN), a network hosted by Planact and the Socio-Economic Rights institute (SERI). The GLHSN offered another opportunity to observe TCC in a meeting set-up and with other representatives of social movements. The meetings were primarily attended by Bayiza Miya who acted as the TCC representative.

a high level of objectivity to distinguish between the interviewee and the content prove extremely challenging as explored below.

According to Atkinson, Coffen, Delmont, Lofland & Lofland (2001) the context in which stories are told are integral to the nature of the stories shared, most of the intensive interviews took place at either the interviewees home or work place (with the exception of a car interview and some clarification questions over the phone), this was also useful information in understanding the key individuals in TCC and OKM. The interviewees were generous with both their time and information answering all questions and going out of their way to provide further information. Most interviews were recorded using audio recording materials, due to a technical challenge one interview was not fully recorded therefore extensive post- interview notes were compiled after the interview (quotes that have been rephrased are noted in the paper).

Secondary data was collected from academic writing, conferences, public speeches and media reports. This data was not utilised to verify the narrative accounts but rather to compliment and provide further insight into the key thematic areas addressed in the paper.

On reflection a quantitative approach to parts of the research question would have provided interesting insights. It is hoped that an expansion of this study will take place beyond this paper; and that quantitative methods such as exploring the number of "invited" meetings the OKM attended analysed in comparison to the number of actions considered to be a part of "invented spaces of participation" (Miraftab, 2005) in engaging in the state. Quantitative data on the number of instances that the councillor speaks in council chamber and section 79 meetings through an analysis of CoJ minutes (attempts to gain access to these types of records proved unsuccessful) would be interesting to investigate. However, without qualitative data to gain an understanding of why the strategy to enter party politics was selected such data would be meaningless, so a mixed method approach would be beneficial.

3.2) Research Challenges

The challenges faced in conducting the research are an important aspect to explore, as it has an impact on the data that was collected and the way in which it was analysed. I believe that these challenges also, perhaps even more interestingly, serve to provide better insight into the context in which the research was conducted.

The Black Box

There was one key meeting space that I was not able to access, the section 79 council meetings. Those meeting are critical to understanding the impact the councillor has within an institutional framework, however council rules do not allow outsiders to penetrate this critical space where key debates about issues are addressed. Councillor Zwane was a part time member of the section 79 meeting committee on housing and the committee on shares and cooperatives, this is the space where Zwane is provided with the opportunity to speak out the most and debate and deliberate issues. From interviews with Zwane and the previous OKM PR councillor Madiba, as well as with Trevor Ngwane (previously an ANC ward councillor), there is a sense that these meetings although critical provided very limited opportunities to address real concerns. The first limitation is pragmatic given the amount of councillors outside of the ANC, DA and the pertinence of housing issues; Zwane was only part time member of the section 79 committee on housing. She has to share time with other councillors from parties outside the ANC and DA. This part time arrangement affects the ability to function fully in the committee. Secondly the boundary between state and party is blurred largely in the stance taken by the majority ANC councillors who follow ANC policy in these meetings, as expressed by Zwane.

Language

Despite all formal interviewees having a good grasp of English; many of the meetings and workshops were conducted in isiZulu or Sesotho. With my own rudimentary understanding of Zulu, informal and formal translators were utilised both in meetings as well as in translating key recordings. There were a couple of situations where heated arguments took place and the informal translator at that occasion, simply stopped translating only to provide a short edited version of events after the meeting. There are two ways of viewing these experiences: one that language prevented me from having a full grasp of the events as they occurred, the other that I was more exposed to issues and arguments that might have been hidden, if I had a better grasp of the language spoken.

Time Constraints

Tracking down interviewees that are very busy with either work commitments or their extensive involvement in their social movement, made the data collection process difficult. Furthermore in August 2012 during the data collection phase, the Marikana massacre occurred, the OKM and councillor Zwane in particular spent a large amount of time in Marikana building the solidarity campaign with the Democratic Left Front. Unfortunately due to my own work and study commitments I was not able to accompany the councillor in Marikana.

The work of councillor Zwane in Marikana was also although largely important in terms of socialist solidarity and the growth of OKM (which will be described below) not directly linked to the impact of institutionalisation. This meant that it was largely out of the jurisdiction of research study. This resulted in interviews being conducted later than scheduled. However this allowed for the processing of background information gradually through some early interviews and regular attendance at OKM LG meetings and then to address more thematic questions in the interview spaces. In this way the interviews were to some extent also spaces for discussion about key challenges and complexities within the OKM and TCC.

Subjectivity

D.C. Phillips in his examination of subjectivity and objectivity explores objectivity not only as a mechanism to keep personal biases from impacting your research but also an understanding of the thoroughness of the research methodology. In these terms I have attempted to be objective through ensuring that an intensive understanding of the TCC and OKM was gained. However, I failed this task in terms of remaining objective in the sense of keeping my personal biases from impacting my research work. Phillips however argues that it is not the presence of biases that negatively impacts qualitative research but rather a failure to recognise and analyse those biases,

> "They would have to show that their own personal biases and valuations had been exposed to critical examination, and the role that these predilections played in their investigations would need to have been rigorously examined" (Phillips, 1989:33).

With this type of long term engagement with one individual in particular one must be aware possible basis when working with people over a period of time. I am going to attempt to rigorously examine my own personal biases by attempting to be honest about them. Philips further argues that qualitative researchers tend to exaggerate the positive aspects of their research subjects as well as place undue significance on frequencies. This is true of my own research process, I have a deep respect for key members of the TCC primarily Siphiwe Segodi, Bayiza Miya and Siphiwe Mbatha. Having the opportunity to interview and work closely with these members I have built a rapport with them. My respect and friendship has made it difficult to be critical of the TCC and the way in which it operates. Bayiza Miya frequently told others that he was building a shack for me next door to his own. This respect extended to Simphiwe Zwane who I believe encounters the challenges of being a councillor with grace, humour and courage. These personal biases may have lead me to over emphasise the positive implications of having a councillor in the City of Johannesburg. Fortunately these interviewees have a much better grasp of the impact of the OKM councillor than I do, so they counterbalanced my own positive assumption. Additionally it has been challenging to write about the internal challenges of the OKM, largely due to portraying the individuals in the organisation accurately. Yet it is imperative that these challenges are reflected so that the true complexities of the institutionalisation of social movements are brought forward.

Individual Portrait vs the wider movement

Originally in conceiving the research question the focus of the research was around a portrait of Simphiwe Zwane however as the research and writing progressed the focus of the research shifted somewhat to focus more on the OKM. There are various reasons for this shift, the one being that the more I learnt about the OKM, about the TCC and the individuals who lead these movements the whole seemed to me to be much larger than the parts and what mattered, what brought people together was the OKM. So it appeared that the struggle, the context of the movements was the most important part of the research. It became clear to me that this is where the heart of the research lay, in understanding the social movements and electoral front.

However, this is not the whole truth. Part of the problem lay in my own subjectivity, the more I grew to know more about Simphiwe Zwane the more difficult it became to write about her in an open and critical way. There were also certain characteristics about Simphiwe Zwane, which made this process more difficult, as is explored in the leadership chapter. Despite Zwane's strength, she is to some extent a quiet leader who is by nature internal this made the process of focusing on Simphiwe Zwane incredibly difficult. Through focusing on the TCC and the OKM it allowed me to have distance from Zwane'spersonal story. The choice at times seems to be the right one the OKM is fascinating in its structure, functioning, its growth, the leaders that shape it and tactics and strategies it uses; but I hope that the life the people and most prominently Simphiwe Zwane continue to breathe life into paper through the OKM.

Research Outputs

In the initial planning stages of the research, I had hoped to produce a documentary film principally focusing on Simphiwe Zwane as a community leader and activist through the context of an emerging electoral front, the OKM. Part of the ethics clearance, which I undertook, included receiving informed consent from representatives of the Thembelihle Crisis committee to film parts of the interviews and as well as events where participant observation was utilised. However, this filming would only take place after I was well acquainted with various community leaders and only if those present granted permission. As is indicative in the paper as whole, the TCC, OKM and the SECC were on the whole incredibly open and willing to share their work with me. Unfortunately both due to time and equipment constraints, very few interviews and meeting were filmed, although many were photographed and recorded with the use of audio equipment. This remains a challenge, asit is vital that research outputs are dynamic and accessible.
ble to a variety of audiences. I have maintained positive links to all the interviewees and plan to still produce a documentary on the work of the OKM and highlight many of themes addressed here. Outside of the constraints of an academic course, I hopefully will be able to employ a more participatory approach to the film, working with key members of the TCC in a collaborative film-making process. The research participants expressed great interest in the film, as they believe that it can serve both to bring about a greater awareness of the struggles faced as well an opportunity for self-reflexivity. It is disappointing that this has not been achievable for the duration of the research period and is a limitation in terms of research outputs and benefit to the research participants.

3.3) Data Analysis

As indicated above the majority[12] of research interviews were recorded on an audio device, these were then transcribed and analysed thematically both deductively and inductively.Meaning the themes explored in this report arose from both those that came out of interviews as well as themes that I focused on and drew evidence for from the interviews. This process was further aided through the use of extensive notes and diaries generated through participant observation. The interview questions largely arose out of time spent in OKM LG meetings and TCC meetings and therefore were largely lead by themes and issues that arose.The LG OKM meetings provided further material in terms of the councillor's contract, promotion material, meeting notifications and agendas as well as OKM strategic documentation. A key challenge in the data analysis process is highlighted above, with regard to subjectivity.

Pertinent pre-existing statistical quantitative data has been utilised where necessary for context specific purposes.

The writing process is also important to reflect on, given the multiple theoretical and thematic areas which the process towards the institutionalisation the research did not fit neatly in a theoretical or conceptual framework rather it fits between social movement, local governance and popular agency, participation and leadership theory. This has meant that multiple layers of analysis need to applied to each thematic area that arose as key in the interviews. This has also been challenging in terms of the formation of a cohesive argument throughout the paper as a whole. Furthermore this led to the challenge between the value in descriptive analysis and building a strong argument to describe the processes experienced.

3.4) Ethics

Given the turbulent situation in Thembelihle and the 2011 arrest of Simphiwe Zwane all information gained needed to be treated sensitively. Permission was sought from the TCC as a social movement as well as all the individual interviewees. All participants in the study are of legal age so that these decisions may be made in conjunction with the participants. Permission from the TCC was received before conducting the research with positive feedback.

An integral part of research is assessing what the research will offer to the immediate community you are working with. In discussions with Siphiwe Segodi the chairperson if the TCC it was decided that not only would the final research be distributed to the key members of the social movement who will then make it available to their constituency but that research data regarding the historical background to the TCC would be made available. This will form a key mechanism for the movement and electoral front for reflecting on past strategies and tactics and inform a way forward.

[12] A part of an interview with Simphiwe Zwane in the car was not recorded, due to technical issue with the recording devise, although rigorous notes were taken as soon as possible after the interview and quotes utilised from this portion of the interview are indicated as indirect quotes. Additionally several informal telephone conservations were not recorded.

Chapter 4: Contextual Background

Given the pertinence of "political opportunity" as a key theoretical concept underlying the shift in tactics and strategies utilised by social movements, it is important to explore the background to the context both externally at national levels and locally within the social movement context. It is imperative that the emergence of the OKM be placed within the wider socio-political context, as I believe that this strategy offers an opportunity for new strategies to emerge in the particular context of urban governance in South African context.

4.1) The rise of service delivery protests as a sign of discontent in South African urban political life.

The South African post-apartheid context has been filled with contestations and disappointments notably for the most impoverished residents of South Africa, whose standard of living has remained poor with little change since 1994, in spite of great hopes of betterment. The manifestation of these disappointments with South African government has been notably seen in the steady rise of service delivery protests across the country. Various Government and civil society sectors have written extensively on the phenomenon of service delivery protests since 2000 (van Donk & Ramjee, 2010, Fakir & Moloi, 2010; Alexander, 2012). Most recent comparative data is not yet available, however it is useful to examine recent historical data, which will be compared with analytical data available for 2012. The graphs below provide an indication of the number of service delivery protests in South Africa. The first two graphs indicate average number of protests per month for a year and the total number of community protests by year. Furthermore the pie graph below these graphs provides an indication of the rural, urban divide in protests per province:

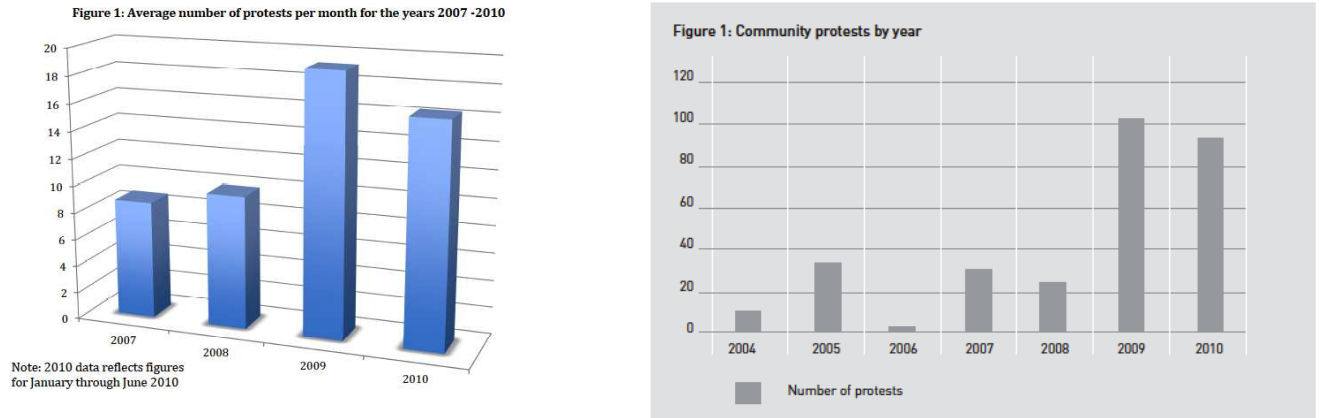


Figure 6Average number of protests per month for years 2007-2010 (Karamoko, J &Jain, H. 2011:5)& Community protests per year (van Holdt et al, 2010:5).

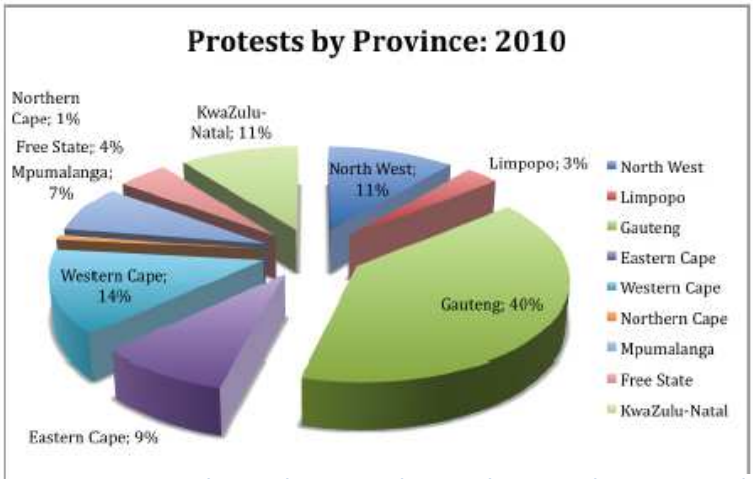


Figure 7 Protests by province 2010 (Karamoko, J & Jain, H. 2011:22)

Notably the pie chart from the community Law Centre indicates that in 2010 the most protests occurred in Gauteng. As the largest urban centre in the country this speaks widely to South African urban life. Peter Alexander who explores incidents of police reported, "crowd management" incidents to March 2012 also highlights the prominence of urban protests. Alexander indicates that despite having the highest rates of poverty in Kwa-Zulu Natal, the Eastern Cape and Limpopo (Alexander, 2012, Armstrong, P, Lekezwa, B & Siebrits, K, 2008) this does not correspond to "crowd management" incidents,

> "It is notable that the three poorer provinces, which are also the most rural—Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal—have a lower propensity towards unrest incidents than other provinces. The implication, reflected in other studies, is that the rebellion cannot be explained in terms of poverty as such. It is mainly a movement within urban areas, but within those areas most participants and leaders can be regarded as poor and a high proportion come from informal settlements, where services are especially weak" (Alexander, 2012).

This statement is applicable to the Thembelihle context where protests have been used consistently as a mechanism to voice community dissent. Various projections on why protest action is used as a strategy and tool primarily in urban areas and notably in informal settlements can be made. These include larger inequality in urban centres, the conditions experienced in informal settlements (including for many a lack of access to basic services) and the impact of arguably weakened ties to ANC and historical forms of leadership (traditional authorities) seen in rural contexts. A comparative study into urban and rural mobilisation and popular agency in the South African context, with a view into the role of traditional authorities as an intermediary and control mechanism would be useful to better understand the differences noted the chart above.

The significance of protest as the key mechanism to address community discontent across South Africa is indicated by the quantitative data, "During the past three years, 2009 to 2012, there has been an average of 2.9 unrest incidents a day. This is an increase of 40% over the average of 2.1 unrest incidents a day recorded for 2004-2009" (Alexander, 2012). With the large number protests, Alexander states,

> "The main conclusion to be drawn from the latest police statistics is that service-delivery protests continue unabated. Government attempts to improve service delivery have not been sufficient to assuage the frustration and anger of poor people in South Africa" (Alexander, 2012).

The growing number of protests on an annual basis may also indicate the lack of success of the protests to achieve their aim of improved service delivery and perhaps more critically as a vehicle to be heard.

The desire to be heard and participate meaningfully was explored by the African Centre for Cities, who conducted research on community perceptions over a four-year basis in communities in the Western Cape and Kwa-Zulu Natal. The research findings indicated that despite an increased satisfaction in service delivery, participants remained dissatisfied due to a decrease in participation (Thompson, 2012). Van Donk in the introduction to the State of Local Governance 'Putting participation at the heart of development/ Putting Development at the heart of participation' (2012) indicates that participation particularly at local government level, "has become devoid of substantive meaning and lacks influence on planning, resource allocation and implementation" (Van Donk, 2011:6). It is for this reason that protests are utilised by masses of impoverished (particularly urban) South Africans to have their specific concerns heard. Bénit-Gbaffou (2008) argues that there are several reasons outlining the failure of the local councillor system as an effective participatory mechanism at local government level,

> "over and above councillors' uneven personal abilities and levels of commitment, there are also structural elements in the municipal power structure, the electoral system, and in local (political and urban) contexts" (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2008:2).

These issues within local governance have an influence on the ability of the poor to utilise state lead participatory mechanisms in local government, however the influence of protest action also has severe limitations. As discussed by Friedman and McKaiser,

> "Research has found significant grassroots activity by the poor, but most of it is devoted to activities designed to secure 'collective sustenance' – 'survivalist' mutual aid activities rather than advocacy for policy change. The advocates of policy change remain cut off from the poor, while the organisations of the poor remain cut off from the policy debate"(Friedman & McKaiser, 2009:19).

Social Movements have been recognised as the bridge between the poor and advocates of social change, but Friedman argues that their impact is largely limited in their role as social movements, "While they (social movements) speak for some of the poor, they do not contradict the conclusion reached here – that the poor remain excluded from formal organisation and therefore from civil society" (Friedman & McKaiser, 2009:20).

Social Movements in various contexts have sought out alternative mechanisms to engage with government, but the impact has remained largely[13] limited.The argument here is that the impact or influence that protest action has on implementation and policy is very difficult to measure, as there are multiple factors, which would result in shift in practice or policy.

[13] New South African social movements in various ways have had an impact on policy, most notably the Treatment Action Campaign in securing the universal roll out of anti-retroviral treatment and the work of Abahlali base Mjondolo (Informal settlement dwellers Social movement largely based in eThekwini) who secured a victory in the Constitutional court against the Eradication of Informal settlements Act.

However what specifically is argued here by Friedman and McKeizer is that from their research what they have noted is despite the extensive use of protest action in South Africa, the ability for this action to impact policy is extremely limited. This paper will argue that it is this limitation that has lead social movements to attempt multiple tactics and strategies to have their concerns heard, firstly and secondly to have those concerns addressed and thirdly to influence policy in such a way that it pro-poor.

4.2) Dominant party system (ANC rule) makes it very difficult for the normal function of democracy to settle conflict (political alternance/ electoral debate).

After four successive national elections in 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009 the African National Congress is still securing its place as the dominant party. Yet it is not only through its securing of 65% of the votes in 2009 national elections but with the other characteristics which define it specifically as a dominant party or one party democracy in a competitive system. These characteristics have been defined by Pempel and are outlined below,

> "To be considered as dominant a party must be (1) dominant in number; but this criterion does count only if the party is (2) electorally dominant for an uninterrupted and prolonged period; it must enjoy (3) a dominant bargaining position always setting the tone when it comes to government formation, and, (4) it must be dominant governmentally determining the public policy agenda. (Pempel in Spieβ, 2002:4).

Spieβ argues that the ANC currently displays all four of the characteristics outlined by Pempel. It is this dominance, which has to a large extent impacted on the boundary between state and party. It is important to indicate as pointed out by various theorists (Southall, 1999; Reddy, 2003; Brooks, 2004; Spieβ, 2002) that the ANC dominance occurs within a competitive system and that the formal procedures of free and fair democracy have been largely adhered to.

In fact Reddy argues that the ANC within the democratic system was vital to secure democratic system in the transition period,

> "Dominant parties with legitimacy, having a strong democratic tradition and institutionalized mechanism for conflict management, contribute to the consolidation of democracy in deeply divided and grossly unequal social formations. I (Reddy) suggest that during the initial stages of building a democratic society, the period during which key institutions are establishing themselves, such parties, provide an important foundation on which to build a democratic polity" (Reddy, 2005:297).

However, I would argue that as South Africa's democracy approaches its second decade in 2014, the dominance of the ANC and its impacts including the limited scope to criticize party leaders, is promoting a culture of secrecy and in some contexts violence. The dominance of the ANC can no longer be seen as a stabilizing force. Even Reddy who argues that the narrow negative way in which ANC dominance has been understood is not necessary the complete picture indicates that, "the scope of opposition politics is undoubtedly narrowed and limited to relating to the dominant party" (Reddy, 2003 in Brooks, 2004:10). This argument is further advanced through Reddy's assertion that the ANC as "the centre of the ideological and policy spectrum" (ibid.) becomes the focus through which political debate occurs. This is seen largely in the tactics and strategies employed by opposition parties; the Democratic Allicance (DA) the largest opposition party in South Africa has only recently (2012) released its own policy documents, previously occupying the space of acting in opposition to ANC policy and implementation. This is still a challenge for both the DA and smaller opposition parties who are often reactive to the ANC agenda.

The space for the opposition is therefore often reactionary, focusing on illustrating the failures of the ANC to deliver on its promises rather than advancing alternative ideological and political systems. This is largely due to the limited effect of the opposition to make an materialist (possibly clientilistic) promises to their constituencies; given that electoral debate is stifled through the large voting power held by the ANC to make decisions at various levels of government. This further exasperated by the ANC's role as "a broad church" with its alliance to trade unions and the communist party as well as relationships with South African business. It the notion of the ANC as a broad church that has lead Southall to state, "only [the ANC]…could both call on *and contain* majority support while also implementing aneoliberal program (Southall emphasis)" (Southall, 2000: 11-12). The ANC therefore in its dominant position limits the space for opposition parties to meaningfully impact decision-making as experienced in democracies with larger political opposition.

The partisan example of the politics of the United States of America does not serve as a model example of democratic process, however the intense political competition between the Republican and Democratic parties does allow for political debate that is robust. This allows for policy and legislation to be debated extensively and through the Senate voted on, despite the fact that there are numerous elite networks, allegiances to very particular constituencies and to political party ideology that will to various extents determine the outcome of decisions made (Obama, 2006, Stone, 1985 &2005). The ANC dominance as explored above does not allow for this level of debate; this was demonstrated in the National Assembly in 2011, where ANC membersof parliament were disciplined by the party for failing to support the controversial Protection of State Information Bill (Bauer, 2011). ANC policy is debated outside of state institutions and space for debate and dissent in state systems is severely limited both by individuals in the ANC and opposition parties.

Councillor Zwane provides an example of this when she discusses a heated debate in a section 79 committee about promoting employment of the disabled. Although Zwane provided no indication of the exact concern raised, she indicated that all present (ANC and opposition councilors) were in agreement however they were unable to implement any changes because the issue at hand was ANC policy. Opposition representatives pushed the ANC members to change the policy, while the ANC members admitted their own limited influence indicating that such a decision would be required to be made much higher up the ANC chain of command.

Steven Friedman explores from a structural perspective the role of the ANC as a dominant party and the condition of democracy in South Africa. He places South Africa in the context of African democratic practice more broadly, it is from this perspective that he voices concerns over the dominant party,

> "At issue is not whether citizens will enjoy sufficient expression to ensure them a degree of autonomy from state and market (Barber, 1998) - important as this question is in the North, it loses much of its relevance where neither state nor market are given, where, indeed, they often remain aspirations. Similarly, democracy's prospects in Africa will determine not whether citizens are to enjoy full expression in established states and - relatively - secure societies, but whether the continent's inhabitants will enjoy respite from decades of violence and its crushing effects on

social and economic life" (Friedman, 1999:853).

The issues of violence and limiting factors on citizens freedom (although still notably different from violent situations on the continent more broadly) are noted at local government level. The impact of ANC dominance on political alternatives manifests itself in practical ways particularly at local level; Benit-Gbaffou (2012) demonstrates that the local level is the space of the highest political competition, with intense strategies for political control over civil society.

> "In many ways, ANC local branches are competing with local government participatory structures. For instance, they mimic the structures and functions of ward committees. In Area B1, the branch created several sub-committees around the key functions theoretically performed by the ward committee: Housing, Safety and Security, Environment, Job and Training, etc. In a ward led by an opposition party, doubling up the (opposition-dominated) ward committee might be an explicit strategy to overtake the functions of the ward committee". (Benit-Gbaffou, 2012:)

The ANC branch structures may demonstrate strategic thinking in lessening the ability of opposition parties to shape the ward. Additionally and more disconcertedly violence against opposition groups as in the case of Kennedy Road where Abahlali base Mjondolo members were attacked and intimidated into leaving the settlement as demonstrated in 'Dear Mandela' (2011) are a manifestation of ANC growing intolerance to opposition. Critically these acts of violence are also a manifestation of substantial political competition at local level for the control of neighbourhoods. This competition given the support of ANC as a dominant party and the blurring of boundaries between the state and party have lead to violent clashes beyond Kennedy Road as was witnessed in the clashes between the police and residents of the Makause informal settlement in Primrose Germiston[14]. The increasing prohibition of protest action and violence against protesters will described in more detail below in light of Duncan and Royeppen's recent studies (2013) but bear relevance here as an impact of ANC dominance on political alternatives. These mechanisms to silence political opposition are increasingly problematic and limit the space for social movements to participate in South African democratic practice.

The dominance of the ANC therefore has a major impact on oppositional parties. It is imperative to understand that the impact of ANC dominance on formal opposition political parties (such as DA, COPE and IFP) differs from the impact on smaller oppositions structures at grassroots level. The exploration of the impact of the ANC on large formal parties is seen largely at national level, however the ANC dominance at local level has a very particular effect; in that it allows little space for opposition to emerge in particularly in the form of small under-resources political parties.

[14] The Makause Community development forum argue that the police have been utilised to control the forum so as to diminish the space for opposition in the informal settlement. (http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-10-05-police-to-people-of-makause-march-and-therell-be-another-marikana)

4.3) The context of the emergence of the Operation Khanyisa Movement and the TCC's involvement in it

Post-apartheid social movements have distinctly kept out of the space of party politics. As argued by Ballard, Habib and Valodia,

> "They [the Social movements] are not, as yet, about overthrowing the existing order. Instead they are about holding the government accountable for delivery promises made, and prising the political and socio-economic order open so that more constituencies can be included in its list of beneficiaries" (Ballard et al, 2006).

It is from this history of social movements that the Thembelihle Crisis Committee (TCC) emerged in 2001. Facing the threat of eviction from the informal settlement in which many inhabitants had been residing for over a decade, the residents of Thembelihle came together to mobilize in the form of mass protest action (Interview Siphiwe Segodi 16/07/2012). Through these engagements a variety of individuals with various political allegiances came together to continually mobilize against evictions, for in-situ informal settlement upgrading and improved living conditions in Thembelihle through the formation of the Thembelihle Crisis Committee.

The struggles faced by the residents of Thembelihle are not unique -neither to the settlement nor to the broader struggles of the poor in South Africa. In 2002 the newly formed TCC contacted the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC) for assistance with the functioning of the committee. The SECC had been formed in 1999 when several activists came together over the issue of electricity cut-offs due to the inability for many Soweto residents to pay the high costs of commodified electricity distribution. At that time the SECC were already affiliates of the well-researched umbrella social movement the Anti-privatization Forum.
Dale McKinley a key social movements researcher and founder of the APF describes the mobilization around the notion of anti-privatization as follows,

> "And when we started struggling against Igoli 2002[15] and things started happening in Soweto and other areas around here it was a very useful tactical manoeuvre to label those struggles, anti privatisation[16] struggles because it was very difficult for the ANC to defend privatization. It was politically very untenable for a lot of people to sort of be coming out and saying; in other words, to expose them" (Mc Kinley, 2010:12).

The Anti-Privatization forum (APF) was successful in mobilizing mass support since its establishment in 2000. This solidarity was a key aspect of the formation of the OKM, coupled with the training capacities offered to affiliates and the opportunities to debate political and ideological differences (Ngwane, interview 30/11/2012). Critically Simphiwe

[15]Igoli 2002 was a strategic planning document produced by the City of Johannesburg in 1999, as a mechanism to ensure financial stability after the 1997 financial crisis. The Igoli 2002 strategy included the "privatization" of key services such as water, electricity and refuse removal into municipal owned entities.
[16]Harrison (2012 lecture session) argued that the City of Johannesburg did not actually 'privatize' services such as water and electricity through selling those entities to private stakeholders, rather City Power is a Municipal Owned Entity, which functions as a business (in terms of generating profits) yet remains state owned. But these new entities did adopt cost-recovery policies for urban services, even if partly mitigated by some social safety nets for the poorest.

was introduced to the OKM through the TCC, from my understanding she was not extensively involved in the APF, but rather in the grassroots work of the TCC in securing access to education for the residents of Thembelihle in local schools. She slowly learnt more about the OKM through Zodwa Madiba and the opportunities to attend council chamber.

The impact of the APF in the formation of the OKM was also formed out of debate and conflict, one of the key debates, which arose out of the OKM, was the issue of the contestation of elections. There were various key factions in the debate as described by Trevor Ngwane when interviewed by McKinley, they can be summed up as follows:

1) Those who did not want to contest elections because they believed that the APF was issue based umbrella movement with the sole focus on privatization,

   "It's almost minimalist, so the APF should focus on its campaign, do well in its campaign and almost like TAC [Treatment Action Campaign[17]]... that's how they approach campaigns - it's now called the so called most successful Social Movement exactly because it's argument [is that] it didn't want to fight the ANC ideologically, it didn't want to alienate anyone who is pro ANC, it spoke to the silent majority, to the non-political on a moral issue which everyone can believe in, in fact" (Ngwane, 2011:12).

2) Those that believed that APF already fulfilled its mandate as opposition to the ANC in the same way that a political party would have achieved and therefore there was no need to enter elections,

   "So anyway it's a critique, it's a similar position except that it jumps from the APF as a campaigning organisation to give the APF powers which it doesn't have. So you get people who say, look the APF can act as a party, we don't need a party because APF that was a party. The APF can unite the working class against the ANC government. So it's almost saying it's a campaign organisation but giving it a lot of things, attributes which it doesn't have" (Ngwane, 2011:10).

3) The Anarchists who believed that the APF as it ran as a social movement could form a new form of government and therefore did not in itself need to contest elections but rather grow as a collective movement.

4) The group that thought that more could be done specifically through contesting elections,

   "But not necessarily as APF as a party but rather APF supporting a party like structure. It was a position that though the APF cannot do it alone, the APF it's not an accident of history, but the form it took, its accidental and the APF needs to be more than what it is. But also the APF is limited; for example it cannot be a party, but we do need a party, the APF must help the process to create such parties"

[17]The treatment action campaign (TAC) is a major social movement in post-apartheid South Africa, the TAC has been instrumental in ensuring state supply of anti-retroviral treatment for HIV positive residents across South Africa.

(Ngwane,2011:13).

This debate continued in the APF as well as within the organizations of the affiliates and the specific districts. There were subtle differences between the arguments in particular arguments two and four. In argument two some argued that the APF in its structure and in its functions already fulfilled the role of political party for many of the affiliates. In argument four the debate was centralized around the idea that the APF given its structure and role was in a very good space to support the establishment and growth of political parties emerging from the APF affiliates. The interviews (primary interviews and secondary interviews conducted by Mckinley) reveal that the debate was vigorous and continues today beyond the APF. This debate is very much routed in the notions of "new post-apartheid" social movements which will be explored below.

The structure of the APF was such that Gauteng was divided into specific districts and those districts made up of affiliates, which resided and operated in these various areas, there was Vaal, East Rand, Pretoria Region, Johannesburg etc. In 2006 the Johannesburg sector of the APF decided that it would contest local elections, it was decided that the estimated 10 affiliates would have individual representatives campaign in their area but under a collective so as to provide support and possibly garner a seat in the local government elections (Interview with Ngwane, 30/11/2012). These affiliates, with the noticeable absence of Orange Farm who decided not to join its Johannesburg sector comrades, contested the local government elections, and, as will be explored below, managed just over 4300 votes, which secured it a proportional representative seat in the City of Johannesburg. They did so under the name of the Operation Khanyisa Movement (OKM), an ironic use of "Operation Khanyisa" from an Eskom campaign against electricity theft. The name highlighted the anti-privatisation roots, which brought the affiliates together.

In 2006 it was decided that Joyce Mkhonza, a member of the SECC would stand as the first OKM PR candidate and represent in Johannesburg City Council the concerns of all the affiliates at that period in time. However, there were a number of issues with the Joyce Mkhonza: members of the OKM indicate that the pressures of being minority councilor in city council and the salary conditions (explored below) negatively affected Mkhonza. At that time it was permissible for local councilors to cross the floor during a special period to other political parties. Joyce Mkhonza had made plans to cross-over to the Democratic Alliance during this period; however due to high level of control over the councilor as well as the pledge signed by the councilor, the OKM managed to recall her before she crossed the floor. This incident -should Mkhonza have proved successful in crossing the floor- would have essentially ended the OKM's representation in Council and possibly dismantled the organization as a whole (Interviews with Segodi, Miya, Zwane, Madiba & Ngwane, 2012).

After recalling Mkhonza, Zodwa Madiba, a long time member of the Dube branch of the SECC, stepped in as the OKM PR Councillor from August 2007 to 2011. During this period many of the affiliates who originally formed part of the OKM gradually left the electoral front. Various speculative reasons have been advanced such a tighter control over money, the dominance of the SECC in the OKM, pressure from debates and affiliates against the contestation of elections, and a loss of enthusiasm when confronted with the day to day

functions of the PR councilor.[18]

The OKM currently functions with two key affiliates of the (no longer functioning) APF: the TCC and SECC. When contesting the 2011 local government elections, the OKM made a decision to again attempt to secure a seat in the Johannesburg and if gained that seat would be occupied by a member of the TCC. This would offer both affiliates an opportunity to be represented in council. Due to number of votes attained by the OKM in the 2011 municipal elections, councilor Simphiwe Zwane was selected from TCC to represent the movement.

A short description on the Democratic Left Front (DLF) bears relevance here. The Democratic Left Front provides resources to bring several grassroots social movements together, provides political education in socialism and opportunities for mass mobilization through the affiliates. From what I understand this is achieved through the resources and networks of the DLF members rather than a formal funding mechanism. The strengths and weaknesses of this debate are beyond the scope of this paper. However, what is integral is the fact that DLF acts as a supportive umbrella structure to the movement. The DLF from my understanding aims to provide similar support to that previously offered by the APF. In the course of my research I attended less than a handful of DLF events and meeting, yet what strikes me is the desire to maintain certain integrity. This integrity is by no means issue free; in fact the perceived dominance of the DLF over some of its affiliates, OKM in this instance, becomes a point of debate at an OKM local government meeting. But one that affiliates decide they will openly address with the DLF. The DLF has no open combined viewpoint on entering party politics as a mechanism to engage with the state, although it supports the OKM and holds it in high esteem.

[18]Despite attempts to meet with and interview key initial members of the OKM (from Kliptown and Wynberg in particular) as part of this research, these attempts were unsuccessful due to the unavailability.

4.4) Conclusion

These three elements: (i) The growing use of mass protest action as a mechanism to voice community dissatisfaction particularly in urban contexts; with little impact on decision-making or policy. (ii) The large numbers of South Africans continued voting loyalty to the ANC, strengthens its political dominance both at a local and national level. This dominance had an impact on the ability of grassroots movements outside of the ANC to emerge. (iii) Lastly, the re-emergence of post-apartheid social movements offering the opportunity to strengthen the voice of the poor against progressively neo-liberal policies, particularly in the City of Johannesburg presents a new mechanism in voicing claims to the city. However, these social movements are limited in various ways, so the social movements look towards alternative means to engage with the state.

These first two components create a difficult environment for the emergence of a small electoral front to contest local elections. However, there were specific conditions brought forth by the APF, particularly in terms of grassroots solidarity led to the emergence of the OKM. The continued connections between TCC and OKM are partly due to the personal connections of two key leaders in the organizations, Siphiwe Segodi from TCC and Trevor Ngwane from SECC - as both are members of Trotskyite Socialist work group. Furthermore in particular Ngwane's political history as an ANC Councilor who asked to leave due his oppositional stance to privatization of water and electricity services (Ngwane in McKinley, 2011) has been key in influencing the formation the OKM.

Currently the OKM has a supportive network in an APF like structure, the Democratic Left Front (DLF). Ngwane sits on the executive of the Democratic Left Front forming a strong linkage with the OKM. The Democratic Left Front has worked extensively on correcting many of the problems leading to the demise of the APF, for example the DLF has categorically decided not to apply for donor funding as this had a large impact on the governance and leadership structures[19]. Dale McKinley's work (2011) on the APF through extensive interviews with key leaders and stakeholders in the APF point to many of complexities of leadership and governance that impacted the demise of the APF and is an excellent resource on the umbrella social movement.

These elements lay the basis to explore the institutionalisationof the Operation Khanyisa Movement and the blurry grey space it occupies as a social movement and electoral front.

[19]Personal interviews and discussions with DLF members including General Alfred Moyo, Christain Bode , Zodwa Madiba, Simphiwe Zwane, Siphiwe Segodi and Trevor Ngwane as part of this research process.

Chapter 5: Confrontation and Cooperation – the impact of different strategies

The residents of Thembelihle have since its inception in the 1980s been struggling for the right to land, housing and decent services. This struggle over three decades has taken a multitude of forms and these forms have yielded various results. This chapter will explore recent examples of the arguably simultaneous use of two strategies that of contestation and cooperation. The chapter will argue that these strategies are used somewhat simultaneously at achieve certain ends. In examining the use of each of these strategies the impact of the use of these strategies in particular circumstances will also be explored within the framework of furthering the aims of the TCC and OKM.

Confrontation

In September 2011, thousands of Thembelihle took to the streets in what Miya calls the largest protest in the history of Thembelihle. Residents had had enough of waiting, rumours of mass relocation, development and the dire impacts of dolomitic land filling their ears. For a protest of that size; formal procedures were put in place weeks in advance, following the regulations set out in the Gatherings Act (1996). Policeman lined the street in what was on most accounts a very peaceful protest. The protest in Thembelihle drew high-ranking city officials with the MMC for housing and several representatives from the Gauteng legislature appearing to accept the memorandum from an angry crowd. The memorandum clearly outlined that the residents required a response from the City of Johannesburg in seven days.

More than two weeks passed with no response from the City of Johannesburg. The residents of Thembelihle's anger grew, prompting weeklong "illegal[20]" protest action in the settlement. On Friday the 21st of October 2011, OKM Proportional Representative Councillor Simphiwe Zwane was arrested on charges of intimidation and public violence. Councillor Zwane was held in the holding cell for the weekend. On Monday the 24th of October Councillor Zwane appeared in Protea South Magistrate court, where her case was struck off the roll. Thirteen other residents were arrested, in what became known as "The Thembelihle 14". Bayiza Miya a long serving executive member of the TCC and community activist in his own right was detained for 2 months at South Africa's most notorious prison Sun City, his case has now been struck off the roll[21].

Cooperation

From April 2012, the city started undertaking participatory meetings in Thembelihle to prepare for further relocations to Lehae. These meetings took place regularly and provided residents with an opportunity to question the housing allocation process. It also provided a space for direct engagement with city officials.

[20]The issue of the illegality of the march remains contentious, the Gatherings Act (1996) indicates that protests do not require the 7 days notice required by other gatherings however protest conveners are still required to notify local authorities. There is no indication that that notice was provided for the weeklong protests, but the community members maintain that the protests were a continuation of the protests before so permission had already been granted.

[21] Miya's case has been struck off the roll numerous times; however the police continually find new evidence and Miya is continually called back to court to face the charges once again. The prosecutor has however failed time and time again in over a year to build a substantive case against Miya.

For these two reasons, despite being vehemently against the relocation, the Themebelihle Crisis Committee attended numerous meetings and found apt opportunities to bring the issue of in-situ upgrading to the fore. In June 2012, after successive attendance in relocation meetings at the City of Johannesburg, the August 2011 week long protest action, the presence of OKM councillor addressing Thembelihle as a housing issue in council chamber as well as in the section 79 committee meetings; the MMC for housing has agreed that the City of Johannesburg will budget for the further intensive geo-technical studies required in Thembelihle.

5.1) Conceptual understandings of Contestation and Cooperation

There are multiple ways in which the concepts of contestation and cooperation may be understood. In the field of urban governance the concept of "invited and invented" spaces of participation (Cornwall, 2000; Miraftab, 2005; Holston, 2011) bear relevance here. Cooperation can be widely understood as working with state in "invited spaces of participation". And although not always confrontational, the notion of "invented spaces" spaces of participation can be closely aligned to contestation. The stories above fit within these notions of contestation as invented spaces of participation through "protest action" and cooperation through participation in democratic processes through an electoral front. These instances have been selected for a number of reasons: both circumstances have had an impact on Thembelihle and the Thembelihle Crisis committee, the circumstances fit neatly on opposite sides of the contestation and cooperation spectrum yet both also highlight the multiplicity of elements within one particular strategy. The chapter will argue that the residents have utilised various modes simultaneously within the spectrum of "invited and invented" spaces and will explore the impacts of their multi-variant tactics and strategies. Particularly the chapter will argue that institutionalisation has been utilised by social movements through an electoral front because of the restrictions imposed and social movements as well as the openings provided through the local governance systems. The analysis explored below is largely influenced by Thorn and Oldfield's paper, *'A Politics of Land Occupation: state Practice and Everyday Mobilization in Zille Raine Heights, Cape Town'* (2011), particularly in the understanding of the state.

This is an important element to unpack as the instances described above are both action and reaction to the state. Thorn and Oldfield argue that the state is not a static entity that always operates in a particular way, rather the state is situated a shifting element, which is multi-faceted. This is key as social movements are reactive to this multi-faceted entity through the use of multiple strategies, arguably these community based organisations are also active. Thorn and Oldfield highlight Corbridge's et al (2005) nuanced understanding of the state,

> "the idea of the state 'as consisting of diverse and not always cohering human technologies of government' (2005: 5–6). The state is therefore not consistent, nor is it experienced consistently. In a similar anti-reductionist vein, neither are 'sightings' of the state unitary; they are complex, mediated through the sightings of others and memories of past experiences (2005: 8–24). These entanglements and the 'illegibility' of state practice serve not only to complicate encounters with the state, but also open up spaces for manoeuvre, agency and negotiation that are experienced differently according to the bodies accessing them, in this case those of families persisting in

> informal settlements, variously named as land 'occupiers', 'invaders', 'shack dwellers', and 'families that seek shelter'" (Thorn and Oldfield, 2011:520)

This illegibility has in the case of the OKM and TCC opened spaces for the issue of various tactics and strategies in the claim to the right to the city. However, this also makes the shifts in the relationship with the City of Johannesburg and the TCC and possibly subsequent shifts to the development of the settlement as a whole challenging to measure, particularly as little formal development of the built environment has taken place in Thembelihle since the mid 1990s. However, there are small shifts that have taken place over the research period in Thembelihle that I was able to observe. Again there is difficultly in measuring those shifts and specifically isolating those shifts as a direct result of the PR councillor as a representative of Thembelihle, particularly as TCC continues to be very active, utilising various strategies and tactics outside of council representation. External factors such as city policy or political shifts in the ANC may also impact Thembelihle and need to be regarded. These are complex and inter-related causalities which I can only attempt to unpack.

There are various impacts, which will be explored in this chapter, the impact of council representation on Thembelihle and the TCC will be examined, with reflection on how the formal aspects of participating in local council have impacted the TCC and Thembelihle. The impact of strategies of contestation will also be explored in relation to the arrests of the Thembelihle 14.

5.2) The Impacts of Contestation

The atypical manifestation of contestation or use of invented spaces of participation is the use of protest action. In chapter one, the background of the research paper, Susan Booysen's 'The Brick and the Ballot" is explored. Booysen creates a conceptual contimun with "the brick" on the opposite spectrum of "the ballot". In this understanding "the brick" is understood to be the ultimate sign of contestation, in various contexts in the global South "the brick" may allude to various strategies of contestation; but clearly in the South African case and in Booysen's understanding, the brick can mean nothing less than mass protest action. Historically the TCC was formed out of protest action against relocation of the settlement in 2001, so protest action has remained a key strategy to voice issue based discontent. Protest action remains a strategy utilised simultaneously with representation in council. However, the formal constraints of being a councillor have impacted on the ability for PR Councillor to be involved in strike action.

The arrests indicate state control over the use of contestation as a political strategy, being unable or unwilling as the CJohannesburg, at that particular historical moment to concede to the demands of the Thembelihle community as well as the ability to control the contestation. The use of the police to control and the state's increasing use of a variety of tactics to prohibit protests and therefore leave few communities with the opportunity to legally protest is documented by Duncan and Royeppen, who explore, "Just how difficult it is to use official legal channels to exercise the right to protest, forcing more and more protestors to make their voices heard by any means necessary" (Duncan and Royeppen, 2013[22]). This was the case in the Thembelihle where residents resorted to illegal protest action. The results of the use of this contestation strategy were on the most part unsuccessful aside from media attention, the memorandum calling for access to adequate housing received no response despite numerous promises made by the City of Johannesburg and 14 people suffered the pain and trauma of being arrested.

The arrest of councillor Zwane had larger implications than the other 'members of the "Thembelihle 14". Given her involvement in illegal protest action councillor Zwane had to attend a disciplinary hearing as a member of council in the City of Johannesburg. Zwane indicates that according to her knowledge councillors are City of Johannesburg employees and therefore may not lead "illegal" protest action against the City of Johannesburg. Therefore the disciplinary hearing could have resulted in a warning for the councillor.

[22] Duncan and Royeppen, 2013. The Daily Maverick. Available URL: http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-03-08-death-by-a-thousand-pinpricks-south-africas-ever-vanishing-right-to-protest/

An analysis of the ward councillor's code of conduct provides no indication that councillors may not participate in protest action, although two aspects of the code of conduct may allow such an interpretation[23],

"2. A councillor must-

1. perform the functions of office in good faith, honestly and a transparent manner; and
2. at all times act in the best interest of the municipality and in such a way that the credibility and integrity of the municipality are not compromised.

11. A councillor may not, except as provided by law-

1. interfere in the management or administration of any department of the municipal council unless mandated by council;
2. give or purport to give any instruction to any employee of the council except when authorised to do so;
3. obstruct or *attempt to obstruct the implementation of any decision of the council or a committee by an employee of the council*; or
4. *encourage or participate in any conduct which would cause or contribute to maladministration in the council.*" (emphasis added)

Protest action may be understood as not "acting in the best interest of the municipality…in such a way that the credibility and integrity of the municipality are not compromised"; a protest may also be understood an "attempt to obstruct the implementation of any decision of the council except when authorised to do so". Despite no specific rule in the code of conduct outlining the councillors' ability to engage in protest action, Councillor Zwane attended a disciplinary hearing. She describes the experience as follows:

> "Then I even tell them that I did lead the march to the region G municipal offices, then they were laughing at me thinking that I didn't know that the councillor is not allowed to march. So I was, it was sad because they took me to the commissioner, the disciplinary committee. But when I was very happy, I could tell them that what I think and what I thought the truth was that they should know. Because he was asking me, you don't have to [meaning, you should not] lead the marches, but I did portray that the people they asked me to lead the march, I am there because of the people they are the ones that elected me. Unless I am not representing the very same ones who ask me. So they saw it, they read it then they say that there is no case against me and I am very happy with that" (Interview with Councillor Zwane 16/07/2012).

The protest action therefore did not have a lasting impact on the councillor and she was through the strongly enforced mechanisms of accountability able to use the opportunity to share the OKM ideological stance. However neither the TCC as a social movement nor as OKM have lead a large mass protest in Thembelihle since the arrest of the "Thembelihle 14". Two small protest took place in 2012, one in August where the MMC of housing called Siphiwe Segodi[24] to urge him not to protest as it would hamper the technical negotiations (described below) and another in the early morning of the 11th September 2012 as a lead up

[23]Code of Conduct as outlined on the City of Johannesburg Website- http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1548&Itemid=131

[24] Personal telephonic communication with Siphiwe Segodi.

the participation of TCC and OKM more broadly in the Informal Settlement Network March in Johannesburg inner city to the Gauteng Legislature.

The Socio-economic Rights Institute, who represented the "Thembelihle 14" have indicated that given the currently policing environment, the Gatherings Act and the negative impact of previous police convictions in future trials, as it stands it cannot guarantee that it will be successful in securing the release of those previously convicted should they be arrested in future protests[25]. This sentiment is echoed by Zwane when she states,

> "I think they (the state) are trying by all means to stop this things of protest, because now what will be in our minds is the case, if we toy-toy they will arrest him again for public violence of which there is a case that is pending so let us just keep quiet for now until this thing is off…" (Interview with Simphiwe Zwane 06/11/2012)

This has impacted the ability for the TCC and OKM to utilise protest action as a strategy to have their concerns heard, the consequences in relation to the impact in this instance largely rendered the action ineffective. Chatterjee points to the consequences of the informal engagement "political society" enters into with civil society when he states, "As I have frequently pointed out, political society is not like a gentleman's club; it can often be a nasty and dangerous place"(Chatterjee, 2004: 156).

The negative impacts of the use of protest action in this particular instance in Thembelihle serve to highlight the challenge of the use of contestation in a contemporary South African context,

> "Any attempt to challenge policy in a more thoroughgoing way, and especially any attempt to challenge the ANC's right to rule, will be ignored at best and actively marginalised at worst. Further, as experienced by the most recent generation of social movements in South Africa, once marginalised from ANC hegemony, social movements are treated as morally suspect and quickly become vulnerable to acts of repression" (Piper, forthcoming).

The particularity of ANC dominance and the space for the use of strategies of contestation appears to be narrowing. Councillor Zwane highlights to some extent the perspectives of the majority of councillors in the City of Johannesburg,

> "Another thing that I saw is that you don't have to be against the ruling party, you must take what so ever the city is giving you and just keep quiet. You must agree with everything because when you disagree, even if you are out of the council maybe the break-always still they will come to you saying, "But Councillor Zwane think of this" they will be telling me about the things I was saying, "If you are saying the people mustn't pay for water for electricity, will you be happy to work not getting if you are not getting paid." So I have to change I have to forget about them the demands of the communities. Another thing I must exclude myself from the protests the toy-toys, if I hear the TCC is trying to organise something I must call the JMPD then they will be all over or call police and guard me" (Interview with councillor Zwane 23/11/2012).

[25] Communication with Kate Tissington- Senior Research and Advocacy Officer at the Socio-economic Rights Institute.

Internally the TCC saw the arrests as mechanism for local ANC branch members and the ANC Ward Councillor in particular to demonstrate its power over Thembelihle. This was demonstrated by the ANC Ward Councillor's charge of intimidation against Miya. This charge ensured that Miya remained in prison for two months. The case against him has been struck off the roll, although he has been called back to court to face the charges again several times, each time the case is struck off the roll due to a lack of complete documentation and evidence. However, this remains a threat against Miya who is continually summoned to court. Miya as indicated above is a key leader of the TCC who plays a major role in its strategies and tactics. His own political history is filled with protest and other acts of contestation against the apartheid regime.

The use of protest action has historically served the TCC well, Siphiwe Segodi indicates that nothing gets the immediate attention of local, provincial and even national government than strong protest action, however he has noted a limited effect for protest action to actually bring about change in the settlement.

What is required following mass protest action appears to be sustained engagement in the form of letters, legal action, involvement in meetings and councillor representation.

5.3) The impacts of Cooperation

As explored in chapter one, Thembelihle has used the court its struggle for in-situ upgrading from 2005 to 2009. This has remained the status quo until June 2012. The use of strategies and tactics of cooperation can be linked to the work of Ananya Roy in her paper, 'Civic Governmentality: the politics of inclusion in Beirut and Mumbai' (2009). Roy explores the institutionalisation of citizen participation through the concept of "civic governmentality'

> "I envision civic governmentality as a spatialized regime that functions through particular mentalities or rationalities. These include an infrastructure of populist mediation; technologies of governing (for example, knowledge production); and norms of self-rule (for example, concepts of civility and civicness). However, I reject the distinction that Appadurai and Chatterjee draw between "governmentality from the top", and "governmentality from below". I focus on grassroots organizations that seek to construct and manage a civic realm. As Ferguson and Gupta (2002:983) note, these domains of citizenship cannot be simply imagined as a "middle zone of contact or mediation", a bridge between the "state up there" and the "community down here". Instead, these grassroots regimes of government both resist and comply with what may be perceived to be top-down forms of rule, be it those emanating from the state or from international institutions (Roy, 2009:160)."

Although I don't agree with Roy in terms of dismissing Chatterjee and Appadurai in that the OKM continue to useinformal mechanisms of engaging with the state. The concept of "civic governmentability" as explored with regard to Beirut and Mumbai bears relevance to the case of Thembelihle Crisis committee. The ANC has been representing Thembelihle since the institutionalisation of the ward councillor system (this system is explored above). It can be argued here that what the PR councillor position offers to social movements is the ability to be in the inside, to attend all available "invited spaces of participation". The TCC has decided to enter the councillor system through the OKM. Through entering this system the OKM makes the most cooperative gesture, it enters into the realm of local government. Roy may understand this as "grassroots organizations that seek to construct and manage a civic realm" (Roy, 2009:160) through complying with top-down forms of rule. The critique of how much the OKM is able to construct and manage a civic realm will be explored below. Yet is clear from the arrests and its subsequent impact on the ability for OKM and TCC to lead protests that the use of "invented spaces of participation" as strategy did not allow for constructing and managing the spatialized realm. However what cannot be denied is that the PR ward councillor position has allowed Zwane access to invited spaces of participation not available to social movements. These invited spaces lead to the involvement of the TCC and OKM in the relocation process.

Simplistically one could argue that through the involvement of the TCC and the OKM in "invited spaces of participation", the Minister in the Mayoral Committee (MMC) Dan Bovu agreed to conduct the full geo-technical studies in Thembelihle. But Zwane believes that it is sustained engagement through the use of multiple strategies that brought about this change. When questioned about the impact of a proportional representative councillor representing the needs of the OKM constituency Zwane provided the following response:

> "The person that has been changed there, it's the MMC of Housing Dan Bovu, I know him, I can see him that he has got a little worried. But the TCC played a major role in the city, things are changing we can see. We had a meeting with the MMC last month telling us that the city is prepared now to pay that R800 000 for the boreholes, to drill the boreholes so that will happen around August. So that tells us that the TCC pushed the city to come to that decision. So earlier in 2000, 2003 they didn't even want to hear about that, they said go and find money for the study, we came back we discuss the study, so we didn't have money as TCC so we had to stay here (in Thembelihle) and live. And when they come and say there is dolomite in Thembelihle we say how do you know that because we are not sure about what you are saying, where is the study? Because they take out less than 20 boreholes but that is not a full study. You need to do a full study but now they are willing to do so" (Interview with councillor Zwane 16/07/2012)

The TCC have been asked to assemble a team of technical assistance who will meet with the City of Johannesburg technical team and devise a way forward for the 80 boreholes to be drilled to produce conclusive results about the geo-technical conditions of Thembelihle. This is a major step in the future of the development of Thembelihle. Although this cannot be attributed solely to the councillor, no interviewee was able to isolate key events or achievements that lead to the City of Johannesburg agreeing to conduct further dolomitic investigations in Thembelihle. Siphiwe Segodi offers up a more cynical version of events, which has caused the MMC for housing, Dan Bovu to engage more extensively with OKM and TCC,

> "Our councillor recently in council chamber has challenged the MMC for housing who was our former councillor around corruption, that we want your (the MMCs) corrupt activity to be investigated. And that really put him in a corner in such a way that whenever we say we should meet, I mean he is not sure how far we know about what we are talking about regarding this. So he is cornered, but uncertain about how real are these people? How much of that evidence do they have at hand? What do they have? So every time we say we should meet, he agrees maybe in the hope that one day we will spell out what we have on him" (Interview with Siphiwe Segodi 16/07/2012).

This rationale offered by Segodi highlights the power of the voice; if the brick is to be understood as the atypical sign of contestation and the use of the ballot system a sign of cooperation then the voice highlights the ability for a strategy of contestation within a cooperative space. It is this power that the paper argues offers a unique space for the TCC, SECC and OKM.

After this statement Segodi and I both laughed for while looking up at the trees that surround us. We laughed a knowing laugh. In other interviews with general members of the TCC and the wider community several indicated that they had knowledge and evidence of corruption by the MMC for housing with links to having sold the land on which Thembelihle exists to a business owner from Lenasia. The TCC have plans to ask the public protector to investigate corruption more broadly in Thembelihle in particular with regard to housing allocation. So this is in fact no laughing matter, however the fact that allegations of corruption could ensure that the city engages with Thembelihle highlights the prevalence of corruption in the state and Chatterjee's notion of "political society" and the various informal

ways in which political society engages with "civil society". Despite the fact that the OKM exists formally as part of the City of Johannesburg governance structure; the public assertion of corruption allows the OKM and TCC to engage informally with the MMC, by ensuring a platform for him to listen to them.

More central thinkers may use Mouffe's understanding of "agonism" to indicate that the City of Johannesburg offers a space for rationale debate where a multiplicity of views can be offered and these shape development in particular ways. However the nature of claim against the MMC for housing and the environment of South African local democracy does not allow for Mouffe's argument to hold in this particular context. Neither is the assertion that the MMC has been involved in corrupt activities "antagonistic" in Mouffe's terms as the relationship between the OKM and the City of Johannesburg, although containing elements of agonism and antagonism are much more nuanced than that. Chatterjee's notion of political and civil society bear more relevance here.

The description above from Segodi and Zwane has leaned heavily on the notion that engagement in invited spaces of participation has largely lead to a shift in the city's thinking about Thembelihle. This theory also places a large emphasis on the ability of representation in council chamber through a PR councillor continually representing her own ward in a variety of spaces for over a year has the ability to shift the state's position.

A more extensive study into the long-term impacts of the councillor for Thembelihle would need to be conducted in order to be able to make more concrete links to the impact of the councillor. However the significance of the city's change in stance is critical, extensive mass protests, a formal promotion of access to information act application (PAIA), formal court proceedings, long term engagement through letters, meetings and the press did not achieve the success of ensuring full geo-technical studies in Thembelihle. It appears that the council representation may have impacted the city's thinking in terms of the study.

The city cannot be understood as merely the MMC of housing, although he arguably plays a very important role particularly in terms of housing decision-making. The MMC provided no indication that the councillor had an impact that city rather provided a sense that the city had decided that it was necessary to conduct the full study before relocating all the residents of Thembelihle. It is here that Thorn and Olfield's notion of the state as multi-faceted comes to the fore. Most importantly the shift in the city over time. In order to attempt to understand the City of Johannesburg's shift in terms of the geo-technical studies in Thembelihle one must have an understanding of the housing policy and legislation by which its housing decisions are mandated. Housing policy and legislation have gone through numerous iterations since the White Paper on Housing (1994). The constitution (1996) in part A schedule 4 allocates the housing, urban and rural development and regional planning and development as concurrent responsibilities of National and local government.

However in chapter 7 section,

> "156(4) states that the national governments must assign to a municipality the administration of a matter listed in Part A of Schedule 4 or part A of schedule 5 which necessary relates to local government, if that matter would most effectively be administered local and the municipality has the capacity to administer it" (Tissington, 2011:13).

In accordance with the above section of the constitution, local government can be accredited with the ability administer National housing programmes. Tisssington indicates that despite the prioritisation of accreditation to the metropolitan municipalities in particular since the Housing Act Legislation since 1997; the process has been incredibly slow (Tissington, 2011). In fact the City of Johannesburg officially signed its accreditation documentation on the 7th of March 2011[26]. The agreement provided full level three accreditation rights to the City of Johannesburg, who have its performance monitored and evaluated by National and Provincial government. This level three accreditation provides the City of Johannesburg with the following jurisdiction:

- "Level One: beneficiary management, subsidy management, subsidy budget planning and allocation, and priority programme management and administration (delegated functions);
- Level Two: all level One functions as well as full programme management and administration of all national and provincial housing programmes which includes project evaluation and approval; subsidy registration (via HSS and NHSDB), programme management including cash flow projection and management) and technical (construction) quality assurance (delegated functions);
- Level Three: all Level One and Level Two functions formerly assigned and there is additional responsibility of financial administration including subsidy payment and disbursements and financial reporting/reconciliation (all functions are assigned)"(Tissington, 2011:76).

Therefore from 2011, the full responsibility for housing allocation and planning became the responsibility of the City of Johannesburg.

The City of Johannesburg has prioritised housing in various ways. The diagram below provides a broad indication of the key performance indicators for the City of Johannesburg as indicated by the Growth and the Development Strategy 2040:

[26] City of Johannesburg. 7th March 2011. 'More powers to Joburg'. Available URL: http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6312:more-powers-handed-to-joburg&catid=123:housing&Itemid=204

Figure 11.1: The Joburg 2040 GDS principles and outcomes – in the context of the GDS vision and paradigm

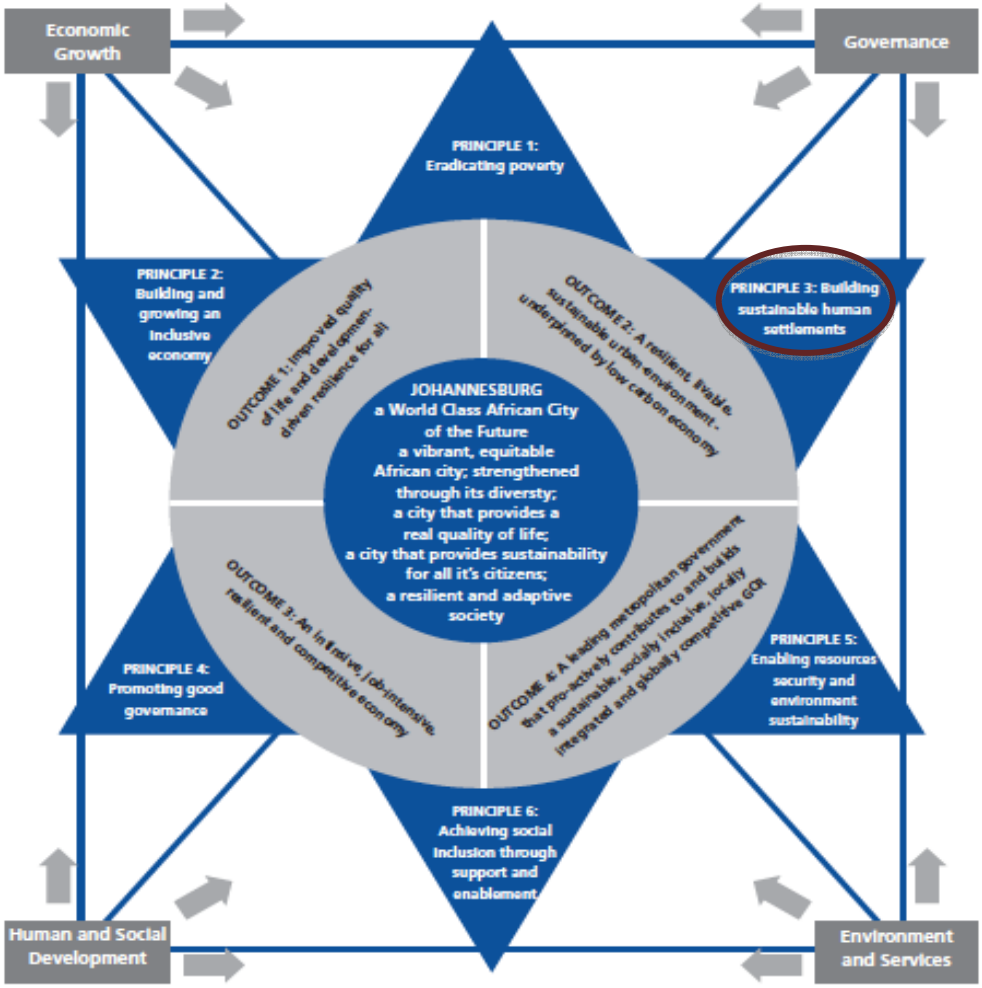


Figure 8 City of Johannesburg Growth and Development Strategy Performance Management Plan: 7 (October 2011)

Building sustainable human settlements is placed as the 3rd principle in terms of the future development of the city and is therefore a key priority that has been set in long-term planning by the City of Johannesburg. The prioritisation of housing is further indicated in short term planning mechanisms through in the Regional Spatial Development Framework for Region G,

> "The City (of Johannesburg) has introduced a set of Development Indices based on Sustainable Human Settlement (SHS) Principles. The SHS indices are therefore a multifaceted approach concerned with shaping developments and creating the conditions under which people in both new and established housing and mixed use developments can enjoy healthy, productive and integrated urban lives" (City of Johannesburg, 2010[27]: 7).

Further in a section specifically focused on housing in region G, the City of Johannesburg provides a quantitative target for the number of housing units it is set to produce and the mechanisms by which they will be produced:

> "The City's Housing programmes form the basis of the City's delivery targets of developing 100 000 units by 2011. These units must be made available to include a range of tenure options and typologies. The Housing programmes include the formalisation of informal settlements; rejuvenation of the CBD and other nodes and hostel redevelopment" (City of Johannesburg, 2010:75).

The level three accreditation gained by the City of Johannesburg indicates that it is accountable to the same policy, legislation and programmes of the Department of Human Settlements than provincial government. This must be read in conjunction with the shifts in housing policy and legislation at National level; as the City of Johannesburg is responsible for carrying out housing National housing policy. Important housing policy, legislation and programmes with regard to the case for Thembelihle includes:

- The Housing Act (1997)
- The PIE act (1998)
- The White Paper on Housing (1994)
- Breaking New Ground (2004)
- National Housing Code (2000, revised in 2009)
- Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme

These policies are reflective in the City of Johannesburg short term planning documentation; the RSDF begins by outlining the sustainable human settlement principles as described above. It then includes sections on Informal settlement upgrading, mixed-income housing development and hostel upgrading.

[27] Most recent RSDF available from the City of Johannesburg 2010/11. RSDF 2010/11: http://www.joburg-archive.co.za/2010/pdfs/sdf/rsdf/regiong/regiong_sdf.pdf

The most relevant to this discussion is the Upgrading of Informal settlements programme (UISP), the Department of Human Settlements describes the UISP as "one of the most important programmes of government which seeks to upgrade living conditions of millions of poor people by providing secure tenure and access to basic services and housing" (Department of Human Settlements Part 3 Vol 4 of National Housing Code 2009). Despite this assertion several critics have outlined the failure of implementation of this programme (Tissington, 2011; Pithouse, 2009 and Huchzermeyer, 2009). Huchzermeyer, argues that the failure of implementation of UISP is largely due to a lack of political will,

> "Given the South African context of institutional restructuring, legal and regulatory reform from 1994 to 2004 in response to the Constitution, including the introduction in late 2004 of the dedicated Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme (DoH, 2004b), this paper identifies mindset change currently as the main intervention required to unlock in situ upgrading of informal settlements. This expands and gives meaning to what UN-Habitat (2003:5) identifies under 'failure of governance' as 'the lack of genuine political will to address the issue' " (Huchzermeyer, 2009: 60).

While the City of Johannesburg in the 2010/11 RSDF contend that,

> "The City has determined which of the informal settlements require in-situ upgrading and which owing to locational, social or geo-technical factors require relocation. Approximately 125,000 units will be accommodated in situ. An informal settlement regularization programme has also been launched to address informality of settlements" (City of Johannesburg, 2010: 75).

In Region G of the 41 informal settlements only one has been earmarked for in-situ upgrading, Dark City Poortjie, with another Hopefield being investigated as a possibility (ibid:79-80). Thembelihle is not listed in that table but is represented in the map below[28]:

[28] Important to note that several informal settlements on the map have been relegated to be formalised, this process includes rezoning townships to "Special for Transitional Residential Settlements" as indicated in the Township ordinance and once the rezoning application has taken place residents are granted permits to occupy the stand on which they reside. This is not necessarily a step towards in-situ informal settlement upgrading, but rather security of tenure and provision of basic services (City of Johannesburg http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&id=2854&Itemid=198).

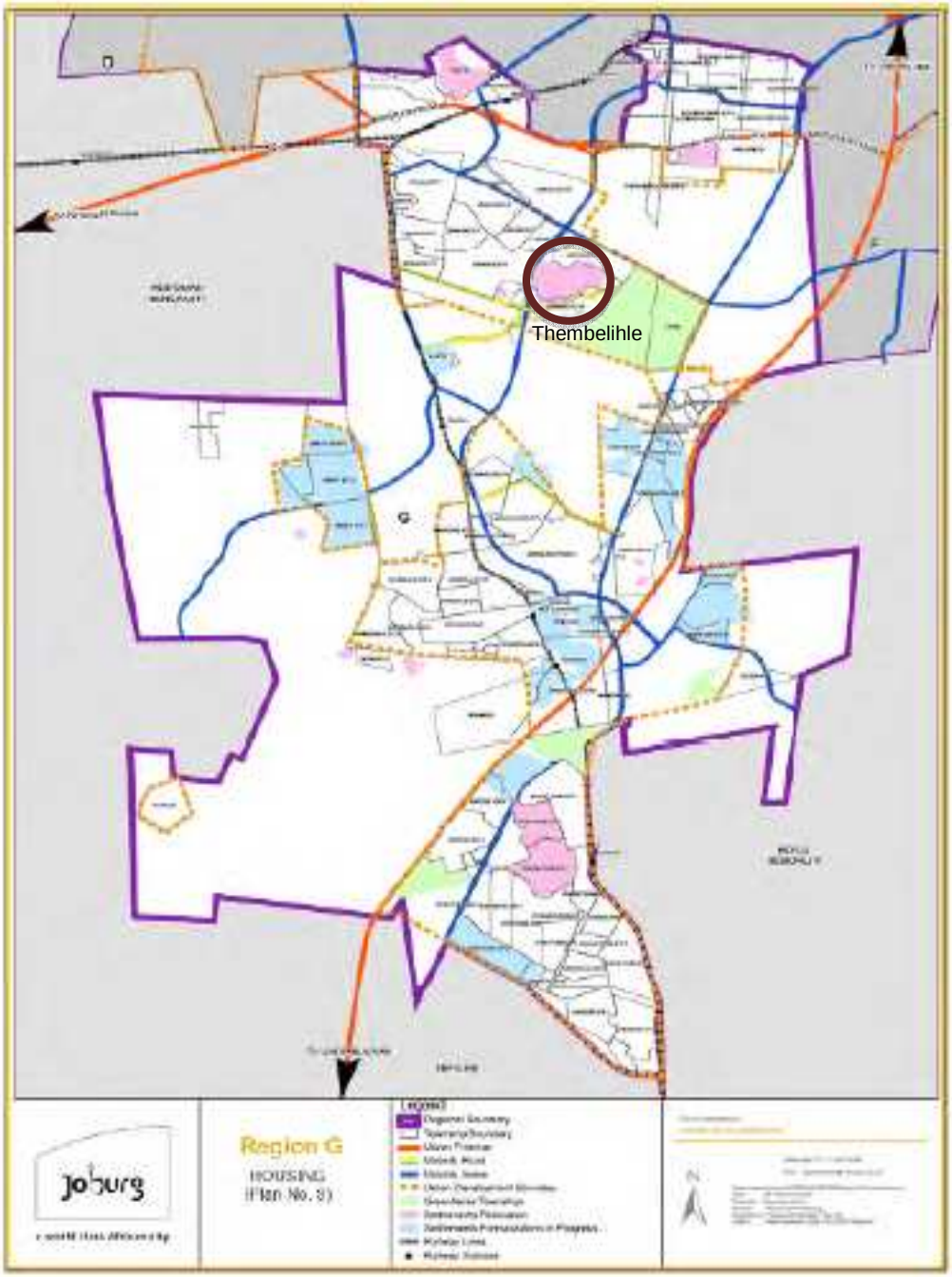


Figure 9 City of Johannesburg Region G Housing Plan No. 9 (ibid:81) (RSDF 2010/2011).

In the map Thembelihle has been assigned as an informal settlement that will be relocated, this is confirmed in the narrative on housing in the RSDF:

> "Geo-technical studies have revealed that the land allows for very low housing densities. It is thus financially unfeasibile for housing to develop on the land as these densities would barely meet the number of units needed to house Thembelihle's inhabitants, thus the settlement is to be relocated to Lehae Phase Two" (ibid:94).

This appears to be the official technocratic stance of the City of Johannesburg, however the MMC is well aware that Thembelihle cannot be relocated without the proper geo-technical studies and is continually reminded of this fact by councilor Zwane in council chamber. This

coupled with allegations of corruption is serving to hold the city accountable to following the correct procedures. The political pressure is accompanied by a set of key performance indicators, national housing policy and legislation as well as small elements of progressive planning at the City of Johannesburg. The result is a verbal commitment by the MMC of Housing to conduct further geo-technical studies.

However, although the MMC has committed to meeting in August 2012, it had not yet taken place by January 2013. In October 2012, MMC Dan Bovu had the following to say about the further geo-technical studies,

> "I know I have requested my office to do so, which will be wanting to finalise what the court said that we might not have finalised certain boreholes, that is what we want to engage them with" (Dan Bovu, 18/10/2012).

The OKM will continue to use its invited political platform in the City of Johannesburg to ensure that the full geo-technical study takes place.

5.4 Conclusion

The strategies of contestation and cooperation although at two ends of a theoretical continuum provide a basis for multiple strategies to be used in between. The use of tactics of contestation through publically calling for an investigation into the MMC's corrupt actions highlight the ways in which these strategies are utilised in complex ways in "invited spaces" of participation. To some extent, although a full investigation is beyond the scope of this paper and is being argued more succinctly by others (Duncan and Royeppen, 2013 in particular but also in the context of Marikana by Alexander, Mmope, Lekgowa, Sinwell and Xezwi, 2012) the chapter has also highlighted the growing limitations of the use of protest action as an "invented space of participation" to have an impact on development practice. Despite the use of protest action extensively over a decade with limited impact but positive in terms of drawing attention to dissatisfaction with the state, the TCC and OKM are required to revise this invented space of participation. The chapter has also sought to demonstrate the strategic thinking used by the OKM and TCC to access the shifting, multi-faceted state. Finally the chapter highlighted the power of the voice in "invited spaces" of participation as a powerful tool that the TCC has been able to access through the creation of OKM and more particularly through comrade Simphiwe Zwane who has emerged a strong voice through which the struggle for Thembelihle continues.

Chapter 6 – From Social movements to Electoral Front

"I have always felt it is very important to make the bridge between the political organisational, theoretical and rhetorical levels and personal and practical levels of what actually goes on"
(McKinley, 2012 APF Transcript)

6.1) Introduction

This chapter aims to explore the transformation from social movement to electoral front. It is also imperative that a practical account of the Operation Khanyisa Movement is explored. The emergence of the movement and its functionality arose out of a very particular set of circumstances that are indicative of the wider socio-political context as explored briefly in chapter one of the research paper and will be explored more extensively in this chapter. This chapter will analyse the way in which the OKM functions as an electoral front as well as an overview of the OKM's space in the City of Johannesburg council through an exploration of the current political make-up of council chamber. Providing this key background information will inform much of the analysis to follow in the following chapters. Some insights into the background of the movement require brief biographical information into key members in its formation as their political history has had a direct impact on the development of an opposition party.

6.2) The Emergence of OKM

In chapter one the wider socio-political context for the emergence of OKM was briefly provided and can be summarised as follows:

1.) The wide spread use of protest as a mechanism to voice discontent fails largely to impact policy or change.
2.) The dominance of the ANC provides little space for alternative voices in a South African context. Despite the fact that many would argue that the ANC itself as a broad church and holds multiple views within it; its growing neo-liberal stances have to some extentisolated the poor. This coupled with legislated participatory mechanisms that have largely failed in their implemented, to some degree because of the politicisation of these forums and to another degree the limited ability for such forms to impact decision making.
3.) In this space, where the voices of the poor struggle increasingly to be heard, a very powerful umbrella social movement emerged in the form of the APF. The APF offers the opportunity for largely grassroots social movements to come together around issues of privatisation. The APF continued to grow and became a space for capacity building, solidarity and mass mobilisation. These factors built the confidence of the grassroots affiliates who felt that together they may be able to impact decision making. These affiliates saw an opportunity to influence decision-making through local council and come together to form an electoral front.

> This decision was influenced by Trevor Ngwane's experience as a local ANC councillor in Soweto and also by the debates within the APF and how it can best challenge the state.

Zwane describes the formation of the OKM out of the APF as follows,

> "So we had a position in APF saying on the election date we don't vote we go to the voting station we spoil the ballot paper. When it comes after the election day they were announcing the results how many ballot papers were spoilt we came back we sit down and say ok now is the time to form maybe a movement for socialists" (Interview with Zwane 16/07/2012).

This wider social political context is mirrored in the daily experiences of those on the ground who, growing increasingly disheartened with the circumstances they experience, decide to institute a "no land, no vote policy"; some in their affiliation with the national Landless People's Movement. These constituencies would line up in local and national and provincial elections and would spoil the ballot through writing "NO LAND, NO VOTE" they would go home and watch in the media the growth of ANC support and would feel helpless with little or no mention of their campaign. This is the situation Biyiza Miya frequently describes to those from across Gauteng unfamiliar with the OKM. He often says, "We will go home and see the very same ANC ward councillor going into power who has failed us before and we have done nothing, so it there that we decided that the only way is to put our own councillor there" (paraphrased Miya).

So the thinking arose both at APF level and with those on the ground as social movements that a new way of approaching elections needed to be sought. As described above nine affiliates from the Johannesburg[29] area decided to contest local level elections at ward level. Ngwane indicates that the idea was originally to contest ward councillor elections and that each affiliate would have individual representation (Interview with Ngwane 30/11/2012).

In the first elections not enough votes were secured at ward level to secure a ward councillor seat. However overall, between the different wards proportionally enough votes were secured for one PR seat in the City of Johannesburg (A total of 4305 votes as will be explored in chapter 6).

The proportional representative seat is however not won solely through votes accumulated in a single ward but across wards. The percentage of total proportional representative votes received across the City of Johannesburg will determine the amount of PR seats allocated to each political party.

As described in chapter one the selection of the first PR councillor from the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC), Joyce Mkhonza did not go well, at the first opportunity offered Mkhonza tried to cross-over to the Democratic Alliance (DA). Being informed of these plans the OKM sought legal assistance and through the strict rules and regulations in pledge and councilor's contract were able to recall Joyce Mkhonza, who was then replaced by Zodwa Madiba another member of the SECC.

[29] Johannesburg in terms of the APF referred to the municipally demarcated area and included affiliates across the 7 regions.

This wasn't the only challenge faced by the OKM, as time wore on the original 9 APF affiliates started to wither. Many slowly stopped attending meetings and moved out of the OKM, then as the APF began to disintegrate original connections were lost. By the 2011 local government elections, the OKM was only made up of two social movements the Thembelihle Crisis Committee (TCC) and the SECC.

Trevor Ngwane provides some of the rationale for the declining membership of the OKM,

> "It was political, it was the politics we are trying to push the OKM maybe didn't go well in the long term…but never had a proper political discussion. Our mother body was the APF, so we were tied up with APF politics with its strengths and weaknesses. Like for example with Vukukenzele. One of the weaknesses of APF it was paying people to attend meetings in terms of funding their transport. But comrades found a way of increasing, you know of padding not a lot of money R5, so if they were coming to a meeting they were getting R10, R20 I don't know I'm sure they were even increasing it more (Laughs). So Vukukenzele tried that with OKM and we were very firm. Now they didn't like that. One because they thought that OKM was the child of APF, so if the mother was doing, so if they could get away with that APF level why couldn't they. So it's like are being you know. We didn't agree with that at APF level, its just that now we had the power to enforce. And then also, OKM we practiced what they call grassroots democracy, what we call workers control workers democracy so people have to attend regularly, report back, ya…then also because we are all part of APF the question was what's the difference between OKM and APF I think in their minds. Then there was also tension in the APF I mean some members attacked the OKM, quite viciously. There was a constant battle to break people away from the OKM or to punish them…then at the APF level they were against Trevor, against socialist group, against SECC…but all of them when they left, they never said they were leaving, they never said goodbye, we never had that discussion so I am speculating for our discussion. (Interview with Ngwane 30/11/2012).

Anonymously the question of SECC dominance with political heavyweight Trevor Ngwane was raised as another reason for the decline of affiliate members of the OKM. The issue of dominance as well as that of resources will be described within the context of Local Government meetings below. As indicated in chapter one, despite numerous attempts to conduct interviews with some of these ex-affiliates they never came to fruition. So the reasons advanced above are those of knowledgeable speculation. The issues raised here are important in terms of social movement functioning but become more complex where social movements come together under one umbrella from different contexts.

The OKM have implemented various rules and regulations in an attempt to ensure an accountable and transparent representation in local government. The functioning is described below.

6.3) Functioning of the OKM

The strategic decision to enter local government presents a different case as argued above particularly in the South African context with the wide use of protest to express dissatisfaction and the dominance of the ANC.

However the OKM is not the only social movement to enter party politics. Ngwane cites the example of the Green Socialist Movement in Balfour, who has been successful in securing seats for 7 councillors; however they are now facing immense challenges largely because the lack of control over the councillors (Interview with Ngwane, 30/11/2012).

Much of OKM's uniqueness has been around its operational strategies. On the 'Platform of the Operation Khanyisa Movement' Document distributed on the 2nd of September 2012 at the OKM Strategic planning session it states,

> "The OKM is fighting for democratic control of local government. The OKM wants:
>
> - A worker's government that is run by and controlled by ordinary working class people.
> - Accountable councillors who operate according to the mandate of those who elect them.
> - The right to recall government representatives and officials who fail in their duties."

The mechanisms of control over the councillor ensure that it is accountable and operate according to the mandate of their constituency. The OKM councillor signs both a pledge and a contract. A key mechanism of control utilised is the control of the OKM Councillor's salary, as stated in the pledge:

> "2. 100% of my salary will go to the Operation Khanyisa Movement coffers or my local organisation that is part of OKM. I will be paid enough money to cover my basic needs and carry out my duties. OKM will decide how much I get paid. I want to be the councillor not to enrich myself or my family but to serve my community and to take forward the struggle of the working class and the poor" (Operation Khanyisa Movement Pledge distributed at the OKM Strategic Planning Session 02/09/2012).

The salary amount is explicitly highlighted in contract signed between Councillor Zwane and the OKM,

> "2.12 The councillor shall make over or pay (100%) of the remuneration that may be received from Council, in accordance with OKM policy. The OKM shall pay the councillor a salary of R6800 per month as remuneration in order to allow the councillor to cover her basic needs and to carry out her duties effectively. The councillor will be entitled to receive all other benefits and perks she receives as councillor (a pension, telephone allowance, travel allowance) unless deemed not to be in the interests of OKM or in line with OKM policy" (Operation Khanyisa Movement Contract distributed at the OKM Strategic Planning Session 02/09/2012).

The remuneration amount received by the councillor plays a key role in how she performs her duties. The official salary received by councillors in the City of Johannesburg amounts to R21 000 per month in 2012. This salary affords many previously un- or under-employed community activists with access to resources, which elevate their status in communities. Few councillors leave their communities, as this would have a direct impact on support from their constituencies; but many ward councillors purchase cars and are provided by the city with key electronic equipment. These resources then differentiate councillors in impoverished areas from their constituencies. The OKM' structure ensures that this does not occur, much of the thinking is that if the councillors and constituencies concerns remain the same the councillor is more likely to bring them to the forefront. It also highlights the fact that councillors are employed as representatives and therefore their salary is collated from taxes that people pay.

Moreover, the use of the councillor's salary as a direct mechanism to sustain the work of OKM and to a smaller extent the TCC and SECC has been particularly important in sustaining the organisation as a whole, these resources allow for the organisation to canvass, to belong to and participate in wider umbrella movements such as the DLF as well provide support to other networks such as the Informal settlement network. These resources have also caused tension between the TCC and SECC. Consistent debates over whether particular events will benefit the OKM and are within its mandate are discussed in OKM Local Government (LG) Meetings held on a weekly basis (described below).

The handling of these resources is another mechanism of the functioning of the OKM. OKM members for a variety of different activities use the resources gained, the councillor's PA receives a stipend for his or her work, travel expenses for attending weekly local government meetings, resources required to host and attend workshops, meetings and protests. The upcoming expenses are discussed in LG meetings where decisions are made about the rationale for the expense. The boundary between expenses for the OKM versus expenses for the SECC and TCC is sometimes difficult to distinguish. The SECC has access to donor funding and is therefore better resourced than the TCC. This sometimes results in rigorous debate about how the funding is used, yet in all meetings that I attended the debates were resolved by focusing on what the goals of the OKM is and how best to serve them. Ngwane indicated that tension around resources is an inherent part of grassroots movements particularly as individuals are often impoverished. Tension around resource allocation occurred in the formation of the OKM as well as with a previous PA from Thembelihle.

The OKM ensures that there is a competent and accountable treasurer, so as to ensure that issues of resource allocation do not impact the movement as a whole.

The right of recall is additionally a key control mechanism over the councillor, as indicated by the recall of the first OKM councillor Joyce Mkhonza. The contract has since been tightened through the assistance of legal representatives,

> "2.5 It is solely in the discretion of the OKM to appoint a councilor, to end the position of a councilor, to limit the period of appointment of a councilor, and to rotate the service of a councilor with other councilors, to follow any criteria, orders or sequence or preference as to the order of appointment for its councilors, provided same is fair, just and reasonable, to the extent consistent with the provisions of the

> constitution, rules and regulations and directives of OKM…" (Operation Khanyisa Movement Contract distributed at the OKM Strategic Planning Session 02/09/2012).

The OKM holds weekly Local Government (LG) meetings on Thursdays at the City of Johannesburg. These meetings usually take place from 11am until 3pm and are attended by the LG team, which consists of members from SECC and TCC executive structures as well as general members (the attendees and leadership structure of the OKM is explored in chapter 6). The OKM makes use of the resources available at the City of Johannesburg to hold the meetings in a neutral space that is easily accessible to SECC and TCC members who form part of the LG team. The meetings are used to discuss both the everyday functioning and strategic decisions of the OKM. It is at these meetings that the challenges within OKM and the OKM structures arise. The meetings follow the same agenda on a weekly basis as indicated below:

OKM LG Team Weekly Meeting Agenda

1. Opening and Welcome
2. Apologies
3. Political discussion
4. Minutes and Matters arising
5. Reports
6. Correspondence and Announcement
7. Councillor's Schedule
8. Closure

These meetings form the primary strategic space where the councillor's mandate is discussed. The agenda that will be presented at the monthly council meeting is discussed, as well as the councillor's input at the monthly sitting of the Johannesburg city council.

I will digress somewhat from the theme of accountability to provide what I think is an important discussion. The Local Government meetings are not spaces where the councillor's mandate is discussed, it is space where the collision of the two social movements happen and where conflict arises. The two main contentions in the local government meetings are:

1.) Commitment through attendance of meetings
2.) Resources

These two elements are largely interlinked. The issues have resulted in tension between the TCC and SECC. Trevor Ngwane summarises the issue as follows,

> "Even with Thembelihle even to this day we do have that problem, poor attendance. I am not saying that problem is not there with SECC, but you know we better in that respect. You know we do have problems, we discipline people, not that we reprimand we talk about these things" (Interview with Ngwane 30/11/2012).

The issue of poor attendance and lack of commitment has largely revolved around the TCC's inability to offer OKM a consistent, reliable and competent treasurer. At present the SECC treasurer serves as OKM treasurer as will be explored below. The issue of commitment and resources in the meetings I attended centred on the personal assistant to Councillor Zwane.

The personal assistant (PA) was until October 2012 the youth representative from the TCC. He missed multiple OKM LG meetings and his lack of attendance came to head at the LG meeting on 18th of October 2012. The chairperson and OKM leader Solly Nthutang raised the issue with a very firm hand indicating that the OKM has very strict procedures regarding lack of attendance and that the PA had not attended more than the four meetings in a row and should therefore be dismissed. The PA announced that he had not attended because he had multiple issues at home, many of them in terms of finding work so as to support his family. Councillor Zwane defended her PA indicating that the TCC had mandated that he be a part of the LG meeting and therefore only the TCC could decide if he would be dismissed from the LG meetings. A heated argument ensued over who has the right to dismiss the PA from his position. As it was an OKM position the chairperson argued that the OKM had the right to dismiss him. This resulted in the PA accepting that he would resign by saying,

> "I am a bread winner, I'm living with four people. I send one child to crèche, one child to school and I must survive on a daily basis. So I don't feel sorry for not always making OKM my number one. I will resign with immediate effect from the position of PA of the OKM and will submit my resignation letter next week Thursday" (paraphrased OKM PA 18/10/2012).

Despite the resources available to the OKM through the councillor's salary and the fact that PA receives a small stipend, resources remain a problem for members of the OKM. This is particularly pertinent in the case of those from Thembelihle; the contexts of Thembelihle and Soweto are different and the levels of poverty different. Most of the members from the SECC live in formal housing and with primary concerns around issues of the high-privatised costs of water and electricity.

While members of the TCC live in informal housing; without access to security of tenure and housing and on the whole are poorer resourced. This is further differentiated through the international funding available to the SECC, which allows for its executive to receive monthly stipends. In a sense then some SECC members are paid for their involvement in SECC and then by default in OKM, this availability of resources makes it easier for SECC members to regularly attend OKM meetings. Furthermore SECC members who form part of the OKM LG team are for the most part considerably older than those from TCC. This age difference is often experienced in a different family structure. The older members often have grown up children who no longer require the same resources in terms of both time and money.

When I attended a SECC meeting on the 6th of November 2012, the issue over who had jurisdiction to dismiss the PA was again discussed with Councillor Zwane arguing that the OKM had in fact over stepped their territory in what should have been a TCC decision. Such conflicts are a part of the functioning of the OKM given its structure that it is made up of two social movements that have come together to form an electoral front.

Siphiwe Segodi and Bayiza Miya look internally to the TCC and concerns over a lack of commitment in the organisation. While Ngwane sees conflict as a normal part of organisations and people working together particularly when there are resources involved,

> "It's really two autonomous organisations (TCC and SECC), but this becomes complicated when there is a councillor and money everything…but remember there is

> a bit of confusion… in two things in use of the money and mandate. So comrades sometimes are not clear you know where does the power lie, who must decide things. Which is to be expected, you know two organisations, but comrades are sometimes not clear for their own interest so it's a political game; they pretend they don't know or they just create their own law. You know what I mean, you don't know what power does to people, it's not like the bourgeois, ordinary people a little power (Laughs)" (Interview with Ngwane 30/11/2012).

These issues are not inherent to an electoral front and are present also in social movements; they can impact the sustainability, growth and development of a social movement. In my opinion the tensions in OKM are very real and threatening, but they are also handled, debated, deliberated and perhaps silenced for the good of the political party by a strong group of leaders who have a wider view of the party. A study into the internal democratic process of the OKM in the vein of those conducted on the SECC (Skuse, 2011 and Wafer, 2005) would be interesting but is beyond the scope of this paper. What is important is that to some extent the internal conflicts and processes are understood, as this impacts the functioning of the OKM.

6.4) Council Chamber

The final method used by the OKM to ensure that the councillor is accountable to her constituency is the use of the public gallery at the City of Johannesburg. As indicated in the diagram below the council chamber possesses a small seating area for the media or general public. During monthly council chamber meetings several representatives from the OKM LG will attend. Their role is to observe the councillor's behaviour and to ensure that if the councillor speaks she is accurately representing her constituency's mandate. The public box is also used to bring various members of both the Thembelihle and Soweto communities to chamber so that they may gain a better understanding of local government systems as well the role of the ward and PR councillor. This tactic is often used to demonstrate the lack of agency demonstrated by the ward councillors, when members of the public attend the meetings, they are able to recognise that the ward councillor's primary role (particularly ANC and DA Councillors) is to vote with their party on key decisions that have been made.

What Zwane indicates is true many ANC Councillors show a disregard for their role, they sleep, frequently move in and out of council chamber to collect food or answer their phones for the duration of very long council chamber meetings. I watched Councillor Zwane in council chambers her face very serious with concentration, sitting alone among the independents. Despite the strength she displays at the LG meetings, at TCC meetings, at SECC meetings and other public events she appears incredibly vulnerable andsits in rapt attention focusing on the agenda set out before her. Despite the call for the power of the voice and the impact that I will argue it has the ability to have; I myself never heard council Zwane's voice in the council chamber in the three or four meetings I attend. The technical agenda about specific road names and budget allocations appears to be a fierce debate between MMC, long standing ANC councillors and the stronger i-Pad equipped members of the DA[30]. Councillor Zwane can only speak if she has a pertinent point to add to a specific item on the agenda and will request to be added to the agenda and allocated a small amount of time in keeping with the size of her constituency.

This is expressed by Councillor Zwane when she states,

> "Even if its month of the council chamber, ya the last Thursday of the month; we hire a taxi from here sometimes we take them there to go and see what there councillors are doing there, because it is even worst now because they are starting to compare the councillor of OKM and the ANC Councillor because I always raise the issues there and she is just saying nothing. There is a lot of transparency there. Before when I was outside not being a councillor I thought the councillor representing us in the council chamber, but since I was there I learnt that that's not true, I learnt that they are there, especially the ANC councillors they are there just to vote out the amendment whether they are good or bad as long as they are not from the ANC side, then they have to vote that amendment out. So today I know they are there just to vote…" (Interview with Zwane 16/07/2012).

[30] In the meetings I attend the same councilors are the ones who debate the issues, with elaborate historical speeches made to ridicule other parties. There are many councilors who voice I never hear.

Councillor Zwane, under the strict control of the OKM, operates in very different circumstances from those of her fellow councillors. These conditions are challenging particularly when compared with fellow councillors. They also demonstrate the type of leaders required to act as OKM councillors. The difficulties of being an OKM councillor are perhaps made more acute in her position in council in the City of Johannesburg. The diagram below provides an indication of the council environment:

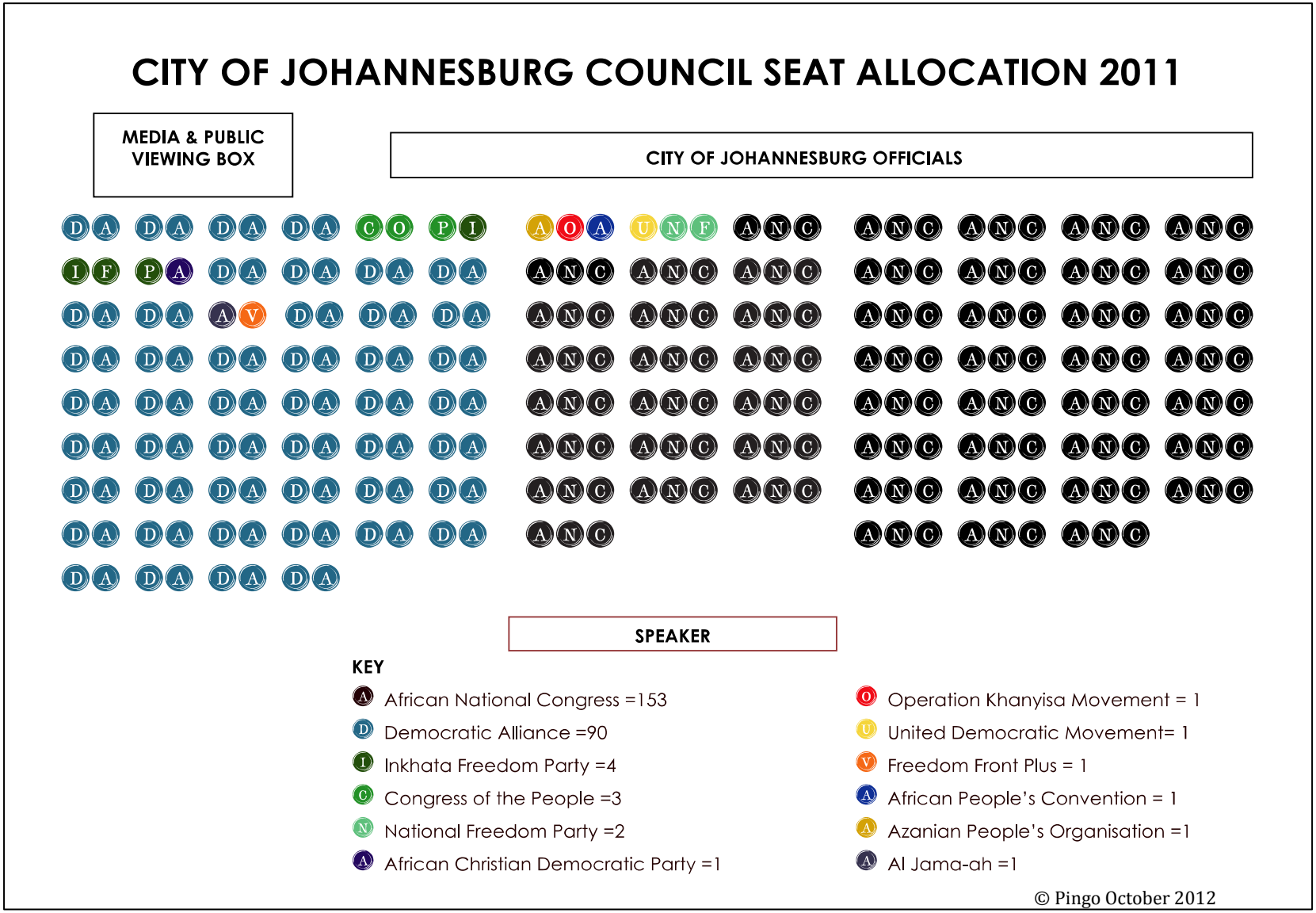


Figure 10 Johannesburg City Council Seat Allocation (as elected in the 2011 local government elections)

The above diagram demonstrates clearly the dominance of the ANC and DA in the Johannesburg city council with all other parties having very small representation in the city. This makes it impossible for small parties to vote on decisions taken in the council chamber, Councillor Zwane does not vote in chamber but rather utilises the small opportunities provided to her to speak out from the perspective of the poor on issues brought forward on the agenda. Councillor Zwane describes her experience in council as follows,

> "To tell you the truth it's stress, why I am saying so because I'm the only councillor from Operation Khanyisa Movement there. Like ANC has got about 150 councillor, DA about 90, 95 councillors. I cannot vote in the chamber because it is only going to be my vote... And then another thing, it's when I disagree with the item, the amendments that they put on the table, they howl at me. They say this one she's mad sort of thing, so it's a challenge. But for those months since I was elected 2011 until now so I am used to that if I have something to say I just stand up proudly, because I am representing my party. And it has been worst now representing my political party because I am the only councillor there. I'm a councillor and the chief whip and I have to be strong and I am very proud because I can raise issues those communities they don't want, I can raise things like that. Whether they howl at me or what I can know that they hear what I am saying and that they are going to write down everything that I am saying. Councillor Zwane doesn't agree with that item so that make me more strong" (Interview with Councillor Zwane 16/07/2012).

The challenges of being the OKM councillor extends beyond the stringent conditions laid out by the OKM. The councillor additionally deals with the challenges of being the only OKM representative in council chamber and balances this work with being the voice for the OKM constituencies both Thembelihle and Soweto.

Councillor Zwane' schedule provides further insight into the different activities the councillor is involved in. Below is a schedule from November 2012 highlighting the councillor's activities. Councillor Zwane provided an indication of her activities for the month, by exploring her official duties as OKM councillor, in between these activities, Zwane will often be meeting with community members or TCC members in organising or hearing specific concerns; additionally Zwane is mother two children, her youngest only 2 years old so she ensures that she spends time with them. November is provided as an example as it is indicative of the more general activities completed by the councillor. The previous months (August-October) were largely concentrated on assisting with the Marikana solidarity campaign.

November 2012

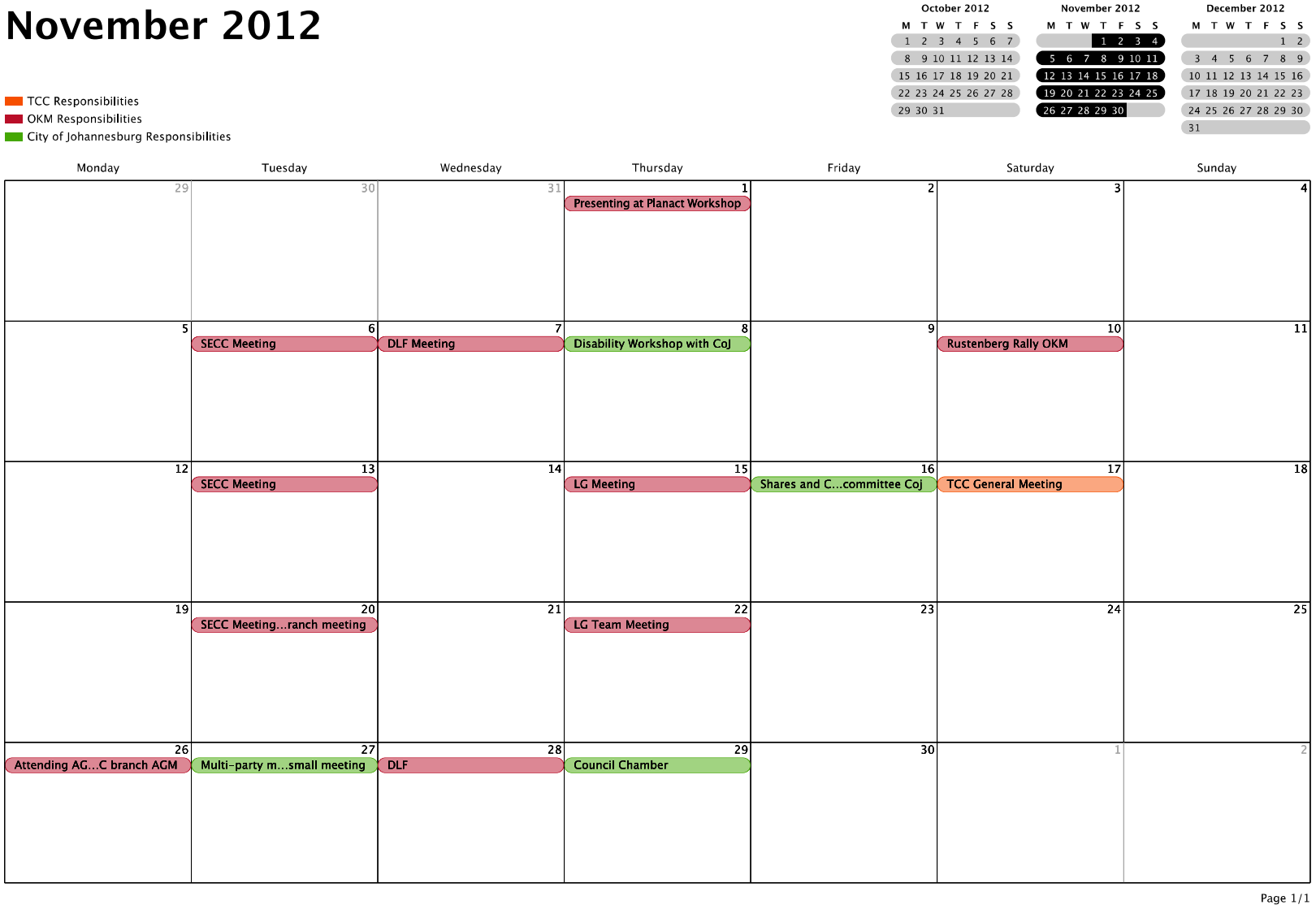


Figure 11 Councillor Zwane's November 2012 Schedule

Councillor Zwane's schedule is very interesting it demonstrates that her activities comprise primarily of activities required by the OKM, these include attending weekly local government meeting on Thursdays. The councillor also attends at least one meeting per month for the section 79 committees on which she sits. The schedule indicates that councillor Zwane spends the majority of her time on OKM activities with limited pressures on her time to attend formal council meetings. To provide further depth to the schedule provided above it may be useful to provide a brief description of a day in the life of councillor Zwane. The day is fiction, however, it is based largely on the impressions I gained both from spending time with the councillor.

> First thing in the morning, Simphiwe Zwane will prepare her children for school, ensuring that they receive breakfast and lunch is prepared for them to take with them. She will then walk young Minky to crèche. She will then do some of the household washing and cleaning before preparing herself to attend a section 79 meeting. Once suitably dressed she will walk to the taxi rank in Thembelihle (Park Station) where she will catch a taxi to town, where at times she will have matters to attend to such as family errands. She will then walk to the CoJ offices and attend the section 79 meeting. After which she will spend time in her CoJ office; making calls to attend or arrange community meetings, making photocopies for the TCC, SECC and OKM for key events. In the afternoon she will walk down to Wits University to participate in the weekly DLF meetings which will finish at around 6pm. After which she will join the queues of those waiting for taxis to Thembelihle and make her way home to take care of her partner and children.

Councillor Zwane divides her time between family life, life as a PR ward councillor and life as an activist in a social movement. Zwane's primary commitment appears to be her commitments to TCC and OKM and she spends a vast amount of time in engaging in meetings. It is important to note that while the schedule and indeed the description of the days may be sparse, many of these engagements run over several hours. The OKM LG meetings begin at 11am on Thursdays and seldom finish before 3pm; while monthly council chamber meetings are usually between 2pm-6pm; this is true also of TCC engagements where weekly Saturday meetings beginning at 11am will run to 2pm. The length of these various engagements are indicative of either the formal procedures (CoJ related activities) or the rigorous debates and discussions that take place at these meetings.

Furthermore Zwane's schedule highlights the space she occupies between three key points as illustrated in the diagram below:

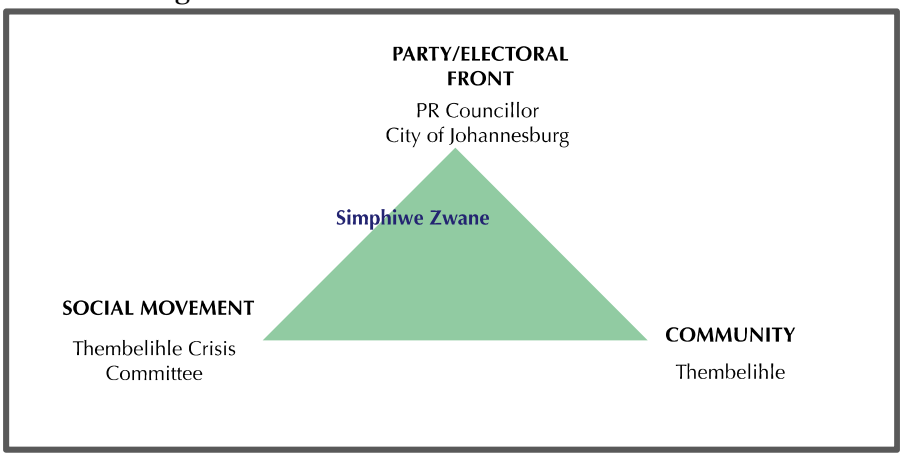


Figure 12 Simphiwe Zwane's Positionality

Zwane is positioned most closely to the OKM as that is currently her primary role as a community activist. Zwane does not necessarily have a leadership role in Thembelihle and the Thembelihle Crisis Committee. Zwane has remained a key activist in the TCC although her role is often supportive. In the meetings I attend Zwane plays quite a gendered role: she is in charge of cooking, arranging food as well as ensuring that the space is prepared. I think some of this role has been assumed largely because of Zwane's relationship with her partner and previous chairperson and key leader of the TCC, Siphiwe Segodi. The TCC and OKM remain acutely aware of the role of women in the electoral front. All three elected PR councillors have been women, so part of the gendered role assumed by Zwane is possibly self-imposed through her relationship with Segodi. This ability for Zwane to take a leadership role in TCC is largely limited because of Segodi's fear of nepotism. Zwane was elected councillor when Segodi was absent from a meeting, when he hears that other members of the TCC who have faith in Zwane's strength have elected her he calls her and voices concern that there will be problems with assumption that Zwane was elected through her connection to him. It is this fear of privileging Zwane in TCC that ensures that Zwane remains in the background. Zwane describes how Segodi treats her in TCC meetings largely because he is a very fair person, who would avoid any favouring his partner at all costs,

> "We even fight in the meeting it is even a problem to be in the same political party or same structure. Maybe we argue a thing here (at their home in Thembelihle) at night, then tomorrow there is a meeting, then in the meeting, then somebody raises that thing. Now it is even better he is no longer the chairperson, he is the spokesperson of the TCC. As a chairperson I will be raising my hand, he won't say nothing, I will be raising my hand then he will say you comrade, you comrade, you comrade and you comrade, they speak. I keep No, I'm dealing with this matter now. But I raise my hand before those people! (Laughs)" (Interview with Councillor Zwane 06/11/2012).

The incident is humorous but has underlies a real challenge in Simphiwe Zwane asserting her power in the Thembelihle community, a power that was nonetheless recognised when she was selected as the TCC representative to act as the OKM councillor. Her strength as a backbone to the TCC has lead to her position as PR councillor.

A key forum which council Zwane engages is the section 79 committees. Councillor Zwane sits on the Housing Committee and on Shares and Cooperatives. Her role in the section 79 committee for housing is only on a part time basis and it has to be shared with other small parties in council. This presents a challenge as larger political parties would have one or a few councillors and or PR councillors on each committee. These committees are the key spaces of participation for ward councillors in local government. Ward councillors, MMCs and City of Johannesburg officials attend the committees, they represent a space where bureaucratic and political concerns meet. It is at these committees that policy and decisions are debated. However, the debates often reach an end point as the city operates according to ANC policy, so there is little space to influence decision-making to make any changes as indicated by Zwane,

> “So people are having hope on me, but as TCC we are keep on telling them the truth. That the councillor from OKM is not going to change anything, but she can say something. And maybe by doing so, things can change, but not if they want to want to change things, not if the councillor wants to change things. I remember we were debating about the issue of hiring those with disabilities, then the other councillor says, "But why can't we change this?" Then the other one says, "No we cannot change this because this is our, the ANC councillor, this is our policy". Then she started saying this means, "It's useless for us to come and sit in the section 79 committee, whereas there is nothing we can do there is nothing we can change." Then we starting saying the other councillors DA and me as OKM "Change the policy, from the ANC, go inside the conference where you are and tell them to change the policy; so that it will favour us, even you" (Interview with Councillor Zwane 16/07/2012).

The role of smaller political parties in section 79 committees also creates tension between these parties as they are grouped together despite ideological differences and expected to negotiate representation on different section 79 committees as well as allocated resources. Zwane has also on numerous occasions pointed to the fearful way in which the other smaller party representatives act in relation to the dominant parties in council. Therefore the space that these small parties including OKM occupy in local council is severely limited.

6.5) Conclusion

This chapter has shared insights into the structure and functioning of the OKM, it explored the shifts from social movement to electoral front. The OKM continues to function largely as a social movement but with strict measures of control. These measures have been put in place to ensure accountability to the OKM constituency, a challenge many communities have faced with their ward councillors. This is largely due to the lack of power of local councillors to impact decision-making. The chapter hoped to shed light on some of the challenges faced in the transition from social movement to electoral front.

Chapter 7- The Growth and Development of the Operation Khanyisa Movement

7.1) Introduction

This chapter will examine the effect of the OKM's second term in the City of Johannesburg on the electoral front itself. The complex nature of the political context in which Zwane operates makes it challenging to isolate her effects on the electoral front as opposed to the growth and development of the electoral front more broadly. This section will also serve to highlight some of the challenges faced by the OKM as it continues to develop, which speaks more widely to the limitations of the OKM in local governance.

The chapter aims to shed light on the complexities of the particular ideological socialist stance of the OKM and its participation in a 'capitalist, neo-liberal' system. This leads to macro-political questions of the economic system and its impact on the poor, which is beyond the scope of this paper. However the questions that are brought to the fore are important, as they will have an impact on the growth and development of the OKM and its current ideological and structural stance.

The chapter will then look at contestations between political ideology and practical service delivery. This contestation is not unique to the OKM, rather it is a complex problem shared by political parties on a global scale. This does however pose a challenge to the OKM as its limited ability to influence "materiality" or "issues" and its reliance on its ideological stance presents a challenge to grow a constituency that is seeking an alternative to meet its (very material) needs. This is key in understanding the movement's impact on the affiliates' immediate environment and its overall pro-poor agenda. In order for the OKM to be effective it must be connected by both a larger ideological stance, which brings multiple working class struggles together, yet at the same time it must be able to operate at a local scale so as to build its constituency. The effect of the PR Councillor on maintaining this balance is key to the growth and development or of the front and will be explored below.

Furthermore the expansion of the OKM through the ward committee system will be explored as a critical question of how this avenue can be utilised to expand the role of OKM in impacting decision-making for the development of Thembelihle. Lastly the links to wider political networks will be explored through the events of Marikana in August 2012.

These themes may be understood as challenges to the growth of the Operation Khanyisa movement both in a positive and negative sense. These are important aspects of the functioning of the OKM and will impact on its future growth; these challenges also speak more broadly to the challenges that could be faced by social movements choosing to enter the institutionalised space of local government.

7.2) Growth in the Operation Khanyisa Movement

The "growth" of OKM as a political party may be conceived of in a variety of ways - both quantitative and qualitative measures are important at this juncture. The analysis of quantitative data indicative of growth in OKM constituency numbers will be explored firstly and then other qualitative indicators of growth, including the election of a ward committee member under the OKM in ward 8 and the interprovincial awareness of the OKM through Marikana mobilisation will be explored.

Quantitative data for each ward where votes for the OKM were recorded is beyond the scope required for this paper, as there are multiple wards across Soweto and in 2006 additionally in Wynberg and Kliptown that would need to be included. Rather the voter numbers for ward 8, where Thembelihle is situated will be compared to understand the quantitative growth of the OKM there. Wider municipal votes are then compared to have a more comprehensive understanding of quantitative growth of the OKM in general, with regard to allocation of a PR seat in the City of Johannesburg. The illustrations below provide an indication of the 2006 and 2011 ward 8 election results, results for the ANC and DA are provided as the two political parties with the largest percentages of votes in the ward.

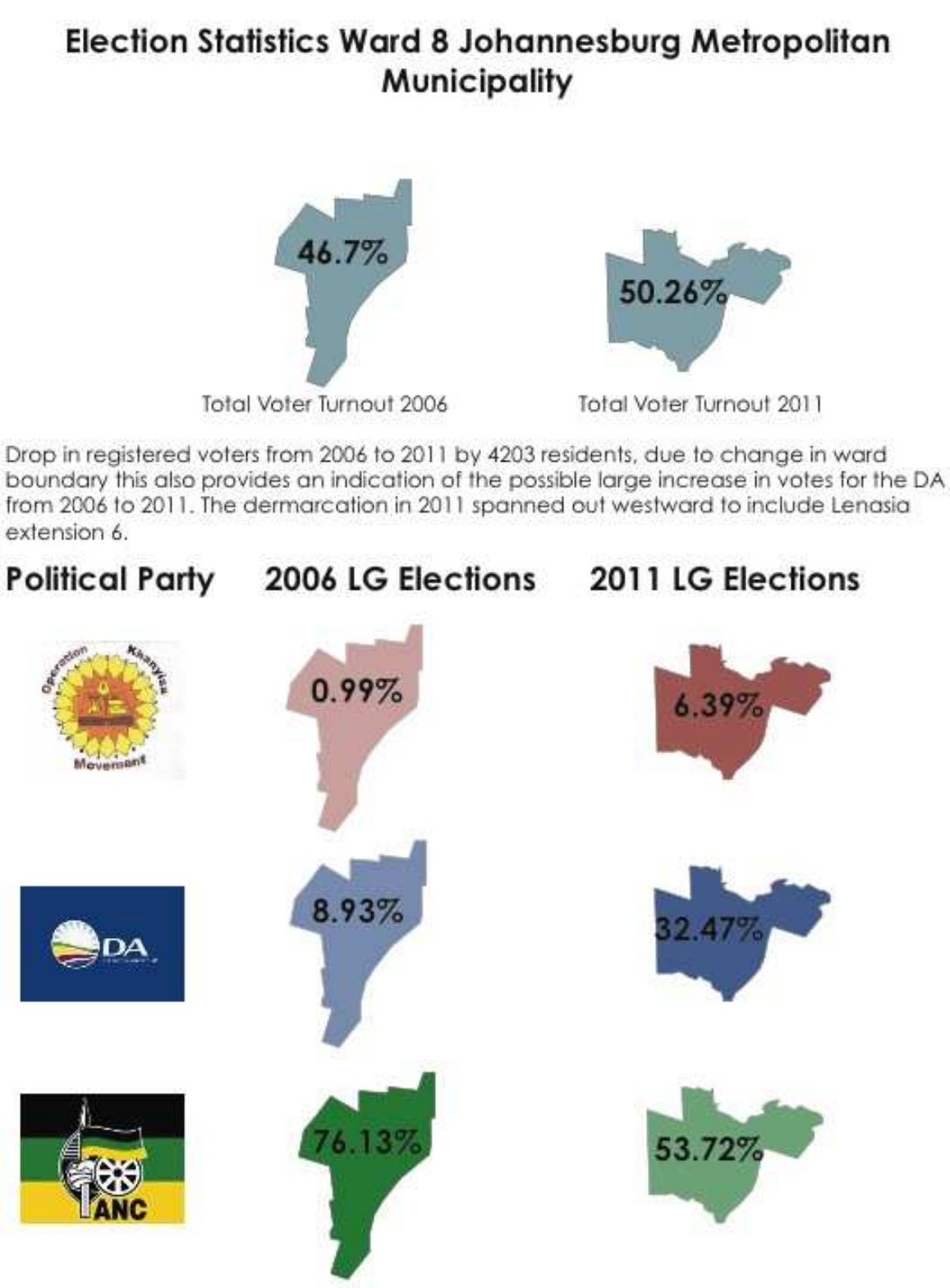


Figure 13 Ward 8 Election Results Comparative 2006 and 2011 (Data from electons.org.za, designed by Pingo October 2012)

With reference to the above figures, there has been a large increase in the amounts of votes garnered for the OKM between 2006 and 2011 in ward 8. A more detailed breakdown of the votes garnered for OKM in ward 8 by voting station indicates interesting trends. (Data collected from www.elections.org.za)

	Voting Station	Total Number of OKM Votes (Ward and PR	Total Number of ANC Votes	Total Number of DA Votes
2006	32860469 Zakaria Park Community Hall	2	866	202
	32860694 Apex Primary School	13	745	580
	32860706 Rietfontein Training Centre	1	441	216
	32860740 Olifantsvlei Primary School	0	63	3
	32862450 Qalabotjha Secondary School	0	2165	55
	32862641 Thembelihle Community Centre	58	1947	57
	32862652 Sharicrest Primary School	75	696	239
	32862663 Temporary Voting Station (Thembelihle D Section Play ground	11	1520	32
	32862876 Inkululeko Yesizwe Primary School	1	1361	23
	32862977 Bana-Bokamoso Daycare	3	2677	70
	32863046 Bushkoppies Hostel Community Hall	0	159	5
	Total	**164**	**12640**	**1464**
2011	32860672 M.H Joosub Technical Training School	0	682	1859
	32860694 Apex Primary School	74	778	1055
	32862483 Lawley Community Centre	12	1930	99
	32862641 Thembelihle Community Centre	410	1717	458
	32862652 Sharicrest Primary School	159	644	473
	32862663 Temporary Voting Station (Thembelihle D Section Play ground)	133	1433	513
	32863125 Precast Informal Settlement	5	338	77
	Total	**798**	**7522**	**4457**

The residents around the Thembelihle community centre continues to be the largest constituency for the OKM, with another smaller but substantial voting station on the Eastern side of Thembelilhle. This is interesting as the ANC Ward Councillor Ndarala indicated that OKM has support in certain sections of Thembelihle (eastern side), with the ANC retaining support in the other sections. The growth in DA support can be attributed to the demarcation of the ward boundary, which in 2011 critically included larger parts of Lenasia ext 9 and excluded a number of ANC strongholds.

The wider Johannesburg context provides an indication of the difference in votes between 2006 and 2011.

2006 OKM City of Johannesburg Seat Calculation Results

Party Name	Total Valid Votes	% Votes	Total Seats	Ward Seats	PR List Seats	% Seats Won
Operation Khanyisa Movement	4305	0.31%	1	0	1	0.46%

2011 OKM City of Johannesburg Seat Calculation Results

Party Name	Total Valid Votes	Total Valid Votes/ Quota	Total Party Seats
Operation Khanyisa Movement	4423	0.53	1

(Data for above two tables www.elections.org.za)

In 2006, ward 8, which includes Thembelihle provided 3,8% of the total votes towards the PR seat held by Zodwa Madiba. The OKM deploys councillors at their discretion and had decided on a rotation basis rather than allocating the seat to the ward with the largest number of votes. In 2011 ward 8, Thembelihle managed to secure 20,2% of the total OKM vote. The remaining proportion of the votes comes from various wards in Soweto.

The very insignificant rise of total valid votes received by the OKM in 2011 in Johannesburg (from 4300 to 4420), may still indicate a rise in voters in Soweto and Thembelihle and a decrease in voters in Kliptown, Motsweledi and Wynberg, which in 2006 formed part of campaigning for the OKM. Through an analysis of quantitative data in local government elections since 2006, it is apparent that although the OKM did not show significant growth in terms of overall growth across the City of Johannesburg, there has been growth in Thembelihle.

Linked to the quantitative growth in the OKM constituencies in Soweto and Thembelihle are some understanding of what the OKM offers these constituencies. This is imperative to the growth of the movement as well as to gain a better understanding of the challenges to growth faced by the OKM.

This dichotomy of focusing on ideological spread of the movement versus a focus on advancing material needs of the OKM's constituency presents a major challenge. This dichotomy is worth exploring to better understand both the present functioning and future expansion of the movement.

The TCC and OKM have had some measures of success in terms of improving living conditions, ensuring accountability in terms of housing processes as well as ensuring that the correct procedures are followed in determining dolomitic geotechnical conditions. Yet as has been explored to a large degree in this paper the ability of councillor Zwane, or the wider TCC/OKM to have an impact on decision-making in terms of shaping the city is very limited. The current city council system does not allow the OKM councillor to vote in council due to the large majorities parties, which make party decisions regarding city planning.This presents a challenge to the growth and development of the Operation Khanyisa Movement.

Larger political parties have the ability to impact on decisions made, not only through the large representation of councillors but also due to the access to various resources available to them. However, the primary OKM constituency is one that is in need of improved material conditions. How does the OKM therefore grow it constituency without the ability to have a major direct impact on their living conditions? The only immediate material assistance offered by the OKM is the ability to reconnect water and electricity connections or assist with establishing the electricity connections. OKM is used here to indicate that this material assistance is offered by both the TCC and the SECC often under the banner of the OKM. However, these activities have been a part of the social movements activities before the formation of OKM. This work forms part of the larger ideological stance of anti-privatisation as an integral aspect of a larger socialist agenda. It is important to note that the OKM constituency is not a membership of constituency per se but rather members of the two social movements. This point is interesting because it provides insight into the way in which OKM continues to operate largely as a social movement, despite its space in local government which offers little space for actively influencing the material reality of its constituency.

Added to this conundrum is whether the OKM constituency has both an understanding of socialism as an ideology and supports this larger ideological stance. Key leaders of the OKM acknowledge that socialism is not necessarily understood and supported by all members of the OKM, but various attempts to school these members in socialism takes place on regular basis, primarily provided by Trevor Ngwane through political school at all SECC executive meetings and at OKM LG meetings. Trevor sums up the approach to attempting to meet the material needs of the constituency and the wider socialist agenda.

> "With OKM the basis of the political support is the material thing, but OKM is trying to almost conscientize people so that their commitment goes beyond the bread and butter into a political commitment into a more long term deeper understanding and commitment… He must come to the OKM wanting a house and leave wanting socialism, even if it isn't socialism the need to change society fundamentally" (Interview with Trevor Ngwane 30/11/2012).

Another key ideological space occupied by the OKM is its role as opposition to the ANC. This oppositional space differs greatly from the space of the primarily white post-apartheid oppositional politics explored by Giliomee, Myburgh and Schlemmer (2001) as the OKM links and connections to the ANC are much more complex. The TCC functions as a community based organisation and therefore attempts to act as a non-political space where multiple political interests are welcome, yet at the same time campaigns for the growth of OKM under the TCC. In focus groups discussions[31] DA members indicated that one of the strengths of the TCC, was its ability to allow members to keep their political allegiance, as the TCC was recognised as a community rather than a strictly political organisation. This is a challenge for the TCC going forward and perhaps what is required is the growth of the OKM as an oppositional space. Trevor Ngwane describes this oppositional space as follows,

> "Many of us are ANC actually, I was ANC and my father was ANC, my grandfather was ANC you know what I mean. And me I am not happy when the ANC fights, ok I knew it was going to happen but it not something I celebrate…so there is that attachment emotionally. You know the behaviourists would call it irrational but human beings are emotional beings. There is also hope, the ANC gave a lot of hope or is it associated with hoping for something better… the ANC symbolised that unity that future. So when you reject something that is associated with hope, people don't want to lose hope.
>
> One example I want to give is when you go to these granny's in the OKM, you must ask them where is your ANC Women's league uniform, they didn't burn it, what the old lady did is she ironed it, she packed it she put it down somewhere far down under the bed, but they don't burn it because that would be burning their hope.
>
> Others to improve the ANC, others to punish them…we vote for the DA to punish them, to embarrass them, to expose them, your own people are voting for the whites" (Interview with Trevor Ngwane 30/11/2012).

The contradiction of the simultaneous struggle against and allegiance to the ANC has been explored by Matlala and Benit-Gbaffou (2012) with regard to ANC branch structures. However the OKM presents a shift in moving beyond these dual allegiances towards party politics outside of the confines of the ANC. In TCC meetings the OKM banner is present and the working of OKM are discussed, however in a focus group discussion with general members of the TCC, the fact that ANC and DA members can still form a part of the community through TCC was indicated to be largely positive. Focus group members indicated that for some the TCC stood as a community organisation and for others a social movement and electoral front. At present the TCC appears to hold this dichotomy and are able to play multiple roles, however as the OKM grows and with shifts in leadership and individual leadership allegiances, this may have a large impact on the growth of the movement.

[31]Focus Group interviews conducted as part of research on participation in informal settlement upgrading for Planact.

7.3) Ward Committee as a mechanism to grow representation

On the success of the election of an OKM PR councillor from Thembelihle, the OKM and TCC decided that it would put forward key candidates for the ward committee in ward 8 in 2012. The Thembelihle Crisis Committee through the electoral front of the OKM advanced 8 candidates in the ward committee elections in February 2012. The campaign pamphlet illustrates the candidates put forward by the OKM.

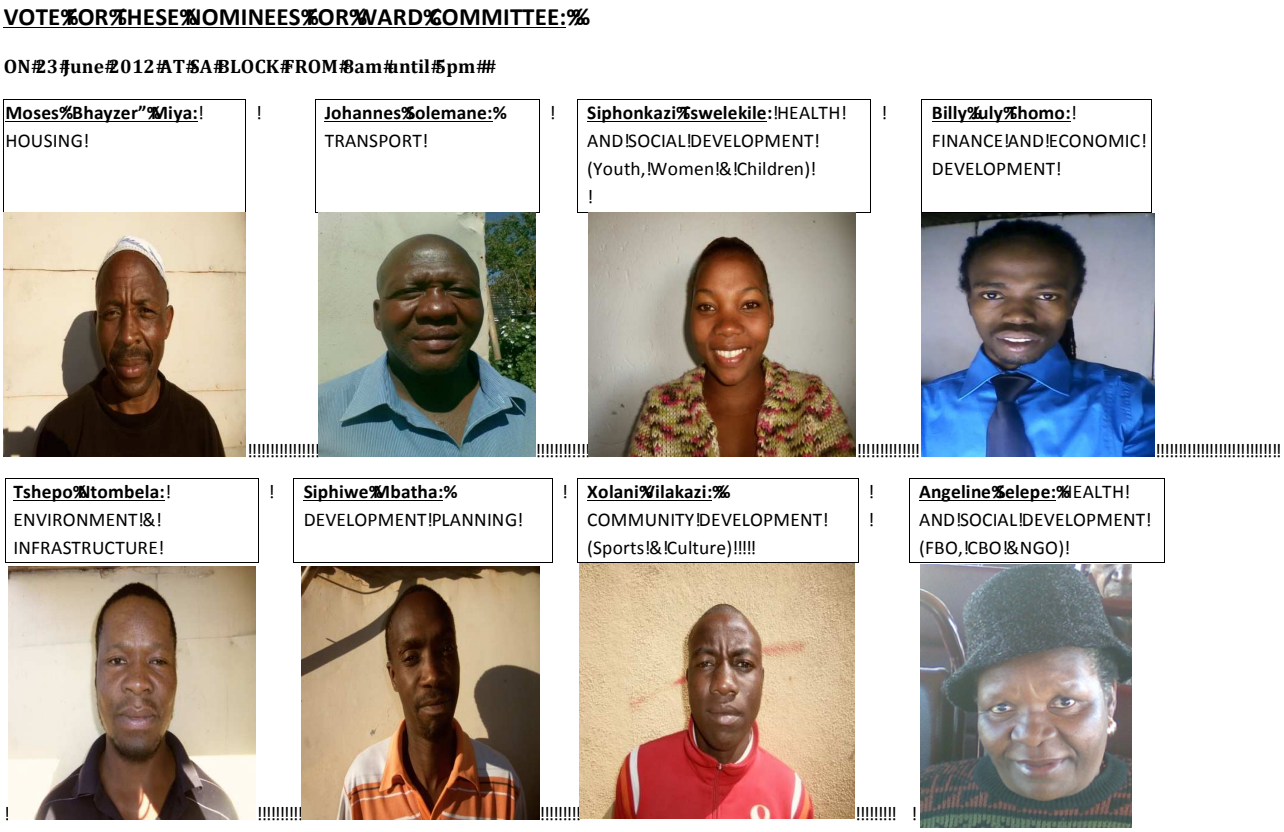


Figure 14 Poster created by TCC/OKM for 2012 Ward Committee elections

The process was complex with the unavailability of key information about how to participate in the process. Despite numerous challenges Bayiza Miya, long serving organiser of the TCC was elected as a ward committee member under the housing portfolio. This ensured that he had to work in cooperation with ward councillor and the city at large, particularly with regard to the relocation of residents from Thembelihle to Lehae. Despite the TCC ideological stance against relocation, Biyiza Miya found himself as part of the relocation process and cooperated by attending meetings and assisting in verifying that the 46 Thembelihle residents are the housing allocation lists are eligible for relocation. The process according to Miya was fraught with inconsistencies and delays. Delays, which caused 46 angry residents to continually contact Miya as the ward committee member charged with housing.

After months and building tension, Miya never one to remain inactive took matters into his own hands. At 5am on the morning of the 1st of November 2012; Miya walked with the 46 residents that had been allocated housing to Lehae to claim their allocated houses.

Due to several delays with the process, the election took place in June 2012. According to Bayiza Miya the election of only one of those candidates was largely due to two factors. Internally there was a lack of campaign activity by the OKM in the two other informal settlements in the ward, Lawley and Precast. Externally there were several complications in the ward election system, such as listing three OKM candidates under one portfolio, therefore the candidates were competing against one another rather than for OKM ward committee representation in a variety of relevant portfolios. It is unclear whether the confusion created in the ward committee election process, is indicative of a lack of clarity from OKM, an incompetent administrative electoral process or a deliberate sabotage against the OKM. Bayiza Miza claims that it was deliberate sabotage against the OKM, as the date of registration was kept from community members, the election date changed twice and despite clearly indicating the different portfolios, as indicated on the poster, the ballot paper grouped various OKM candidates under the same portfolio.

Despite this, Bayiza Miya was elected to the ward committee under the housing committee. Miya is a long time community activist who served in TCC executive, as organiser for 8 years before stepping down at the 2012 AGM so as to allow new young comrades the opportunity to stand as leaders in the TCC. Miya is well known in Thembelihle, he had previously in 2006 as well as 2011 contested local government elections but has yet be selected by the OKM to act as the local government representative. His 2011 campaign posters read, "Vote for your Miya". Despite the success of being elected as a member of the ward committee and extending the OKM's reach within formal local government spaces, Miya encountered a number of issues,

> "When I went to first meeting, there were about 8 ANC comrades there, they had been co-opted into the committee which will lessen my power. I don't think that is right, is fair." (Miya, personal telephone conversation 20/09/2012)

The ability to co-opt people to ward committees by the ward councillor, is problematic as it enhances the ability for the ward councillor to garner support for their own political party. This does impact on a very practical ability to speak and shape decision making in ward committee meetings. The issue of the legitimacy of the ward councillors ability to invite key community members to the ward committee was contentious. On the 20th of September 2012, I received a phone call from Bayiza Miya, he had just as described above attended his first ward committee meeting, where several people who were not part of the ward committee election formed part of the meeting. Miya was enraged in what he understood to be a disruption of proper procedures. I called my then colleague Shumani Luruli from Planact who informed both Miya and I that a ward councillor can nominate additional members to the ward committee to ensure efficiently and effectiveness. Her advice to Miya was to find a way to co-operate rather than continually struggle as this may yield better results. However co-operation is not a concept that Miya finds particularly easy to do. This "co-opting" of ward committee members as well as the specific training undertaken by ward committee members feels like constraints to Miya.

> "We had this training they take us all talk about the rules, about how we are to obey the ward councillor and how our role as the ward committee is to support the ward councillor in everything she does. They then say that ward committee members will receive a R500 stipend a month and people start complaining saying add a zero to that or I won't attend meetings" (Miya, 01/11/2012- GLHSN workshop).

The politicisation of ward committees has been explored in local governance literature (Benit-Gbaffou, 2012; Piper &Deacon, 2006; Pillay, 2006) with many commentators exploring research which suggests that ward committees are conceived of as extensions of local branch politics with examples of one combined meeting for ward committee and local political branch. Piper and Deacon, whom highlight the importance of "multiple voices" in ward committees, demonstrate the effects of the extension of the ward committee as political party spaces when they state,

> "The more partisan ward committees are, the more their views will represent those of the local party, and hence it is the local party to which municipal leaders effectively account. If the local party is the same one that municipal leaders belong to then the changes of greater responsiveness is undermined. However, if the ward committee is colonised by a faction or party different from the one that municipal leaders belong to, then ward committees may facilitate more challenges to leadership. However, these challenges may be more about rival leaders contesting power, than the interests of local communities… Certainly, it is not the kind of 'constructive' accountability envisioned by legislation and policy, and it lacks the legitimacy offered by appeal to the community rather than the party" (Piper and Deacon, 2006:6).

It is precisely the complexity outlined by Piper and Deacon that Miya struggled with and was indicative of the shift from being a part of a social movement (TCC) and being a part of formal legislated local government structures (ward committee).

> "The constitution of the ward committee, it's a document that I would call unfair to the community and society. The community, if one reads, if one goes through that document, that paper it says I must be one the side of the ward councillor come what may whether they are doing wrong things or right things I should be on the side of the councillor. Yes so respecting the very same document that was given to me, but for me it was a challenge because I was not appointed I have been voted. My boss are the people who took the time to go and vote for me, so these officials they cannot do things that disadvantage the very same community that was told to go and vote" (Miya, 23/11/2012).

Miya utilised a strategy of thinking tactically when it is beneficial to fight against the ward committee system and when it is necessary to function within the system so as to achieve greater ends. Despite the short period that Miya has participated in ward committee he has already had an impact on housing allocation processes.

To ensure he is included is the key aspects of the issues of housing in his ward, Miya has consistently had to struggle to be involved in the process, tactics such as late invites for meetings and then change of meeting times without notifying him, have been utilised to keep Miya from being formally involved in all housing ward committee matters. Miya has had to bypass the ward councillor for access to information and contact the MMC of housing as well as key officials directly so that he is included in ward committee processes.

This type of persistence proved beneficial in terms of housing allocation process. As indicated in the background chapter Lehae has been identified as one of the relocation sites for residents of Thembelihle. This primarily Reconstruction and Development Programme housing development is located 2km from Thembelihle.

Some residents have been relocated to Lehae since 2007 (Planact Focus Group Lehae 16/06/2012). Traditionally the TCC have not been involved in the relocation process, as their focus has been in-situ informal settlement upgrading. In fact previous residents of Thembelihle currently residing in Lehae have indicated that there is some tension between the TCC and those having relocated. One gentleman shared that as a previously active member of the TCC, once he had been selected for relocation he was labelled as a "sell out" by various members of the TCC. However, with growing concerns over the housing allocation process in Lehae as well as various community members approaching the TCC with queries about the housing process, the TCC have become increasingly involved. The TCC have been increasingly attending housing allocation meetings with the City of Johannesburg. The relocation process therefore forms a large part of the role of the housing portfolio ward committee in ward 8.

In August 2012, the department of housing allocated one hundred houses to residents of Thembelihle. The TCC noted several inconsistencies in the housing allocation process (to those who have RDP housing elsewhere, are not residents of Thembelihle or have recently been added to the list). Having been approached by community members about these inconsistencies, the TCC wrote letters to the MMC of Housing, Daniel Bovu (former ward councillor for Thembelihle) at the City of Johannesburg and had opportunities to meet with the MMC regarding these inconsistencies.

These meetings resulted in a change in names on the waiting list. Therefore August 2012 54 residents from Thembelihle were relocated to Lehae. With a new list released for the remaining 46 residents, due to his persistence Maya was informed and became part of the verification team, who task it was to visit each resident on the list to verify their qualification for the allocation of housing. Furthermore on the list there were ten people who were listed as reserves who would be allocated houses should people not qualify. Miya indicated that on his part there were errors in the verification process where a women's address was incorrect and the verification team failed to find her and therefore her name was removed off the list. Another women was disqualified because when the verification team arrived and only discovered the elderly women's adult daughter and through discussion were informed that the daughter would remain in her mothers home in Thembelihle (due to the size constraints of the housing in Lehae) her mother was removed from the list. While another applicant who the City of Joahnnesburg housing department discovered had already been allocated a RDP house in Zwa-Zulu Natal remained on the list despite and was relocated, despite his ineligibility according the rules governing housing allocation.

The list was however processed and confirmed in August 2012. Yet by weeks went by and the 46 people had not been relocated to Lehae. These community members began to approach Bayiza Miya as a housing ward committee member, angry that they had not been contacted since the final housing approval list and anxious to be relocated as soon as possible. The officials indicated that the truck driver's strike had caused the delays, but long after the truck drivers' strike was over, the 46 people still awaited the City of Johannesburg to be relocated. The community members contacted Miya day and night and he grew concerned about his own safety,

> "These people are they leaving me with this problem, because they have security. The councillor has security that is guarding her, the MMC, there will be metro police, and we don't know even where he is staying. I'm staying in Thembelihle so if anything that

> will happen, it will happen to me and to my family, so I didn't want to put my family at risk because of certain individuals." (Miya, 23/11/2012).

Several meetings were held with the angry residents, Miya followed up with the ward councillor for ward 8 as well as city officials who had been part of the verification process, yet his efforts yielded no result. Fed up with the anger of the residents and the unresponsiveness of the City of Johannesburg on Sunday the 28th of November Miya held a meeting with the residents, at the meeting the residents expressed anger and demanded to know why an X had been placed on their informal dwelling if they were not to be relocated. Miya explains what action he took after this meeting,

> "I phone all of all of them, that I night I called all of them, I knew it was wrong, but for the image of the city I will phone them, I phoned them. I said ok let's meet at SA Block on Monday and I'm talking here we have elder citizens here, I mean the first on the list is a women born in 1930, we had to walk them. There was no money there was no transport. I organised the media, the media was there we walked, we walked to Lehae" (Miya, 23/11/2012).

The ANC ward 8 councillor Janice Ndarala was compelled to attend the walk to Lehae, due the media attention Miya was able to mobilise. She condemned the delays in the relocation and called for the city to respond. This event and its media attention forced the city to respond immediately and residents on the list were relocated on Friday the 2nd of November 2012. This action undertaken by the Miya has indicated his commitment to see action in the housing relocation process. The response has been positive thus far although all concerns in the housing list were not resolved and resulted in ineligible residents being relocated. A new housing list has been released and contains the same inconsistencies as the previous list so the battle continues.

Miya's telling of the story went through various iterations in front of more radical colleagues at a Workshop held at Planact he says he took the people and put them in houses rightly belonging to them, without the context that they had already been allocated houses on the waiting list. When I interview him, a few weeks later his discourse has shifted. As indicated in the quote above Miya says he took action for the "image of the city", he also tell me that what he knew what he did was wrong, but that action had to be taken. From a radical community activist, who a remains radical in his actions there has been a shift in his discourse, there are various reasons that can be speculated. The success of the action appears to have been positive for Miya and the ANC ward councillor Janice Ndarala relationship. Miya saw a positive shift in what had been a conflict ridden relationship, because he created a media moment for Ndarala where she was shown to be caring about her community and taking decisive action to ensure their welfare. This has personal consequences for Miya who when he was arrested after the 2011 protest action was charged with intimidation; a charge personally laid by Ndarala. Furthermore the discourse around the city may indicate a connection to the city as a member of the city, which the ward committee has allowed to access. This is important as it highlights the impact the city has on the electoral front and its modus operandi.

The use of ward committee as a tactic has proved positive for ensuring that the community has agency in the housing process. As Miya has indicated much of the action he took, was made possible because he was *inside* the system, he had access to privileged information about the housing allocation and relocation process.

This access to the inside however has not come without a cost, the limitations of the ability to fight relocation, when tasked with relocation as a part of the ward committee challenges the TCC's work. This presents a shift from radical principles to pragmatic responses to claims from people in Thembelihle.

At present the OKM has not looked strategically at how ward committee members can be used to advance their work (Ngwane). Mechanisms to further involve Bayiza Miya in the local government meetings are required to best utilise the ward committee structures to advance the OKM. Miya therefore acted largely in his own capacity as community activist, however integrating the feedback mechanisms as part of TCC. Although not largely integrated into the OKM systems, the OKM's electoral campaigns have facilitated the election of the ward committee members. The ward committee appears to offer a very pragmatic mechanism to engage with government and an additional access point to gain inside information. This was demonstrated in the relocation case described above.

A key question is what are the benefit and limitations of the ward committee system? Has Miya been able to influence the outcome of relocation process more than PR councillor Zwane? From my understanding the answer is multi-faceted. To some extent the ward committee system lacks the bureaucratic processes that are entwined in the ward councillor system and therefore offer an opportunity to act more pragmatically. Miya's networks in terms of the housing committee were largely informal and again highlight the relevance of Chatterjee's (2004) understanding of way in which local leaders are required to interact informally with the state. The space that Miya occupies in a less regulated space than section 79 committees and council chamber and it is this grey space that I argue offers a larger opportunity for action. The inside information with the informal outsiders tactics serve the informal politics in such a way that the space for action is available to those who are able to seize it. Here the impact on Miya's personality deserves reflection; he is by his very nature a man of action; he once indicated to me in passing that he has little time for OKM LG meetings, where he previously represented TCC: The squabbles of the meeting room tire him especially when there is work to do on the ground.

This action is unique because the role of ward councillor allowed Miya inside information and participation in a process to which he could eventually shape by action. However, the TCC have never had a problem with action; organising communities for mass protests, the organisation of installation of individual water pipes from the main water supply to each stand, the organisation of electricity to over 80% of the population of Thembelihle and action against local schools to ensure the children of Thembelihle could attend school. The real challenge for TCC and Thembelihle has been the ability to impact on decision-making and policy more broadly. That is the role and space that the OKM attempts to fill and this is the role that councillor Zwane is required to occupy.

Ngwane has indicated that representation in ward committee can broaden the work of the OKM, but how this strategy will be utilised and what it can offer will be revealed in time.

7.4) Workers Mobilisation and broader OKM networks

The case of OKMs involvement in the Marikana solidarity campaign serves as an example to of OKMs networks and its connections with grassroots and umbrella organisations. The OKMs emergence out of APF came with a group of networks that to a large extent have remained intact. With the "death" of the APF a new umbrella movement in the form of the Democratic left front (DLF). I did not have the opportunity to attend many DLF meetings and the complexity of the organisational structure cannot be explored here. The DLF has continued with many of the leaders and affiliates that belonged to APF with the aim to fix what went wrong with the APF[32]. Dale McKinley's work (2011) is again a good reference to some of the underlying reasons for the disintegration of the APF, with a particular focus on the failure of leaders and management of key resources. From what I understand the DLF holds the both the work of OKM and councillor Zwane in high regard. The DLF has been investing in capacity building training in its affiliates with the provision of political school, workshops, film screenings and meetings.

In early 2013 meeting councillor Zwane on her way to a weekly DLF meeting at the university of the Witwatersrand, she shared with me that DLF are debating entering party politics at local level. We debated it somewhat with Zwane indicated that more grassroots political parties would strengthen the voice of the poor in governance and I arguing that the DLF should not develop a new political party structure but rather further develop the OKM. Councillor Zwane indicated that the debate continued and she would keep me up dated on where it leads. What is interesting is that the value of entering the local urban political realm is being recognised by the DLF and I look forward to the possible changes it will bring.

To understand the opportunities for wider solidarity the DLF offers it is important to explore the role of the OKM in mobilising workers in the wake of the tragic events at Marikana.

The OKM has also in 2012 been given an opportunity (a tragic opportunity) to mobilise for the party in a wider context. The events of 16th of August in Marikana at the Lonmin Platinum Mines resulted in 45 deaths, the majority of the deaths caused by police utilising live ammunition against striking miners. The event has had a large impact on the country as a whole and stands as the largest massacre of civilians by the police since 1976. The event has had a massive impact on the understanding of the role of the state as journalist Branco Brkic from the *Daily Maverick* explains,

> "After the police shot 112 miners on16 August, killing 34 of them, the state of South Africa could have, should have shown empathy and for the people that everyone forgot for such a long time. Instead, they chose to let NGOs deliver food and care for the hungry and sick, while they opted for the delivery of teargas, rubber bullets and intimidation…The government of South Africa decided that it was better for it to be feared than loved. What they achieved is something different: They are now hated.And a government that is hated by its own people has no credibility[33]" (Brkic, 17/09/2012).

[32] Personal conversations about the DLF in particular with Ngwane.
[33] Brkic, B. (2012). 'Reporter's Marikana Notebook: A thin line between fear and hate' In 'The Daily

The OKM as an affiliate of the Democratic Left Front became an important part of the Marikana support campaign, the role of the campaign, "is aimed at helping workers. This is a campaign to ensure justice for the people of Marikana. We want the culprits to be brought to book, and it is crucial that justice is seen to be done here[34]" (Molebatsi In Du Waal, 19/09/2012).

Given Simphiwe Zwane's role as the OKM councillor she spent an extensive amount of time in Marikana between August and November 2012. Zwane describes her role in Marikana,

> "My job there at Marikana it was to convince the workers to see the other side of socialism not focus on this thing of capitalism because we tried to show them that they are in this mess because of that thing" (Zwane 06/11/2012).

Zwane was involved in addressing the community, was key in organising a march for women, "Women demand justice for the slain of Marikana' and provide support for the families at the Farlam Inquiry. The work was challenging both in terms of the time commitments as well as the working in the male dominated world of mine workers. Zwane describes the first time she was required to address a large crowd of miners on the hill where 14 miners perished.

> "I was scared there was all these men just hundreds and hundreds of men and when you speak to them you are supposed to sit on this high high chair and was saying I cannot sit on this high chair, I will fall down and they were saying councillor you must sit on that chair. I sat on the chair and they all listened to me." (Rephrased Zwane, 06/11/2012).

Zwane role as PR councillor and her ability to address the workers is unique and is indicative of grassroots responsiveness. This type of response is difficult for ANC councillors. The ANC has representation not only the form of ward and PR councillors but also very powerful branch structures (Benit-Gbaffou, 2012). Therefore although we have seen that the ANC as a dominant party yields immense decision-making power in the city council, it is also constrained from being responsive to direct constituencies by these structures. The ability of the ANC to criticise the state is limited and given the state's involvement in Marikana the space for ANC representatives to act was limited. Councillor Zwane was not the only one involved in the mobilisation efforts from OKM; the entire LG team spent time in Marikana after the massacre and were involved in various aspects of the support Marikana Campaign.

The involvement was extensive and according to one member of the OKM LG team meeting had an impact on the OKM to be responsive to the needs of those in Soweto and Thembelihle. However, councillor Zwane saw a positive response to their support and mobilisation efforts,

> "At the end I think they start to see, this thing it is not about this R12 500, it is about the system, we want those workers there are many of them to contest elections, even if it is not under OKM we will support them. There are thousands of workers who can

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Maverick'.Online Source:http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-16-marikana-notebook-a-thin-line-between-fear-and-hate [Retrieved 15 November 2012].

[34] Du Waal, M. (2012). 'The strike may be over but the struggle continues' in 'The Daily Maverick'. Online Source: http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-19-marikana-the-strike-might-be-over-but-the-struggle-continues [Retrieved 15 November 2012]

> really start something powerful for the working class poor in this country" (Zwane rephrased, 06/11/2012).

It is this type of mobilisation that Shawn Hattingh describes as an interesting facet of what has emerged out of the Marikana massacre, when he states,

> "What has been extremely interesting, and potentially very promising way forward for workers struggles, and the possibility of building a revolutionary working class counter-power, has been the mass assemblies that have been self-organised at Marikana and around other wildcat strikes and sit-ins in the platinum sector. The potential of these becoming the basis of a counter-power could possibly be realised, in the future, if the workers involved in them could, at some point, turn them into more durable assemblies, in which workers regularly met. This would also require appropriate procedures and structures to ensure full direct democracy" (Hattingh, 2012:15).

The events of Marikana therefore presented a wider opportunity for the growth of the OKM or at least OKM like structures to represent the working class and the poor. This is important for the OKM, particularly as long-term future plans include the contestation of national level elections in South Africa. The OKM attempted in 2009 to enter the national electoral space in conjunction with the Green Socialist Party. However due to lack of resources the Green Socialist Party was unable to raise the R500 000 required by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to enter national elections. The Green Socialist Party attempted to take the IEC to court challenging the constitutionality of the large sum of money required to enter national elections, but unfortunately the time available for registering parties for national did not allow such action to take place (Segodi, 01/09/2012 OKM Strategic Planning Session, Thembelihle). The OKM have spoken about acting quickly so as to prepare for the 2014 national elections yet no direct action in this regard has taken place. The growth of the OKM beyond Johannesburg is interesting and will test the applicability of the OKM model to advocate for wider participation and transparency in government so as to advance a pro-poor agenda.

The events of Marikana presented a wider platform for the OKM to share its ideological concerns but as expressed by Zodwa Madiba had an impact on the immediate day to day work of the OKM, which was put on the back burn while support was provided to the Marikana Solidarity campaign.

7.5) Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to share further insight into the functioning of the OKM through highlighting some the strengths and challenges to the growth of the movement. The chapter explored some interesting statistical data to demonstrate an increase in OKM support in Thembelihle. This growth has largely been due to mobilisation in around Thembelihle, the strength of the role of the TCC as a community organisation and possibly a growing "disillusion" with the ANC. The chapter then explored key challenges to the growth of the OKM through exploring key elements of building and growing a constituency, the challenge of utilising ward committee structures to further the OKM mandate as well as the challenges involved with building solidarity beyond Thembelihle and Soweto through the notion of wider worker's campaign. Zwane's reflections on what the OKM as an example offered the miners of Marikana proved very interesting in terms of the impacts of the councillor beyond Thembelihle and its immediate needs.

Chapter 8- Accountability and Leadership in the OKM

8.1) Introduction

> "Many socialist leaders are from the middle class… they want the comfortable bourgeois life, but they say their heart is with the people. This is wrong. The working class must have the confidence to lead itself." (Trevor Ngwane, OKM Local Government Meeting, Johannesburg City Council 16th August 2012).

Local leaders play an integral role in communities and community organisations (Munro, 2007). This chapter will explore the role of leadership in the Operation Khanyisa Movement, the leadership structure of the OKM, Simphiwe Zwane's role as a leader as PR councillor as well as other key leaders in the movement. Through the use of portraits this chapter will explore Zwane's political and personal history within the wider Johannesburg and South Africann political context. Exploring the personal history of Simphiwe Zwane is imperative as the personal networks, political history and tactics used by key leaders shape both social movements and political parties in various ways. This type of research provides insight into the way in which Zwane operates. It is at meetings, the types of networks that operate and the political history of leaders that shape how the OKM moves forward. A study of this individual nature with a focus on the day-to-day action in a multi-dimensional political realm is useful in gaining a practical grasp of the workings of OKM in council and in the community.

Following from a personal exploration of Zwane as a leader the chapter will explore some of the contradictions inherent in the leadership practices of the OKM through the conceptual differentiation between autonomy and accountability and what that means for the OKM. Furthermore the role of gender in leadership in the electoral front will also be discussed.

8.2) The question of leadership

The issue of leadership in the Operation Khanyisa movement (OKM) is not new to its second term in the Johannesburg city council, but has arisen recently (16/08/2012) and remains a consistent question in the functioning and future of the Operation Khanyisa Movement. The question of how leadership is dealt with in a party such as the OKM is of interest to the formation of local political party.

The ideological thinking behind the concept of leadership is very interesting in the OKM context. The OKM practice a system under which there are multiple opportunities for members of the party to assume leadership roles. The discourse is one of socialist principles where each "worker" is valued for their contribution and has a contribution to make; the understanding does not veer into communism whereby all are therefore entitled to equal distribution of resources. However as indicated by Kanungo, "Every organization has a purpose and it is the desire to achieve this purpose efficiently and effectively that creates the need for leadership" (Kanungo, 2001: 257). The leadership structure of the OKM is complex. It is important to first outline how leadership functions in the OKM and the divide between discourse and practice. The diagram below provides an indication of the complexities of OKM leadership structure:

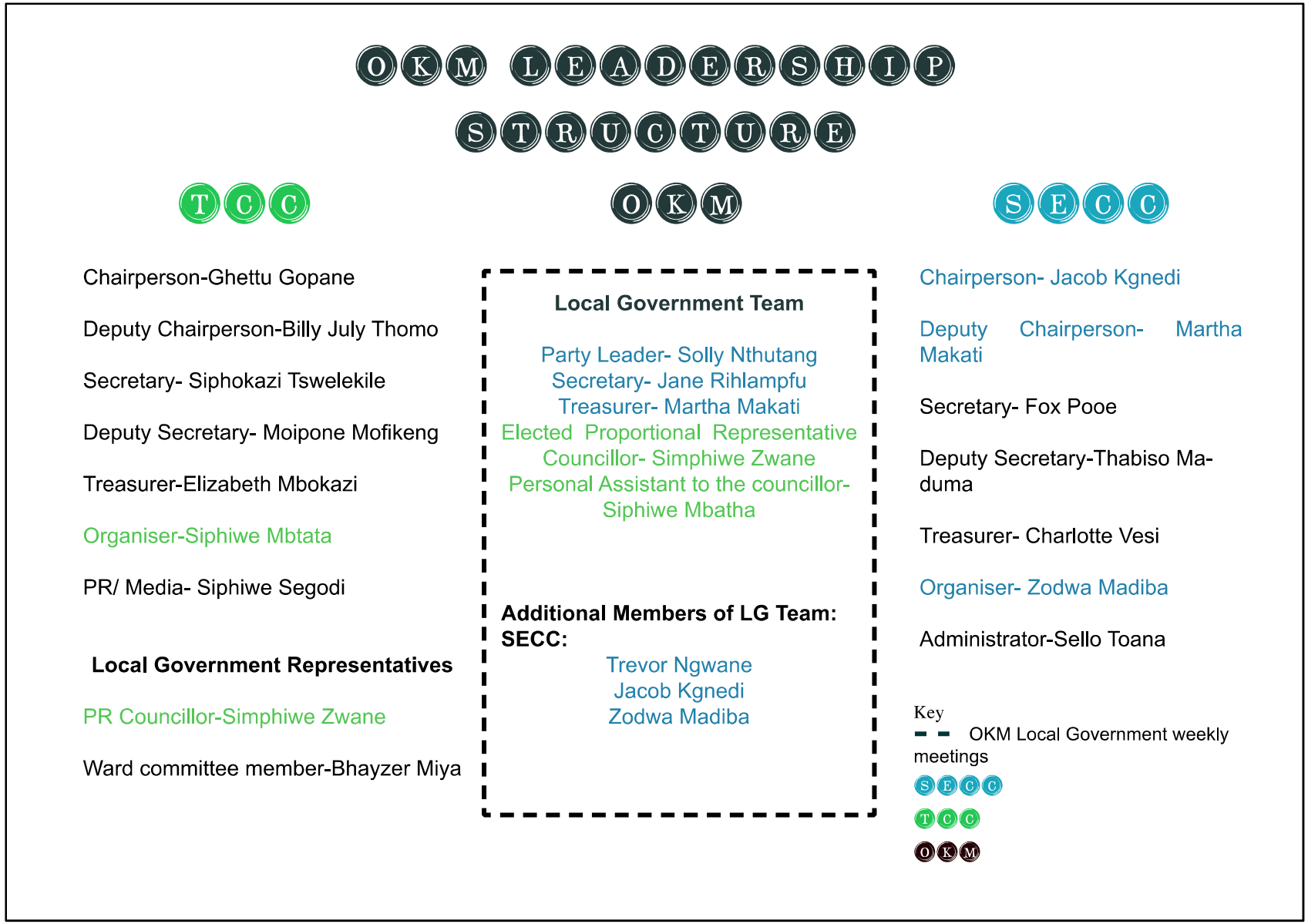


Figure 15TCC, SECC and OKM Leadership Structure

From the diagram it is clear to see that the OKM does not have an executive structure of its own, rather the structure has an elected chairperson, who is from the SECC and at the moment one PR councillor who has been elected to occupy a seat in the City of the Johannesburg (with the hope of expanding its number of councillors and seats). TCC and SECC members then occupy dual roles performing executive responsibilities as part of their respective social movements and the electoral front.

There are various types of leaders, which make up the executive structure of the OKM. Two distinctive types have continued to be vigorously debated by key researchers; Max Weber first draws the distinction when he classifies leadership according to traditional and charismatic leadership (Weber in Kellerman, 1986). Burns (1978) then takes this concept and redefines the categorisation in terms "transactional and transformational leadership". Transactional leadership can be described as, "[The} transaction or exchange- [the] promise and reward for good performance, or threat and discipline for poor performance- characterises effective leadership" (quoted in Bass, 1990: 20). Bass further characterises transactional leadership as an effective way to maintain systems and order through either active management- examining behaviour or taking corrective measures or passive management- through intervention "only if standards are not met" (Bass, 1990:22). The concepts of transactional and transformation leadership are only useful in highlighting the different types of leaders in the OKM, whose roles and personalities go beyond such a dichotomy. These concepts are used sparingly below as reference points rather than rigorous classification.

Solly Nthutang the party leader appears to me to take a very pragmatic "transactional" approach to leadership. He is in the local government meetings focused on structuring and following the agenda, keeping to time and following particular agendas. This is evident when conflict arises around councillor Zwane's personal assistant; the chairperson follows strict procedures in terms of allowing people to voice their concerns and disciplines the PA for speaking out of turn (Local Government Meeting 08/10/2012). However much Bass, Burns and Kanungo highlight the strength of transformational versus transactional leaders, it is important that the OKM have both types of leaders to perform different functions in the organisation. The importance of "rank and file" members who can fulfil leadership roles is also highlighted through the role of the treasurer. The TCC has consistently struggled to provide the OKM with a reliable treasurer. Ngwane highlights the fact that four treasurers advanced by TCC to serve on the OKM Local Government Team were not able to meet the requirements of the position. The need for a treasurer to strictly follow procedures and to punish deviation from those procedures is required for the functioning of OKM as a whole.

However the OKM also has leaders that exemplify the characteristics highlighted by "transformational leadership". Two notable leaders in the organisation are Trevor Ngwane and Councillor Simphiwe Zwane. Siphiwe Segodi and Biyiza Miya are also notable transformational leaders to various extents; however given the fact that they are not active at this moment in time in terms of the OKM LG meetings they will be used as comparative examples in the chapter rather than principle characters.

The use of the notion of transformational leadership bears relevance when discussing Ngwane and Zwane.Trevor Ngwane's role in establishing the electoral front and his political history have provided him with the necessary tools to act as a transformational leader. (For

more insight into Ngwane's political history and role in the SECC see Wafer, 2005 and McKinley, 2012).

Ngwane provides intellectual stimulation on a variety of key issues directly related to socialism to both SECC meetings and OKM LG meetings on a weekly basis, as an agenda item it is termed "political school". The themes range from the role of women in society and political life, socialism on the African continent and socialist leaders, socialist understandings of the worker, the rights of Marikana workers (LG meetings August-November 2012). This type of intellectual stimulation is brought back to the experiences of the constituency's everyday life in South Africa and debated in that context. When Trevor Ngwane is not present at the meeting the "political school" is generally omitted from the meeting. Although attempts to allow younger members of the LG team to prepare and offer "political school" have been made, particularly Siphiwe Mbatha. Ngwane's leadership however is not limited to the role of providing "political school" but also through his charisma and ability to allow further engagement with the themes discussed. Ngwane's presence in the meeting fills the wider constituency with a sense of purpose.

> "Some people say that when Trevor is not there, although the meeting continues on, they feel empty" (Zwane, 06/11/2012).

It is clear from the way in which the members of the OKM revere Ngwane as well that he acts as a transformational leader inspiring others to better understand the socialist ideas he shares. Ngwane's leadership is also recognised outside of OKM, when attesting in council chamber that people don't want prepaid water meters, Zwane was heckled by ANC councillors who said, "That one she is one of Trevor's people."

Ngwane positionality offers a unique aspect of leadership to the OKM. Ngwane currently works as a researcher at the University of Johannesburg and has experience in lecturing at University of the Witwatersrand. Ngwane's academic history, political history (as a previous ANC councillor) and involvement in key social movements (co-founder of SECC, OKM and APF as well as currently key executive member of the DLF) serves as a resource for the Operation Khanyisa movement. He offers political school at the weekly LG meetings; Ngwane also provides strategic planning for the organisation. He is a valuable and key leader of the OKM.

8.3) Portraits of a Leader: Simphiwe Zwane

Zwane's political and personal history is different from some of the other prominent leaders in the OKM; her age means that she was not intensively involved in apartheid struggles. Zwane presents for me someone shaped much more by personal influences: a strong and determined mother, a difficult schooling environment where those in informal housing were discriminated against and her partnership with Siphiwe Segodi, a committed socialist and political activist. Nonetheless political circumstances increasingly played a part on Zwane's growth as leader and both are explored here. This development is critical as Munro indicates,

> "there is a need to examine how an individual developed and came to be at their present position. In other words, in producing an appropriate methodology it is essential to give community leaders history. This involves a consideration of their prior knowledge (Yanow 2000) and how this has evolved and developed" (Munro, 2007:13).

Below are several timelines providing an indication of Zwane's political and personal history providing insight into her prior knowledge and how this has evolved and developed:

Timeline 1: Simphiwe Zwane timeline 1978-1994

	1978	1983	1985	1990	1992	1993	1994
National Political			State of Emergency declared in South Africa.	Nelson Mandela is released from Prison. ANC is unbanned.		Chris Hani is assassinated.	South Africa's first democratic elections take place with Nelson Mandela elected as first democratic president.
Local Thembelihle context		Early residents arrive in Thembelihle many of whom work at the brick factory located on site.		Local Thembelihle activists join in call to take over spaces as part of Operation Masakane for the Homeless	First Geo-technical reports indicate that Thembelihle is on dolomitic land.		
Personal Political/ Activist					Struggles to attend Lenasia schools. Racial and social inequalities foster rising awareness.	Simphiwe Zwane secretly attends Hani's funeral without the permission of her mother.	
Personal	Simphiwe Zwane is born in Soweto Johannesburg	At age 5 Simphiwe is sent to be raised by her grandmother in Kwa-Ndebele.		Simphiwe moves back to Johannesburg, first to Naledi and then in December to Thembelihle.			

(compiled by Pingo, 2012)

Timeline 2: Simphiwe Zwane timeline 1994-2006

	1998	1999	2000	2001-2002	2003	2005	2006
National Political		Second National Democratic Elections Held Thabo Mbeki elected as president. Egoli 2002 drafted by the City of Johannesburg.	Municipal systems Act passed regulating the ward councillor and committee system.	The Anti-Privatisation Forum is formed.			The Operation Khanyisa Movement is formed with Johannesburg APF affiliates as the founding members. A PR seat is won in the City of Johannesburg.
Local Thembelihle context			Daniel Bovu is elected ward councillor of ward 8.	First threat of evictions in Thembelihle with red ants attempting to move people from their homes- protest and resistance successful.	Mass protests held in Thembelihle as continued support against evictions.	The Thembelihle community wins in a court case against the City of Johannesburg. Judgement handed down insists city should investigate in-situ upgrading.	First group of residents of Thembelihle are relocated to Lehae.
Thembelihle Crisis Committee				The Thembelihle Crisis committee is formed. The TCC becomes an APF affiliate.	The TCC increasingly involved in ensuring access to education in local schools.	TCC members instrumental in bringing court action against the City of Johannesburg.	TCC canvass for the election of an OKM councillor.
Personal Political/Activist	Started to attend political meetings with Siphiwe Segodi.			Simphiwe Zwane becomes a member of the TCC.	Simphiwe is involved in the TCC access to education work in Thembelihle.		
Personal				Simphiwe Zwane completed her Matric exclaiming, “The Comrade has passed”	Thulani Segodi-Simphiwe Zwane’s first son is born.		

Timeline 3: Simphiwe Zwane timeline 2008-2012

	2008	2009	2011	2012
National Political	May 2008-Xenophobic attacks against African migrants erupt in informal settlements and townships across South Africa.	President Jacob Zuma is elected in the 4th national democratic elections.	Despite only two affiliates remaining involved- the TCC and SECC, the OKM manages to secure PR seat in the City of Johannesburg.	On the 16th of August striking miners are gunned down in the largest massacre since 1976.
Local Thembelihle context	Due to inconsistencies in the dolomitic reports, City of Johannesburg 2008 Resolution indicates that all residents of Thembelihle will be relocated.			City of Johannesburg MMC for Housing Dan Bovu agrees to further geo-technical studies to be conducted in Thembelihle.
Thembelihle Crisis Committee	The TCC call a mass meeting condemning the nation-wide xenophobic attacks, this prevents any attacks taking place in the settlement.	TCC loses court case against the City of Johannesburg as judge indicates that he cannot order the city to spend R800000 on further geo-technical studies required.	August 2011-Mass week long protests result in the arrest of 14 residents Thembelihle, including councillor Zwane and Biyiza Miya.	TCC holds its first AGM after 10 years in existence.
Personal Political/Activist		Simphiwe Zwane continues to be involved in educational sector of TCC and attends OKM LG meetings.	Simphiwe Zwane is selected as representative by the TCC to stand as PR councillor. Simphiwe Zwane becomes councillor of OKM. Zwane is arrested in August 2011 for leading a march in Thembelihle.	Councillor Zwane continues to represent OKM in councillor as well as being extensively involved in wider solidarity of the working class.
Personal		Minky Segodi Simphiwe Zwane's daughter is born.		

The timelines above depict a summary of Simphiwe Zwane's life in the context of wider national and political events.

Zwane's timeline does not demonstrate major involvement in politics, she had until her election as councillor always been extensively involved in the TCC but not held a specific position in the TCC executive. Rather her timeline is indicative of her growing political consciousness. Zwane indicates there were several events that impacted her political thinking: the first being the way in which people were treated in high school, there was a distinctive difference between those who lived in formal and informal housing. The second the impact of the living conditions on her thinking, in adolescent fights with her mother who argued that Simphiwe Zwane should spend her time on school rather than politics, Simphiwe argued that politics could not be ignored in the conditions in which she lives. The third was the influence of other activists, Zwane indicated that her father spoke about politics but her largest political influence has been her partner and TCC long standing chairperson (until July 2012) Siphiwe Segodi.

Simphiwe Zwane's timeline is also indicative of her character - strong, independent, courageous but often soft spoken and happy to either participate or take lead when necessary. Her role has councillor has to a large extent been a political education in better understanding the formal governance systems and growing her own strength as an activist,

> "Before everything, before the OKM, I didn't know there was councillor, we didn't know about the IDP, we didn't have the knowledge about all these things. Then when we started having an OKM councillor, we started to attend the chamber. We didn't know what our councillors are doing there. It started to open the eyes" (Interview with Councillor Zwane 16/07/2012).

The value of learning and growing politically is one of the main motivating factors for her involvement as an activist,

> "Everything… makes me enjoy politics! Because firstly I learn a lot, and I meet different people, like sharing ideas - some advise me like what we have to do what we don't have to do" (Interview Councillor Zwane 23/11/2012).

It is this historical background, which has enabled Simphiwe Zwane to fulfil her role as councillor and with the multiple responsibilities and engagements it entails.

The conditions under which the OKM councillor must thrive at City of Johannesburg, does much to build the transformational aspects of leadership. Bass (1990) argues that transformational leadership can be learnt; it is clear that from Zwane's own admission that her strength and leadership abilities have grown.

Councillor Zwane's mother Margaret Zwane however attests that this strength has always been a fundamental part of her daughter, she claims, "that one she is too strong, she should have been born a man, and she is strong like a man" (Personal Conversation with Margaret Zwane 16/06/2012).

Simphiwe Zwane's personal attributes as well as her experience as a councillor has had an impact her style of leadership. Her leadership qualities as a transformational leader as well as Zwane's unique role as councillor was recognised by the DLF and particularly the Marikana solidarity campaign through her extensive engagement in marches and meetings with the

miners as well as larger Marikana community. Her position as a leader will be examined more critically below, but I think it important despite the debate that Zwane operates largely as an instrument that she is an individual that inspires others but in a way that is human that allows people to see themselves in her.

The above investigation of the leadership that makes up OKM as well as an attempt to classify key leaders according to recognised typologies serves to illustrate the role in which leaders occupy in the OKM. It also to some extent highlights the importance of these particular leaders in advancing the electoral front in particular ways. This is by no means innovative new descriptive work on the functioning of political parties. The role of key leaders in advancing change has been explored extensively throughout history.

8.4) The Meaning of OKM Leadership

It is interesting that despite the role of these key leaders in taking the OKM forward in inspiring and mobilising their constituencies, the OKM adopts an "anti-leadership" stance. This is expressed in the sentiment that the "people shall govern", Zwane indicates that what is primarily Ngwane and her job is to instil confidence into the TCC and OKM members that they can lead themselves (06/11/2012). In order to achieve the practice of encouraging leaders not poached from the elite, the OKM institutionalises practices, which avoids the privileging of leaders.

The OKM works against the "cult" of the individual leader through replacing and appointing candidates according to its own discretion. The election of councillor Zwane indicates both the somewhat random discretionary decision-making and the avoidance of the advancement of the cult of the individual leader. Councillor Zwane indicates that her election as candidate for PR councillor was not based on her leadership skills or particular traits, rather the party took a decision to find a strong women to act as councillor to promote gender balance,

> "Actually, with me it was very difficult. We elected there was a lady called Danielle Mkanzi, but she said I've got too many commitments so I can't. And then the comrades suggest we need a women person. They believe, on women, so we need a strong woman then they just start looking around and then no but we think Simphiwe can take this position do what we need for her to do at the COJ. Then I was elected" (Interview with Zwane 16/07/2012).

Another way in which the party avoids the cult of individual leadership is through ensuring that the councillor's lifestyle is not elevated beyond their constituency. The OKM is paid the councillors salary and then pays the councillor a "living wage".

Zwane speaks of how this goes against the sentiment of the councillors who form a part of the Johannesburg city council; many of who spend their salaries on cars and moving out of their impoverished communities. The purpose of these types of measures are for me twofold, the first is a focus on the accountability of councillors to their constituencies, the second a mechanism to avoid the cult of the individual leader that has always as far back as oral and written history impacted on politics. Individual leaders have both power to and power over to enforce action; it is this power that moves political parties and often the states that have selected them forward.

This leads to the debate around the conception of autonomous versus accountable leaders, the OKM utilises various mechanisms to ensure the accountability of its leaders. But what impact does that have on a leader's autonomy? In the case of Simphiwe Zwane it appears as if the electoral front has had a major impact on her autonomy she continually toes the party line and it appears from the research data that she has not developed a following or constituency directly but rather in her role as councillor. In the research Zwane is not particularly responsible for action, she leads a TCC protest because she requested to do and she addresses the miners in Marikana in her role as councillor as well as a member of DLF. It appears at times that Zwane leads because she has been appointed leader rather than because she exists on her own as a leader. This is backed up by the "behind the scenes role" she often plays in the TCC and the fact that she was not widely recognised as a key leader before her election as PR Councillor. I argue that this inability to take sweeping action is largely because of her lack of autonomy as a leader. Zwane acts as a mouthpiece for the OKM and its wider constituency. This seen of accountability is felt deeply by Zwane who indicates that the needs of the party and the constituency must come before her own,

> "I think maybe when you come here, you see two maybe three cars, maybe not even staying here, maybe not even staying here. Oh, Thembelihle there is no development, we are wasting our time, so finding some new development and going and buying a house there and forgetting about the people here in the settlement. So every time I think of our comrades, I think of our people, our community I do think of them. No I need to see things changed so that even myself I can change. So we don't need to go for fancy things even other comrades they are hungry. I even help where I can help with my salary, for example the T-shirts that you saw on Saturday they asked me for R1000 to help them. Not say I don't know what to do with the money I do have things, I do have my dreams, but because I'm in the struggle and I believe in it, I will do anything I can for it" (Interview with Zwane 16/07/2012).

However, the cult of the individual leader is critical in the political parties as it is able to grow loyalty, in the case of the ANC in South African national politics individual leaders are secondary to loyalty to the party as an ideology and liberation movement. However, individuals remain critically and increasingly important in ANC politics. This is largely due to the influence of a strong increasingly charismatic leader to grow and retain political support. Many view this negatively as this type of leadership is indicative of gap between the autonomous leader and the grassroots constituency, but this gap allows for space to act. This is interesting as it speaks to the notion of "double dealings" in terms of the interest of the "delegate and the interest of the mandators". At present the size of the OKM, its grassroots nature and firm control over councillor Zwane means that the concept of "double dealings" cannot be directly applied. However should the electoral front expand this concept will be of critical importance.

Interestingly the gap between leaders and their constituenciesis explored in institutionalisation literature as indicated in chapter two. As Foweraker claims, "They (the social movements) turn towards the state, where their leaders strive to win more influence and so secure their own position and prestige. This is the inevitable institutionalism of Latin American Social movements" (Foweraker, 2001:846)

Despite these warnings the OKM cannot shy away from notions of the individual leader as autonomous and must utilise this in the advancement of its own cause. The Thembelihle Crisis committee in the 2011 ward committee elections made A1 posters of Bhayiza Miya- saying 'Vote for your Miya'. It is these types of leaders who are able to build a constituency over the long term and grow a political party. Yet at the same time the deeply ingrained disappointments at the lack of accountable leaders at local, provincial and national level have left their mark on communities across South Africa. The balance between the success of the cult of the individual leader in growing the party constituency and the heavy reliance on individuals to steer the party and thereby possibly losing the role of the collective worker remains precarious for the OKM. How questions and selections of leaders takes place in the future, will directly impact the role of the OKM.

8.5) Impacts of CoJ Council on Leaders

Beyond the regulations laid out in the code of conduct there are various interpreted and unwritten rules by which councillors are required to function. An insignificant yet demonstrative way in which the OKM has shifted its behaviour to follow "the rules" of the Johannesburg city council is through the way in which the councillors dress when attending council chamber meetings. At the strategic planning meeting this discussion resulted in an argument where certain members of the TCC and other OKM LG members expressed disappointment in the way in which the councillor currently dresses to attend monthly council meetings. The general attire of councillors is formal with men in business suits and women in business or formal attire. Simphiwe Zwane follows this unwritten rule as she and former councillor Zodwa Madiba argued that formal attire is required to be taken seriously in council. Others argued that the OKM used to attend meetings with slogans on their T-shirts, therefore allowing their attire to speak for them. The argument did not come to a conclusive decision and the councillor continues to wear formal attire to council chamber meetings.

The above description indicates the types of both formal and informal procedures, which impact on the shift that is required by social movements when they enter the space of local council. They choose to adopt the ideological and practical stance of the formal system and to a large extent the attitudes of the ruling party. Has this shifted the councillor? To some extent, you will see her donning her high-heels at council meetings, she will speak of the pressure to buy a car from both those outside and inside of council and her own personal ambitions for a better (more resourced lives) for her children. All of these elements appear in closer reach now that Zwane is a councillor.

I did not find inconsistencies in Zwane's behaviour; this is possibly because of the strict regulations to ensure that Zwane accurately represents the OKM. But personal dreams and the security of formal employment have impacted Zwane.The balance is challenging, however in the spaces where I witness her character remains largely the same, she is quiet in TCC, OKM, SECC and council meetings unless there is something of value she can add, she speaks with care and is able to debate seriously on matters that affect her and her constituency. The sustained effect of council over the 5 year period may have a more lasting impression on the social movement and council Zwane which time will tell.

The impact of institutionalisation has also had its impacts on Miya who has in his discourse shifted somewhat as described above, his actions were rationalised in terms of the image of the city rather than for the benefit of his constituency.

This challenge is one that is experienced by ward councillors, PR councillors and ward committee members across South Africa; the access to resources for individuals is becomes an increasingly difficult offer to refuse for impoverished citizens. Much of the criticisms launched at Zwane at the Johannesburg city council are around the anxiety of some of the councillors loosing access to resources (including their salaries) should the poor be prioritised in policy and implementation at the City of Johannesburg. Beyond resources the value of the being on the "inside" offers status, prestige and critically access to information. These as described in chapter four are valuable for claims to the city but can also be used to draw leaders toward the state's ideological thinking.

8.6) Conclusion

The issue of leadership although rather inward focused in terms of the ideology and operation of the OKM has a relevance to diversity in the South African governance system: How does one build strong accountable leaders? How is space offered for new leaders? How does one ensure older leaders continue to contribute given their wealth of institutional memory? How does one build a constituency who has understanding and loyalty to your party without strong leaders who stand out as leaders in the organisation? This is particularly relevant to a contemporary context that worships at the alter of charismatic leaders both inside and out of the political realm. The answer lies to some extent with the use of transformational leaders who can consistently hold the good of the group over the good of the individual.

Additionally the answer lies in the grey space of autonomous and accountable leaders who are able to grow the constituency of the OKM through creating followers and yet still remaining accountable to that constituency. The small impacts that the City of Johannesburg has had on individual leaders also point to how the shifts in these leaders may shift the larger electoral front over time.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

> "The right of representation and the right to hold office under the state are the two most important rights that make up citizenship. But the untouchability of the untouchables puts these rights far beyond their reach. [...] They [the untouchables] can be represented by the untouchables alone. The general representation of all citizens would not serve the special requirements of the untouchables, because given the prejudices and entrenched practices among the dominant castes, there was no reason to expect that the latter would use the law to emancipate the untouchables. A legislature composed of high caste men will not pass a law removing untouchability...this is not because they cannot, but chiefly because they will not." (Chatterjee, 2004:13)

This study aimed to explore the different strategies and tactics utilised by the OKM in Thembelihle, through in-depth interviews and observations of Simphiwe Zwane, the TCC, SECC and OKM. These modes provided insight into ways in which this organized political resistance is shaping Thembelihle as a whole. This has a larger impact on planning for the City of Johannesburg, as the political realm shapes the geographical, economical and social future of the city.

The paper explored the key socio-political background factors that were critical to the emergence of a particular strategy of claim-making through the use of party politics broadly and the emergenceof OKM more particularly. The specificities of the urban context, the history and leaders of the social movements and the wider socio-historical moment were critical to the formation of the OKM. The paper looked to theoretical thinking to shapes its analysis, however much of the analysis arose from key themes emerging from the data collected.

This formed the basis through which to explore the functioning of the OKM, highlighting some of the internal struggles of the OKM. These struggles serve to highlight the complexity of the political party and that it cannot be understood as a complete entity rather it is fragmented struggle held together by strong and determined leadership. This leadership was explored in chapter eight which aimed to explore the nuances of Zwane's leadership style and how it has shaped OKM and has been shaped through her experience as a councilor.

The paper explored the growth of the movement as a key impact of Zwane's term as PR councilor and investigated various manifestations of this growth. The statistical data provided interesting insight into the growth of the movement in Thembelihle in particular despite the complexities of not having the ability to impact the service delivery in the settlement. The chapter looked at the possibilities of ward committee representation, which arose out of the success of securing a PR seat for a representative from Thembelihle to grow the OKM and strengthen its impacts directly for the residents of Thembelihle.

Chapters six and sevenaimed to shed light on the shift in tactics utilised by the TCC and OKM and the recent results of those strategies and tactics. This chapter highlighted to key elements for me the adaptability and resilience of both the electoral front and social movements to be responsive to a multi-faceted state.

The research also shared the impact on pluralist democracy in South Africa as a whole and how small resistant political parties make space for their voice to be heard in the monolithic party state. In less pessimistic terms the impact the OKM may grow in recognition and continue to build its networks so that these formal spaces will be more successful in terms of shifting both the material reality of the OKM constituency and impact on policy. As indicated by Ballard,

> "Participation is seen not just as a means to achieve distributive ends, but also a means to alter processes and relationships themselves. It is not only a means of making better material interventions in the lives of the poor, but is a way of transforming the way that the poor relate to development agencies and government and vice versa" (Ballard, 2008:172).

The resources available to the OKM through the councilor's salary has also had an impact on both the TCC and SECC through the employment of a personal assistant, the opportunity to host events and provide support to broader networks. In different ways, these are examples of how the formal processes of local government shape radical social movements and the continued representation of OKM councilors in the City of Johannesburg will continue to shape the TCC and SECC in different ways. I argue that the current combination of strategies utilised are unique to a South African urban context, that the emergence is particular to a space with functioning democracy, a dominant party system that limits the use of one particular strategy.

The more significant aspects of the case study lie in what participating in the formal spaces of local government through party politics has achieved, provided for the residents of Thembelihle. On a practical level the TCC have succeed in ensuring that the City of Johannesburg will provide further studies to have conclusive results in terms of the geo-technical conditions of Thembelihle. Although it must once again be stressed that formal participation in government structures cannot be understood as the strategy which will ensure further geo-technical studies, but rather one possibly contributing factor. Through the participation in local government structures the TCC has gained entry into the housing relocation process and has become actively involved in that process through Bayiza Miya.

However the engagement in local government does not only yield positive effects for the TCC and Thembelihle as a whole by providing access to specific information and processes, entering the space of local government also impacts the social movement and the way in which it functions. The specific procedures, processes and rules of being a councillor in the City of Johannesburg are outlined in the code of conduct. This code of conduct forms a part of schedule 5 of the Municipal Structures Act and governs the functioning of the councillors. Critically local government has provided an opportunity for members for the TCC to gain entry into the systems of local government to gain insight into how decision-makingtakes place at local level.

> "Educating our selves and our people about the processes, I mean how decisions are made and to go and experience what takes place in chamber." (Interview with Siphiwe Segodi, 18/10/2012).

This understanding has not necessary resulted in an impact on decision-making given the dominance of the ANC and DA in council chamber, but it has created a space for access to understanding the systems, procedures and policies of local government, this knowledge is key to shifting both material and policy circumstances for some of Johannesburg's most impoverished residents.

The brick, the ballot and now I argue the voice are key tactics and strategies utilised by those in Thembelihle, the hope is that these tactics will bring with it several key simple resources, security of tenure, affordable water services, reliable legal electricity connections, quality education and access to decent jobs. In addition to these basic resources, the OKM and Simphiwe Zwane want to be heard as a voice of the poor, to be heard continually as loud, clear and knowledgeable; one that cannot be forgotten in the noise of neo-liberal discourse that continually seeks to silence it.

The Operation Khanyisa movement offers an opportunity for new openings new ways of engaging with the city and the state. This strategy has not been widely used in contemporary South Africa, however it may become more relevant as other challenges of expressing community dissent are increasingly narrowed. This type of institutionalisation although existing in a grey space where informal networks still form a part of the day to day operational struggle represents a desire to find ways to contribute meaningfully to the governance of urban spaces in particular.

Despite the little space provided by formal participatory governance mechanisms, the paper demonstrates the ways in which those mechanisms can be tailored to act as a vehicle to voice the concerns of an impoverished constituency in Johannesburg.The reality of this institutional process is more messy, multifaceted and complex than I originally imagined. However, it appears still immensely valuable for those that participate in it.

It is also much more limited in ability to impact decision making than I had originally anticipated. The long-term pacification impacts of this type of involvement on social movements will be interesting to study. Some of the Latin American Literature critical of the processes of institutionalisation is useful in exploring how and what impact such pacification may have in a South African context. Some of the OKM members are aware of these dangers of institutionalisation, but as described above, appear to still see positive implications.

This research journey has been one that has to some extent shattered my naivety about how meaningful participation in urban governance can take place. I came to find the space to hear the OKM voice so small, that at times I wondered if it could be heard at all. The internal dynamics of social movements on the verge of institutionalisation was fascinating to observe, in particular the shifts that have emerged internally in terms of how the social movements function as well as the individuals. The journey has been inspiring also to see the spirit of leaders and their individual and communal battles they fight for access to resources but also critically be intrinsically involved governance.

It is my sincere hope that as much as this paper is space for my own thoughts to emerge that the voice of Simphiwe Zwane and the OKM remain ringing in the ears those who read these pages.

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