

**CONTESTATIONS, CONNECTIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS:
THE ROLE OF NETWORKS IN SERVICE DELIVERY
PROTESTS IN GUGULETHU, CAPE TOWN.**

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ABSTRACT

All the nine provinces of South Africa have been wracked with frequent service delivery protests. Even though the first decade of democracy saw a considerable decline in social movement activity, still there existed pockets of groups and movements which protested. Since 2004, which many analysts regard as the beginning of post-apartheid service delivery protests, South Africa has experienced an ever increasing level of often violent protests. While there is an abundance of research on other hotspots like Khayelitsha, research on Gugulethu service delivery protests is scanty. Research in Gugulethu is necessary given that each community is different. More importantly, although studies that focus on the reasons and repertoires of the service delivery protests abound (in other communities), the role that existing networks play in initiating and maintaining such protests in South Africa and particularly in Gugulethu has not been directly addressed; this was the focus of this study.

Networks are the connections and links that exist between individuals that enable them to identify with each other and that influence decisions to participate in collective action. In order to contribute towards filling this niche, I carried out a qualitative study using in-depth interviews, focus group interviews and observation of my participants in Gugulethu. The study employed two main theories; social movement theory and network theories to guide the research. Sub-theories of social movement theory guided the researcher in understanding the opportunities that either hinder or enable service deliver protests (political opportunity structure); the material (e.g. money) and non-material (e.g. networks) resources that enable protests (resource mobilization theory); the subjective reasons and meanings that activists attach to their problems and how they view their world (framing processes) provided a basis for this research. Network theories (social network theory and social network approach) guided understandings on the significant role that relationships, networks and ties play in service delivery protests. The eclectic use of these approaches helped to capitalize on the strengths of each approach.

This study revealed the key role that social, historical, economic and political networks play in initiating and maintaining service delivery protests. While networks help in communicating service delivery problems among protestors and in mobilizing, protests that ensue are a means of communicating anger at the municipal authorities' actions and or inactions. Using a reference to a hostage situation that occurred, I argued that there is a progression and intensification of protest tactics especially after 'peaceful and legal' means of engagement fail. Also, my research findings show that networks used for protest purposes can be used for other purposes. In light of this, I suggested that a better understanding, by protestors, of networks at their disposal and how they can use such networks for other community building projects is needed. Additionally, such an understanding by protestors may prove helpful for protestors to better organize and utilize their network resource and stage more effective but peaceful protests. Municipalities may use this information (networks) to communicate and connect with the communities they serve in a better way. In sum, the study further found that networks are important before the protest, during the protest and after the protest.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my faithful God (The Father, The Lord Jesus and the Holy Spirit – The One God) for creating, redeeming and helping me throughout this study. I also dedicate this thesis to my parents particularly my mother who among other things earnestly and ceaselessly prayed and encouraged me. I also dedicate this thesis to my brother Farai Chiwarawara and his family, who is a great blessing from God in my life. He is the one who unswervingly supported me financially and bought me the computer I used to write this thesis. This thesis is also dedicated to my sister Chipso and Rudo. You are a gift! I also dedicate this thesis to Mordecai, Rutendo, Michelle, Grace Mahiza and Thedius Muisa. I also wish to dedicate this thesis to my nephews, Tadiwanashe Piccoman, Tawanashe, Ngoni, Tapiwa, and Captain Nyasha Beryl Magezi.



DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this mini-thesis is my own work and that I have not previously submitted it to any other university for a degree. All the sources that I have quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of references.

Signature _____



Date _____

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Contextualization and background to the research

Understanding service delivery protests is of particular importance given their enduring nature in South Africa (Alexander, 2010; Multi-Level Government Initiative Protest Barometer, 2012). Service delivery protests refer to complaints which relate to either lack of access to, or poor quality of, basic services such as housing, water, sanitation and electricity. Alexander (2010) argues that on the surface the widespread protests are about service delivery and against corrupt, uncaring and self-serving municipal leaders. Service delivery protests over water, housing, sanitation and electricity therefore seem to be expressions of feelings of betrayal (Hart, 2008). In the same vein, Alexander (2010:25) argues that “a strong case can be made for linking” service delivery protests to discontent. The context within which this study was conceptualized is that of “widespread and intense” protests (Alexander, 2010). Although the protests “were concentrated in the urban and metropolitan areas”, it is important to note that all the nine provinces of South Africa experienced these protests in both rural and urban areas (Booyesen, 2007:22). For example, the 500 to 2 000 service delivery protests between 2004 and 2006 not only affected metropolitan areas, such as Cape Town, Tswane, Durban and Nelson Mandela Metropole but also a vast number of urban, peri-urban and rural towns (Booyesen, 2007; Von Holdt, et al., 2011). Except for 2010, the period 2007 to 2012 experienced an increase in the number of protests, most of them violent (Multi-Level Government Initiative (MLGI) Protest Barometer, 2012). Clearly, the extent of service delivery protests phenomenon deserves special attention.

It is necessary to conduct a study that seeks to understand service delivery protests in protests in South Africa's townships. More specifically, my research investigates service delivery protests, in Gugulethu township in Cape Town. Although there have been other studies on service delivery in the Western Cape there has been a dearth of information on the role that networks play in initiating, driving and maintaining these protests. Not only so, but a lot of research has focused on Khayelitsha at the expense of other service delivery hotspots such as Gugulethu. This study seeks to fill the gap on empirical research on service delivery and on the role of networks in initiating and maintaining service delivery protests in Gugulethu township. Networks can be defined as the ties, links, attachments and connections that exist between individuals (Krinsky and Crossley, 2013). Some examples of networks include social, cultural, economic, political networks. Networks provide a platform for communication which might prove helpful in the promotion of joint initiatives (della Porta and Diani, 2006). In this study, the role of networks in promoting joint initiatives, namely, social protests was investigated.

The focus of the study was on the existing networks that underpin service delivery protests. My interest in studying networks stems from an understanding that in order to fight for something, there is a certain level of unity required among activists even where diversity exists, something Oldfield and Stokke (2004) call 'unity in diversity.' Networks can help in building such unity. Also, the researcher is interested to know whether or not such networks can be utilized not only for service delivery protests purposes but also for other community building projects. Three research questions were investigated. The first question sought to understand the existing networks which enable service delivery protests. The second question investigated how service delivery protests are initiated and maintained. The third question was concerned with the meanings attached to these protests. In order to give direction to this study, three broad social

movement theory approaches namely political opportunity, resource mobilization and framing process were used. In addition, social network theory and social network analysis was used to guide this study.

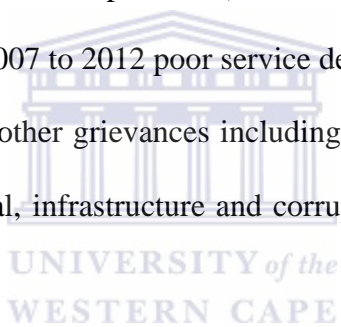
1.2 Rationale and significance of the study

There is a general consensus among scholars that dissatisfaction in service delivery prompted post-apartheid protests that started in 2004 (Alexander, 2010; Habib, 2010; Booysen, 2009; Pithouse, 2007). That said, these protests in South Africa are by no means a new phenomenon. They are a continuation from the apartheid era. Although the first decade of democracy witnessed few protests, there has been an unprecedented increase of service delivery protests since then (Nleya, 2011). Booysen (2007) writes of a wide range of service delivery protests which rocked South Africa in the two years prior to the March 2006 local government elections and noted that there were 900 protests from February 2004 to February 2005 and more than 1 500 protests between March 2004 and 2006. These statistics go a long way to show how widespread protests are.

The period from 2007 onwards was no different. The Multi-Level Government Initiative Protest Barometer (hereafter MLGI Protest Barometer), a project which concerns itself with presenting both the frequency and nature of protests all over South Africa offers helpful statistics here. The MLGI Protest Barometer (2012) shows that except for the year 2010, the number of protests consistently increased from 2007 to 2012. Protests from January to August 2012 saw an unprecedented number of 226 protests, the highest number recorded per year so far. The MLGI Protest Barometer (2012:14) reported that the “first eight months of 2012 have averaged 28.25 protests per month while 2011 was less than half that, at 12 protests per month.” Due to the

ongoing service delivery protests, Professor Peter Alexander, a renowned scholar on protests, described South Africa as the ‘protest capital of the world’ (Hlongwane, 2012). In light of these developments, a study in service delivery protests is therefore a necessary undertaking.

Of the nine provinces, Gauteng usually has the most protests. However, in 2012 this changed when the Western Cape recorded the highest number of protests which stood at 49 percent (MLGI Protest Barometer, 2012). Data reveal that not only are protests becoming more frequent, but the likelihood of them becoming violent is high. It is worth noting that 79.20% of protests in 2012’s first eight months turned violent, with the Western Cape topping the list of the provinces which had the highest number of violent protests (MLGI Protest Barometer, 2012). It is also important to point here that from 2007 to 2012 poor service delivery featured yearly as one of the top five grievances per year, with other grievances including issues related to water, electricity, sanitation and waste, party political, infrastructure and corruption and nepotism (MLGI Protest Barometer, 2012).



A study on networks is revealing given that networks help in developing “mutual trust and solidarity” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:115). Solidarity and mutual trust are important, given the nature and privacy that is sometimes necessary in the organization of protests. Social networks also help in decisions for participation in collective action, “at the beginning by building or reinforcing individual identities that create potential for participation, and at the very end when individual preferences and perceptions (e.g. individual costs of action, chances of success, the risk involved) eventually prompt people to take action” (Diani & McAdam, 2003:22). This suggests that networks can play an important role in initiating and maintaining protests.

This study is significant because it sheds light on the networks that help drive service delivery protests. This is particularly important given the argument that there exist poor lines of communication between municipalities and communities (Sebugwawo, 2012). The importance of proper communication and networks between municipalities and communities must not be underestimated. A study by Marais, et al. (2008:63) categorized the complaints raised by residents of Phumelela in the Free State into three broad problems namely “politicians/officials who do not wish to listen to complaints; the arrogance of many politicians/officials; and the inability to communicate effectively.” The researchers further argued that the lack of an appropriate platform where communities’ complaints are received and the lack of a healthy communication system had a role in causing social protests. Therefore, there is a need to conduct a study that focuses on the role of networks in communities. Knowledge of these networks is important to both service providers and to communities, particularly the protesters. On the one hand, service providers may use the information to better network, connect and communicate with the communities they serve. On the other hand, communities may more consciously harness these networks to engage in community building projects especially given that protests are key in initiating, promoting, and sustaining protests. Thus, perhaps this information may be used to not only initiate community building projects, but to promote and sustain such projects.

1.3 Delineation of Case Study

Gugulethu, the selected case study area, is located in the greater Cape Town area. It is approximately 15km away from the Cape Town city centre (see Figures 1 and 2 below). It was established in 1960 owing to overcrowding in the first black residential area of Langa (Saho, 2013). The selection of this case study was done after considering the broader national context of

service delivery protests. Of all the nine provinces in South Africa, the Western Cape province, where Gugulethu is located, had the highest number of protests in 2012, with an overall percentage of 49 (MLGI Protest Barometer, 2012). This particular case study was selected because although numerous service delivery protests occur in Gugulethu, less is written on it as scholars often focus on Khayelitsha Township.

Figure 1: Location of Gugulethu in Cape Town

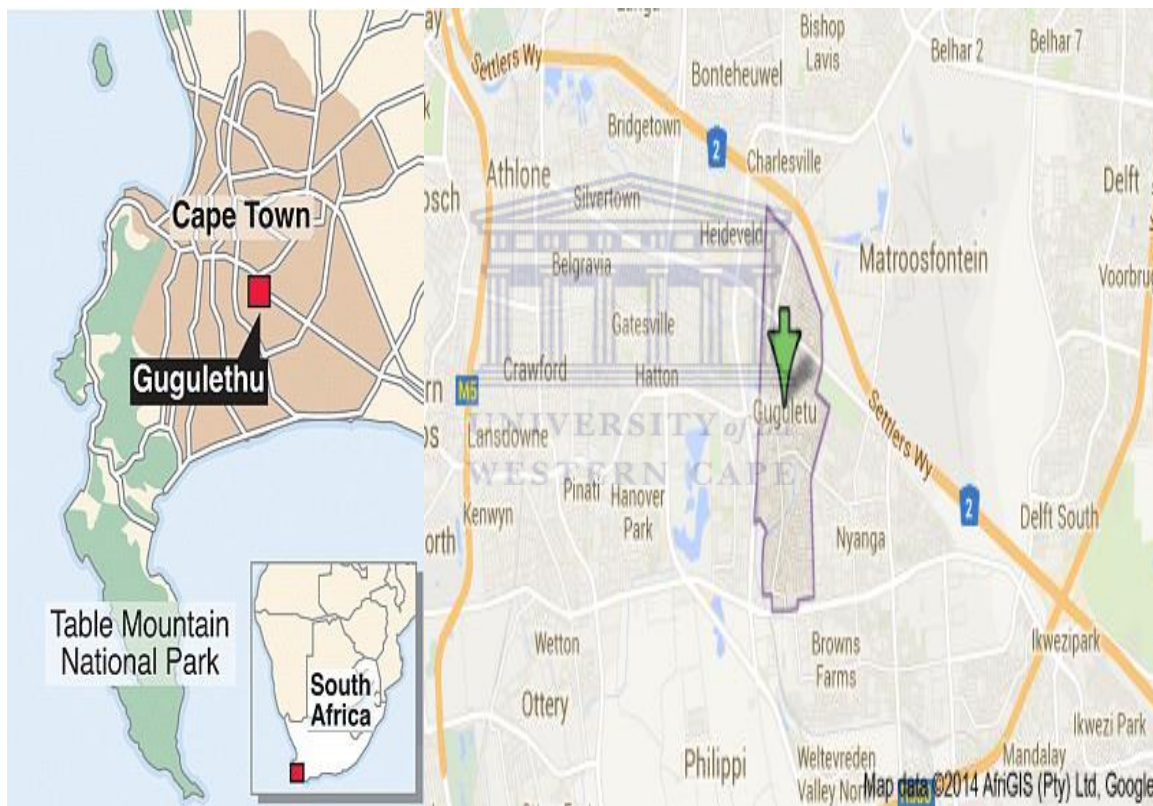
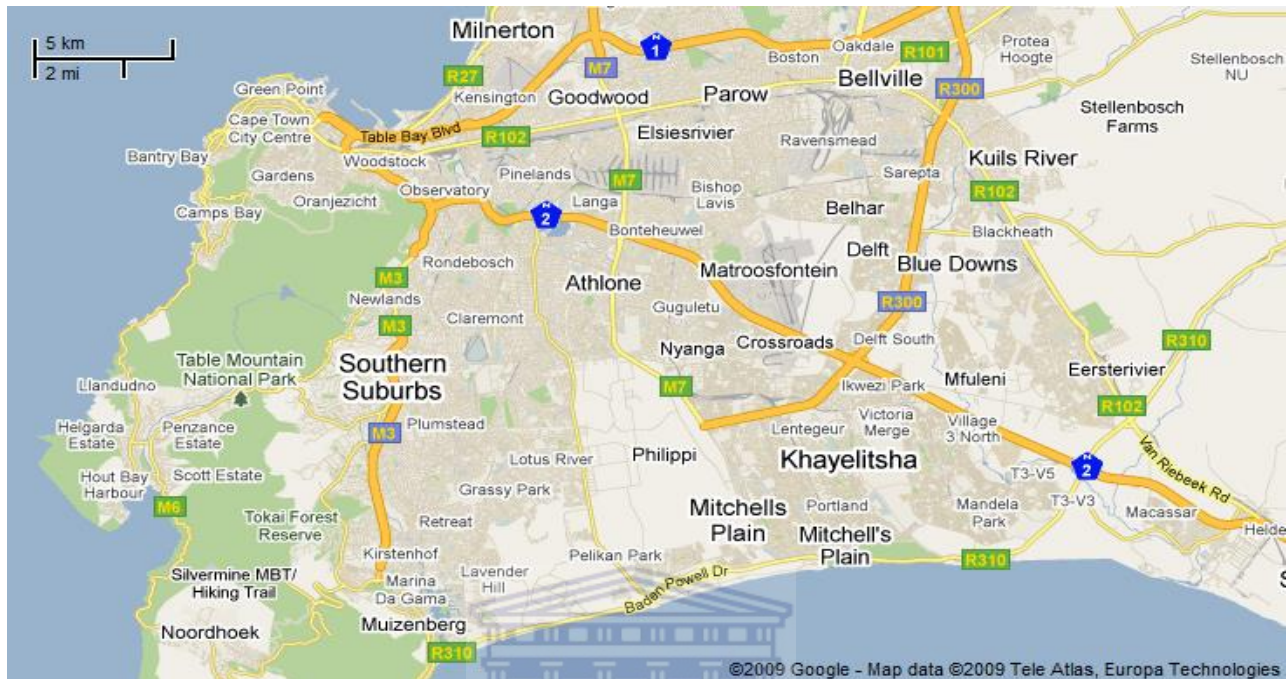


Figure 2: Location of Gugulethu in Cape Town



Source: Google maps (2009).



The 2011 census shows that Gugulethu comprises of the following neighbourhoods: Europe, Barcelona, Kanana, Lusaka, New Rest, Gugulethu SP, Phola Park, Vukuzenzele and Zondi (City of Cape Town, 2011). In 2011 Gugulethu had a population of 98 468 people and 29 577 households. The census revealed that only in two service delivery areas (refuse removal and electricity in households) did Gugulethu have impressive percentages. All other areas, although above 50 percent, had a significant number of households which lacked basic services. The impressive results recorded were in the percentage of households who had their refuse removed at least once every week and the percentage of households who used electricity for lighting purposes in their dwelling of 89% and 97%, respectively. Only 52% of Gugulethu households lived in formal dwellings. This is important especially given that informal dwellings are the ones

which tend to have the poorest provision of basic services. The census also revealed that the percentage of households with access to piped water either in their yard or in their dwelling was 58%. With regards to sanitation, 63% of households had access to at least one flush toilet connected to public sewer system (City of Cape Town, 2011). The data suggest that although the percentages are above 50%, there are still a significant number of households without basic services. Unsurprisingly then, the number of service delivery protests in Gugulethu has been high. Although there are no official percentages of the number of service delivery protests that occurred in Gugulethu, media publications reveal that there has been a high number of protests in Gugulethu. Notwithstanding this, researchers have focused on Khayelitsha and paid little attention on other hotspots. Although Khayelitsha is a hotspot, focusing solely on Khayelitsha township limits understanding on protest causes and dynamics in other townships, given that each community is different. Yet unlike in Khayelitsha where there is an abundance of scholarly research on service delivery protests (Nleya, 2013; Thompson and Nleya, 2010; Oldfield, 2002), Gugulethu has a dearth of scholarly research on service delivery protests. Interestingly, the fact that “residence of Khayelitsha and Gugulethu invaded open city land and protested at the municipality’s lack of progress with housing and services” (Johnson, 2005 cited in Atkinson, 2007:56; see also Staniland, 2008) shows that service delivery protests are prevalent in Gugulethu. It is therefore fitting to point a few of the protests that occurred in this case study area.

Before briefly discussing service delivery protests in Gugulethu, it is important to note something about the conflation of services. Given that service delivery protests often involve a conflation of service delivery problems, such as when people protest for houses, usually they will be protesting for electricity, water, and sanitation as well. This is usually so because protestors

hope that formal houses will have electricity, water and better sanitation. In view of the conflation of these services, this study interviewed people who were involved in a service delivery protest, whether it be for housing, water, electricity, refuse collection and sanitation.

In August 2012, Gugulethu residents protested against inadequate housing in their township during a handover of 300 housing units handed to residents of Joe Slovo in Langa (Pollack, 2012). Another service delivery protest that is indicative of the seriousness of service delivery problems was staged by shack dwellers in Gugulethu when they closed the N2 freeway (Sacks, 2012). Gugulethu service delivery has been hampered by a number of factors including protests by municipal workers. Pollack (2009) reported that on the fourth day of municipal workers' strike for an increase in salaries, refuse collection was already affected. This goes to show how the already poor conditions of service delivery in Gugulethu continue to be disrupted even by municipal worker protests. In the light of these examples, the researcher chose Gugulethu, specifically Ward 44, as a case study. Ward 44 has a rich history of protests; that is where the famous Gugulethu 7 (a place where seven anti-apartheid members were killed by the police in 1986) is. Under Ward 44, I interviewed protestors from Darryberry, Dairymaid, Gugulethu 7, Kanana, Lingelihle and New Rest. These places are close to Chartsville mall (see Figure 1 map above).

1.4 Problem Statement

There is a continuation of service delivery protests despite two decades of democracy in South Africa. Much of the scholarly attention has paid attention to the ongoing service delivery protests, particularly on why these protests continue. For example, Alexander (2010: 25) pointed out that “there are grounds for tracing service delivery protests back to the apartheid era, and a

strong case can be made for linking them to discontent.” Post-apartheid service delivery protests started in 2004 (Booyesen, 2007). Protests that stem from local complaints such as lack of water, housing, sanitation, electricity, and infrastructure “are catalyzed by lack of response by local authorities, billing issues, the lack of employment and business opportunities and high crime rates” (Mottiar and Bond, 2012:311). While research confirms much on the causes of protests, less attention has been paid on the existing networks which underpin these protests; this is the focus of the current study.

Networks are crucial in understanding participation in social protest. For example, della Porta and Diani (2006:115) write of “the dynamic nature of the relationship between networks and participation, and the duality of the link between individuals and organizational activities.” Importantly, while social networks influence individuals’ participation in collective action, participation also shapes networks and reinforces pre-existing ones and forges new bonds which affect subsequent engagements (Snow, et al., 2007; della Porta and Diani, 2006). In effect, networks increase chances for people to act collectively. The word network is used in this study to refer to links between people that help them to identify and gather for a common cause. The research explores the ways in which people in the townships are, for instance, socially, culturally, economically and politically networked to engage in service delivery protests.

1.5 Research Questions

What are the existing networks which enable service delivery protests?

How are service delivery protests initiated and maintained?

What are the meanings attached to these protests?

1.6 Aim of the Study

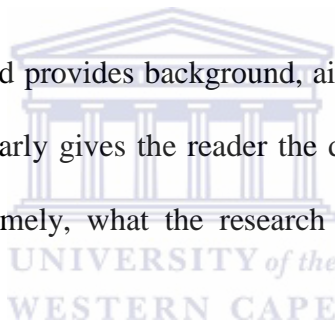
The overall aim of this study was to understand the role that networks play in service delivery protests.

Now that the research context, questions and aim have been clearly spelt out, it is fitting to outline the research agenda.

1.7 Research Agenda

The research is divided into 6 separate but related chapters. Each chapter will build on the previous one and there will be a logical flow of ideas.

Chapter 1 introduces the study and provides background, aim and objectives of the study. This chapter is important because it clearly gives the reader the direction of the project. Two things stand out in this introduction, namely, what the research is about and how the research is organized.



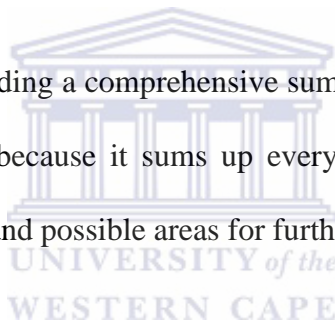
Chapter 2 presents a review of literature on protests around the world. The literature review, among other things, highlights key debates in service delivery protests. The chapter ends by discussing protests around the world before zeroing in on service delivery protests in South Africa.

Chapter 3 provides a theoretical framework that serves as a base for this research. The framework provides a lens to guide the research project. This chapter is helpful in that it provides explanations of concepts and phenomena through established theories.

Chapter 4 gives the research design and methodology of this study. This chapter outlines ‘how’, using the qualitative method, the researcher gathered data using in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, informal conversations and observations. The chapter further gives a detailed account of ‘who’ was interviewed and ‘where’ the interviews took place. The chapter ends by providing the ethics that guided the research and the challenges this study faced.

Chapter 5 presents results of the research, analysis and discussion of the findings. In this chapter, theories used in this project are considered in light on the findings. Not only does this chapter reveal results based on the empirical research conducted but it makes sense of such results.

Chapter 6 ends the study by providing a comprehensive summary and suggestions. This chapter is connected to the introduction, because it sums up everything discussed and offer research based suggestions to stakeholders and possible areas for further research.



CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section presents an overview of the studies done in the field of social protests. The review of literature helps the researcher to be conversant with key debates and information (Mouton, 2001; Reid, 2000) in the field of service delivery protests. Another important reason for a literature review is that it will help in avoiding duplication of what has already been done. The review commences by briefly defining two key terms in this thesis; services delivery protests and networks. Having done that, the paper turns to protests around the world before zeroing in on service delivery protests in South Africa.

2.2 Definition of terms



2.2.1 Service delivery protests

Service delivery protests are one of the types among types of protests. Basically, protests refer to complaints and issues that protestors cite which they decide to object (Vuuren, 2013). Such objections can be to individuals, occasion, policy expressed in words or actions by a person or many persons. Examples of protests are labour protests, political protests, student protests, service delivery protests. Service delivery protests are objections related to basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity and housing (MLGI Protest Barometer, 2012; Atkinson, 2007). Protests can either be peaceful or violent. Vuuren (2013:14) defined violent protests as “protests where some or all of the participants have engaged in actions that create a threat or actual harm to people or property.” Violence does not stem only from protesters, but public order police heavy handedness can cause an escalation of violence. As already mentioned, a protest can either

be made up of one person or many people. However, usually, the power of a protest lies, among other things, in its numbers. To get a great number of people, there is need to mobilize, and networks play a significant role in this.

2.2.2 Networks

Networks have for long been incorporated in analysis of collective action. For Olson (1971), communities which engaged in collective action lacked organization and close knit ties. However, Crossley (2002) debunked Olson's argument, stating that his assumption is unrealistic given that people live in groups and that in these communities, networks, mutual interdependency and other types of association exist. While admitting that there are some communities with unstructured, disorganized and weak ties, he argues that this is not always the case because other communities are organized and have strong associations. Oberschall (1973) argues that networks or associations of everyday life build useful resources which can be tapped for struggle purposes. In view of the arguments above, Crossley (2002) hypothesized that many movements will emerge from pre-established networks, organizations and communities and that movement formation will be prevalent in tightly networked groups than in loosely connected ones. Crossley's (2002) hypothesis is based on the work of Oberschall (1973), Piven and Cloward (1979) and McAdam (1982) which reveal that a great deal of black insurgency and civil rights struggles in the USA focused on the role of black churches and black colleges. Their work also investigated how such networks provided bonds of solidarity which enabled movements to emerge, how the said networks provided pre-existing lines of communication, organizational and administrative resources, places of assembly, and how early leaders were key actors in the aforementioned groups. Networks are basically ties, associations and connections that exist

between individuals and groups and which allow the flow of resources (e.g. information) which may allow action to take place.

Networks are important because the bond that exists between individuals is necessary for people to team up to stage spontaneous protests, given that individuals do not normally join a group if they are “radically incompatible and hostile” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:115). That said, it is important to offer a balanced view to this, though. It is perhaps possible for people who do not have any strong ties to team up and fight for a cause, such as poor service delivery. However, the argument in this study is that, though such shared meanings and frustrations may cause protests, protest activity is easier and more successful in a community with strong networks. Oberschall (1973), for example, argues that network or community has a central role in protests because although hardships or grievances may stimulate periodic outbursts and at times riots, outbursts can only lead to the formation of movements if there is leadership and organization in an aggrieved population. Similarly, Snow, et al. (1980) found that the vast majority of participants in movements they studied became involved in the organization or movement due to networks, such as of friendships, they already had. Clearly, “the relationship between individuals and the networks in which they are embedded is crucial not only for the involvement of people in collective action, but also for the sustenance of action over time” (della Porta & Diani, 2006:116). This is at the core of this study because it speaks to the importance of networks both in initiating and in maintaining protests. To better understand how protests are initiated and sustained, this study will investigate the role that networks play in the continuance of service delivery protests in the Gugulethu.

2.3 Protests around the world

Protests have made news all over the world. While not all protests are service delivery protests, it is necessary to consider the repertoires and reasons of protests, as well as the role of networks in these protests. This review briefly details a few protests in other parts of the world, namely, Spain's *indignados*, Occupy Wall Street in the US, Brazil's bus fare protests, and the Arab Spring.

2.3.1 Spain's Indignados

The 15M movement came to be known by this name owing to its date of its inception – 15 May 2011 or the Spanish *indignados* a name the mass media labelled its participants (Perugorria & Tejerina, 2013). The word *indignados* is Spanish for 'the indignant.' The 15-M movement staged numerous camp-outs in city squares and in only a month it mobilized 40 000 and 80 000 protesters in Madrid and Barcelona, respectively, in a "march against high unemployment, the policies and conduct of Spain's political class, and to demand 'real democracy NOW!'" (Charnock, Purcell and Ribera-Fumaz, 2012:3). The *indignados* called for change in economic and social policies such as housing, education, debt (Hart and Negri, 2011), and for wider citizen participation in both the formulation and implementation of policies (Della Porta, 2011). The creation of an egalitarian society was one of the key demands of the movement. For instance, proposals by the *indignados* movement "resonate with (more traditional) participatory visions, but also with new deliberative conceptions that underline the importance of creating multiple public spaces, egalitarian but plural" (Della Porta, 2011:n.p). The desire to create an egalitarian society in Spain is also seen in other countries, such as South Africa. The 'indignation' which was widely reported by the Spanish press had at its core a political system which failed to

address people's concerns (Hart and Negri, 2011). A slogan such as "they don't represent us" is, according to Della Porta (2011:n.p) "linked to a deeper criticism of the degeneration of representative democracy, linked to the failure of elected politicians to carry out appropriate policies." Also, the framing done by protestors clearly shows a divide between the "they" and the "us."

The digital platform played a key role in the movement, for instance, a call made on Real Democracy Now! (DRY, *Democracia Real Ya!*) for people to take to the streets is regarded as "the spark that ignited the so-called 'indignado' mobilizations" (Perugorria and Tejerina, 2013:428). Democratic Real Ya!, a social movement platform by activists based on the internet, was one of the prime organizations behind the *indignados* (Charnock, Purcell and Ribera-Fumaz, 2012). On this platform people planned to stage demonstrations across Spain on the 15th of May 2011. Activities by this movement attracted world media's attention, resulting in many people protesting against high unemployment which had 41 per cent youth unemployment rate and austerity cuts (Tremlett, 2011). The use of viral media by the Spanish *indignados* helped in setting the agenda for the marches, the spread of slogans and practices in the organization and providing alternative reports to those offered by the mainstream media, as a result the use of viral platforms led the 15M movement to become "a global media event" (Postill, 2013:4), suggesting the importance of the internet in many contemporary protests. A similar phenomenon occurred in the Arab uprising where the internet played a pivotal role in protests. It will be important to investigate whether or not the use of the internet was central in Gugulethu's protests and what protestors in Gugulethu use to propagate their practices, for instance, meetings and to ascertain how often they meet.

In addition to the significant role of the internet, members of 15M developed group commonality through a number of interactions such as face to face, online 'weak-tie' association and 'strong-tie' offline activism (Perugorria and Tejerina, 2013). The scholars also note that the ties are both real and imaginary and that they link the 15M movement to recent and old struggles. The internet and the social media have been some of the key instruments in networking and creating a platform for mobilization and the sharing of information. In fact, the movement originated in a network of activities which utilized the novel social media to organize protest marches across Spanish cities (Charnock, Purcell and Ribera-Fumaz, 2012). The empirical research in chapter five sought to ascertain how protestors in Gugulethu network and the centrality of networks in service delivery protests in Gugulethu. Postill (2013:5) suggested that "social media are viral media" which "are designed and actively used to spread digital contents epidemically, from peer to peer, through routinised activities such as 'liking' a Facebook photograph, retweeting a political slogan, or emailing a YouTube hyperlink to friends." The sharing in social media helps to spread information. What is important for this paper is that the information is spread among peers and liking a Facebook statement or photograph, or retweeting a slogan or mailing YouTube content is done by friends to friends and colleagues which shows the importance of connections in spreading news.

This discussion on networks notes that although the same class, age and race can act as powerful connectors between individuals, problems, particularly common problems can connect people together and build a sense of 'contextual fellowship' that cuts across divides that come from differences in class, race and age (Rapport and Amit, 2002). In other words, the 15M movement brought people together who, by and large, were connected by problems. It thus can be said problems connected people. Importantly, the youth were instrumental in the movement. A

sloganeering by ‘Juventud SIN Futuro’ (Youth Without a Future), one of the organizations behind the 15-M movement, encapsulate that a vast majority Spain’s young people are living “WITHOUT A HOUSE, WITHOUT WORK, WITHOUT A PENSION” and therefore “WITHOUT FEAR” (Charnock, Purcell and Ribera-Fumaz, 2012:4). Similarly, the 15M movement described itself, among other things, as “the unemployed, the poorly remunerated, the subcontracted, the precarious, the young...” (Democratic Real YA! website, 2011 in Charnock, Purcell and Ribera-Fumaz, 2012:3). Decent employment was one of the major grievances in the contestation. It will be important to determine the involvement of young people in protest mobilizations and actions in Gugulethu.

In some places the protests turned violent, with violence from both the Catalanian police in Barcelona, for example on the 27th of May 2011 and from the 15M protesters, for example on the 15th of June 2011 (Charnock, Purcell and Ribera-Fumaz, 2012). Clashes between protesters and police have been regular. Spain’s riot police have more often than not used brutality to intimidate protestors and force them to submit; however, these tactics yielded little results (Roos, 2011). In fact, the *indignados* inspired protests in the United States, Britain, Canada and other countries, which are called the Occupy movement (Juris, 2012; Gerbaudo, 2012).

2.3.2 Occupy Wall Street

Occupy Wall Street (OWS) is one of the chief movements that received support from many Americans in recent years. Occupy Wall Street occurred in New York City and beyond. On the 17th of September 2011 “a group of (mostly) young adults” took action (Moore, 2012). Just like the Spanish *indignados*, OWS was chiefly made up of young people. Demonstrations by the Occupy Wall Street movement received support from many people not only because of the

economic injustice and corporate greed it exposed but because it also expressed the grievances and aspirations of the masses (Hart and Negri, 2011). The movement sought to carry out a non-violent campaign. Like the *Indignados* of Spain, OWS did not have rigid formal structures, rules and hierarchical organization. This structure made the OWS desirable to people who preferred a participatory platform where power is not concentrated to a few; this structure was preferred in order to avoid a “bureaucratic, top-down organization” (Moore, 2012).

The OWS movement expressed rage at, inter alia, the rise in income inequality, increase of political power by corporations, mortgage defaults and unemployment (Cohen, 2011). For Tarrow (2012), when OWS activists attacked Wall Street they were not attacking capitalism per se, but a system of economic relations that failed to serve the needs of the public. Whether it is capitalism or not that activists are attacking, it is perhaps fair to argue that activists demand a system that does not exploit them, but a system which benefits the majority not a few. Protests have been for lack of political representation (Hart and Negri, 2011:1). Protesters feel that politics is not serving them. Hence the slogan we are the 99%! They are the 1%! As a psychiatrist, Cohen (2011) supports the protests because he holds that poor social and economic conditions affect mental health. His support for this protest resonates with his understanding that “income inequality, unemployment, poverty, and diminished expectations about one’s economic future are associated with worsening mental health, higher suicide rates, poor general medical health, and higher mortality rates” (Cohen, 2011:1514).

The use of the internet has been crucial in OWS. In fact, pivotal to OWS conceptualization and development was the use of email and Facebook, with other similar tools such as Twitter creating the necessary networks (Hart and Nagie, 2011). Clearly, protestors see the importance of

social media in promoting democracy. The use of the internet makes it easier for other movements to get inspiration from old activism resulting in protestors referencing from those before them or events before them while inspiring future movements who can draw from their experiences. For instance, OWS took its inspiration from encampments of public squares in Spain, followed by Cairo's Tahrir Square demonstrations (Hart and Negri, 2011).

2.3.3 Spontaneous Uprising Brazil 2013

Since June 2013, Brazilian cities experienced a wave of popular protests. While the main stream media reported these huge mobilizations to be a demand for a reduction in bus fares, other scholars like Zibechi (2013) argue that the huge mobilizations were a product of a long period of grassroots organization against capitalism. In Brasilia, the Free Fare Movement (*Movimento Passe Livre*, MPL), a radical left non-party organization that was formed in 2000, established a group of highly dedicated students who held an activist training camp for one month in 2001, which led to the forging of tight networks amongst activists (Duques, 2013 quoted in Zibechi, 2013). This goes to show that activities of activists forge other networks which will be utilized in future protests.

The mass movements of June and July 2013, which had a broad social base including students, left wing activists and later, middle-class protestors and distinct categories of workers, raised a range of demands concerning public transport fares, governance, public service provision particularly health and education, and corruption (Saad-Filho, 2013). Some scholars view the Brazilian demonstrations to be spontaneous protests fuelled by social networks (Zibechi, 2013). Of note in the Brazilian protests have been "the widespread use of the internet tools for their organization and the expression of demands" (Saad-Filho, 2013:658). In da Silva (2013)'s words

“Young people, quick fingers on their cellphones, have taken to the streets around the world.” Just like in Spain, Egypt, Iran, Turkey, the organization of Brazilian demonstrations was largely through the social media and TV (Silva, 2013). Facebook and Twitter played key roles, as loosely connected people, who organized themselves and met and marched (Saad-Filho, 2013).

The police have at some points responded brutally to demonstrations by the MPL, and even issued arrests. One repression resulted in a massacre when Rio de Janeiro police confronted a gang, which had allegedly used the demonstrations to launch a number of robberies; the operation by the police led to ten people losing their lives at Favela da Mare (Affonso, 2013). Police brutality was high; in fact, the police even beat up passers-by and journalists, with many wounded from rubber bullets. This sad development helped to bring police repression to the attention of the nation, as mainstream TV networks and press started supporting the movement and gave full coverage to the protests (Saad-Filho, 2013). Following these demonstrations, on 19 June the federal government used its power to push Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo to reverse transport increases and this led to a reversal of planned bus price increases, in the city of Sao Paulo, and a reversal of electricity prices in Parana state (Saad-Filho, 2013), thus suggesting the power of protests.

2.3.4 The Arab Spring

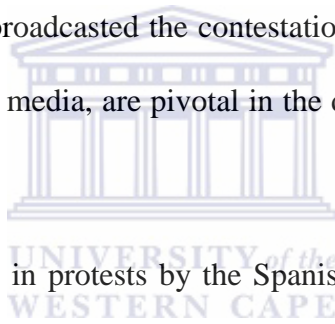
The Arab Spring or Arab uprising refers to a wave of protests and demonstrations that befell the Arab world from late 2010. Protests started in Tunisia following the self-immolation of Mohammed Bouazizi in protest against police ill-treatment and corruption (Howard, et al, 2011; Ismael, 2013). Political analysts hold a general consensus regarding major factors which led to the 2011 Arab uprisings to be economic deterioration blamed on Structural Adjustment Programs

(SAPs), government corruption and heavy-handed repressive nature of Arab regimes (Salih and Eldin, 2013, Ismael, 2013). According to Howard, et al. (2011:2) one of the many causes of the Arab Spring was the “social media and its power to put a human face on political oppression.” I disagree with the view that the social media is one of the causes of the Arab Spring. Rather, it is hereby contended that social media was a tool used to communicate grievances which were already there and mobilizing people to protest against these problems. Hence, social media was a useful tool but not a cause for the protests.

A key slogan upheld by the demonstrators has been ‘*Ash-sha’b yurid isqat an-nizam*’: ‘The people want to bring down the regime’ (Salih and Eldin, 2013:185). Responses by authorities and pro-government militias to the Arab Spring have been harsh (Salih and Eldin, 2013). Almost the same as what has happened in some instances in South Africa where police response to protests has been brutal resulting in deaths and a number of people injured. The Arab uprising led to the overthrow of a number of heads of state in 2011. Zine El Abidine, Tunisian president who had been in power for 24 years fled the country (BBC News, 2011), Hosni Mubarak president of Egypt resigned (The Economist, 2011), Ali Abdullah Saleh president of Yemen was forced to resign after days of massive protests which ended his 30 year reign and Muammar al-Gaddafi, Lybian leader, was killed with the help of NATO bombing campaigns (Salih and Eldin, 2013; Ismael, 2013). Protests also broke out in Algeria, Morocco and elsewhere, in Syria protests metamorphosed into a full blown civil war (Howard, et al., 2011).

Social media has been pivotal to the protest process in organizing, communicating, raising awareness and even issuing danger alerts to protestors at attempts of government repression, internet censorship and so forth (Salih and Eldin, 2013). In fact, major activities on the ground

were often preceded by a spike of revolutionary conversations online (Black, 2012). This is critical given that the underlying argument advanced in this thesis is that networks are important in protests because they, among other things, help in disseminating information. In this case, although personal networks or connections were not the main channels of information dissemination, social media has played that important role. In any case, it can be argued that social media are based on networks or ties especially given that social media requires some sort of connections, links accepting a friend request, or following a tweet. For instance, Howard, et al. (2011:3) state that their “evidence suggests that democracy advocates in Egypt and Tunisia used social media to connect with others outside their countries” and these connections informed Western news stories which then broadcasted the contestations in the region. Clearly, networks, whether personal or through social media, are pivotal in the dissemination of information and in protests.



There are a number of similarities in protests by the Spanish *indignados*, Occupy Wall Street, Spontaneous Uprising Brazil, and the Arab Spring. For instance, in all of the above the youth were actively involved in the protests. In all of the four cases discussed above, social networks and media played a significant role in the dissemination of information on the protests. The internet played a key role in networking loosely connected people. Undoubtedly, mobilizations offline were also utilized in the contestations. Another similar thing in the above cases relates to violence; where violence was by the authorities such as the police, as well as by protestors. One other trend that cut across these protests was a desire by the citizenry for more participation in the democratic process. Having considered the global protests, this review now focuses on the protests in South Africa, particularly service delivery protests.

2.4 History of protests in South Africa

In South Africa, protests are by no means a new phenomenon. The pre-1994 period witnessed a number of protests against apartheid government. As such, present protests are “a continuity from the apartheid era” (Mottiar and Bond, 2012:310, see also Atkinson, 2007). To underscore this point it must be borne in mind that even during the Mandela government’s ‘honeymoon’ after 1994 there still existed strong movements which demanded change in a number of areas (Bond, 2000; Ballard, et al., 2006). Given that protest existed pre-1994 and that they continued in the post-1994 period, one may talk of a continuity of protests in South Africa. That said, protests of the period pre-1994 and those of the period post-1994 are different. The variation comes from the difference in context and time resulting in differences in reasons for protests. Yet even with these variations, there is a continuity of the protest phenomenon, which has somewhat similar repertoires as those which occurred in the period pre-1994.

The continuity of protests post-1994 helps to understand how protests are played out. Contemporary protests draw on the protest activities and repertoires of the past, which undoubtedly have ‘cultural connections’ to anti-apartheid activism (Mottiar and Bond, 2012). The authors even reason that this continuance explains why the protests do not represent a break away from the African National Congress (ANC). While this continuation is undeniable, it is worth pointing that before 2005, violent protests were below 10% but after 2005 violent or unrest incidents consistently rose (Mottiar and Bond, 2012). The protests have intensified due to failed expectations and the many reasons which frustrate communities.

Another area that shows the link between protests pre-1994 and post-1994 has to do with the call to the ungovernability of townships. In 2011, angry protesters in Danielskuil, Northern Cape

province stated that they will make the municipality ‘ungovernable’ until their demands were met (Mokoena, 2011). Similarly, the Concerned Group, a community-based organization in Azania township in Gauteng, which addressed service delivery problems and corruption, stated that it would embark on a “work stay-away and make the township ‘ungovernable’, actions that were immediately recognizable from the days of anti-apartheid resistance” (Von Holdt, et al., 2011:8). Similarly, Mottiar and Bond (2012:311) argue that the “call to ‘ungovernability’ harks back to the apartheid era and especially the 1980s when the Black Local Authorities system was opposed by urban township residents.” This shows that there exist some similarities and indeed a continuity in the way protestors reacted under the apartheid and post-apartheid eras in a bid to attain what they want from authorities. I briefly turn to a discussion on organized protests in South Africa before turning to reasons for protests.

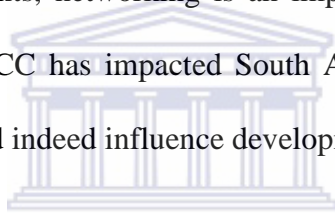
2.4.1 The Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF)

South Africa has had a number of organised forms of protest. The Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) is a new social movement that was formed in 2000 at the University of the Witwatersrand. Three factors gave rise to this forum (a) frustration with the ruling party’s adoption of Growth, Employment and Redistribution or GEAR, (b) influences of anti-globalisation movement in other parts of the world such as North America and Europe, and (c) a search for answers from the working class who had limited accesses to basic goods and services and whose livelihoods had been threatened by retrenchment and cost recovery (Buhlungu, 2006). It is a loosely connected forum – which saw students playing an important role in its early years but the forum has undergone numerous changes. AFP affiliates usually come from marginalized and vulnerable societies, particularly unemployed, pensioners and the precariously employed; AFP is among the

few organizations which give these groups of people a voice and solidarity. One such organization that falls under AFP is the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee.

2.4.2 The Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC)

The Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC) is a small social movement organization which fights for the provision of affordable, and in some cases free electricity to poor Soweto residents (Egan and Wafer, 2006). Through its ability to “network with like-minded organizations and activists”, the SECC has had an impact on South African society (Egan and Wafer, 2006). Interestingly, SECC’s impact in society is credited to its ability to network which shows that even in organized social movements, networking is an important ingredient for social action. Furthermore, the fact that the SECC has impacted South African society suggests that social movements can have an impact and indeed influence development.



2.4.3 Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign (WCAEC)

WESTERN CAPE

The Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign (WCAEC) is a movement composed of diverse organizations grounded in grassroots struggles from Cape Town’s poor and marginalized areas that was formed in 2001 to “fight against evictions and water cut-offs” (Oldfield and Stokke, 2004:1). WCAEC struggles must be understood in the context of a shift in local government’s provision of water and electricity to cost recovery policy – which is backed by threats of disconnection to defaulters (Egan and Wafer, 2006). The WCAEC as an “important oppositional voice in local politics in Cape Town ... have joined together to intervene, and often disrupt, citywide policy and public discourse on equity and socio-economic right” by challenging post-apartheid service delivery and the cost recovery stance (Oldfield and Stokke, 2004:1). Clearly, social movements can and do influence the course of development. It will be interesting to note

how Gugulethu service delivery protests shape development. What, however, are the reasons for protests? It is to this that I now turn to.

2.5 Reasons for protests

Before considering the reasons for protests it is pertinent to note where protests have predominantly emanated from. By and large protest activities have started from shack communities and black and coloured townships and not from better serviced and resourced suburbs (Booyesen, 2007; Alexander, 2010; Nleya, 2011). A similar opinion is expressed in an article entitled ‘Violence is the only language that this government knows’ by Moses Langa, in which he pointed that lack of access to basic services like housing, water and electricity yet mayors and councillors drive expensive cars (Von Holdt, et al., 2011) lead to protests. It is this feeling of marginalization that appears to cause feelings of anger in communities which suggests that protests are an expression of the frustration that poor resourced township residents face. Reasons for protests abound, but for the purpose of this research I will only highlight a few.

Marais, et al. (2008) stated two broad factors that caused protests in Phumelela in the Free State: a) ‘structural’ factors where some side of neo-liberalism and globalization negatively influenced poverty, and b) ‘systemic’ (chiefly managerial) factors, which contributed significantly to protests. With regards to systemic factors, one problem worth pointing is the shortcomings by state institutions such as lack of accountability and the incompetence of many municipalities and how these contribute to protests (Atkinson, 2006). Similarly, in their case studies of urban municipalities in Buffalo (East London) and Msunduzi (Pietermarizburg), Barichievy, Piper and Parker (2005:370) found that “participatory governance appears to be working poorly.” Although the findings by Marais, et al. (2008) are case study bound, perhaps there is a kernel of truth in the

two broad factors they outlined and perhaps these two broad factors also exist in other provinces and places in South Africa. With this in mind, the review now turns to briefly discuss the specific causes of protests.

2.5.1 Quantity and quality of service delivery

One of the justifications for service delivery protests relates to the quantity of service delivered, which basically refers to the amount of services offered (though in the strictest sense of the word some services are difficult to quantify). Seasoned researchers (Alexander, 2010; Booysen, 2009) argue that there are reasonable grounds to believe that inadequate service delivery is one of the principal reasons of protests. Articles which record protests from the mainstream media “habitually refer to local complaints over lack of water, sanitation, electricity, housing and infrastructure in general” as causes of protests (Mottiar and Bond, 2012: 311). In Gugulethu, Staniland (2008) found that there was a high level of discontent especially regarding housing delivery. A protest held in Morokweng village in the North West Province is a good example of angry residents who protested against insufficient state services (Mottiar and Bond, 2012). To underscore this point, it is important to note, as Atkinson (2007) and Marais, et al. (2008) do in their qualitative analyses, that the backbone of service delivery protests is a deficit of service delivery. Although such protests are normally catalyzed by a number of factors, it is clear that inadequate provision of basic services has been one of the key reasons for social protest action throughout South Africa.

Even though there have been widespread protests related to inadequate quantities of service delivery, it must be remembered that that since 1994, service delivery statistics of government provision have been laudable (Alexander, 2010, see also Staniland, 2008). For example, the

Department of Water Affairs (2013) statistics show that in 2012 the percentage of households in South Africa with no water infrastructure was 1.87, compared to the 2.78 recorded in 2010. Whereas 6.30 households in South Africa had water below RDP in 2010, the percentage fell to 4.50 in 2012. Similarly, the percentage of South Africa's households with no sanitation infrastructure fell from 5.62 in 2010 to 3.21 in 2012 and only 16.56 households in South Africa's households had sanitation below RDP in 2012 as opposed to the 20.54 in 2010. The percentage of households with sanitation at and above RDP stood at 83.44 in 2012 higher than the 81.79 experienced in 2010 (Department of Water Affairs, 2013). Clearly, the government has worked hard to reduce service delivery backlogs. One of the problems, though, is that the impressive provision of basic services such as free basic electricity and free basic water has been met with an increase in population, particularly in cities. Between 1996 and 2001, the South African population in cities grew by more than double the growth rate of the whole nation (Pillay, et al., 2006). The increase in population has not been matched with an increase in service delivery, resulting in more basic service problems. For example, although there has been progress in the delivery of housing, townships such as Gugulethu still have 48% of residents living in informal housing (City of Cape Town, 2011). Also, although there have been expansions of service infrastructure and housing since 1994, cost-recovery policies have had a negative impact on this impressive record (Oldfield & Stokke, 2004). In fact, I concur with the argument that even the provision of Free Basic Water "in the context of overall policies of cost-recovery creates a paradox in which low-income, poor households experience *debilitating and insufficient access* [my emphasis] to water and increasing household debts" (Peters and Oldfield, 2005:315). Drawing from the above, population growth and cost recovery are among the factors that have negatively impacted the 'quantity' of services people have access to.

Yet not only do people protest against inadequate service delivery but people also protest against the poor quality of the services delivered. Such protests do not focus on the lack of services, but on the quality of the services rendered. All over South Africa, communities have expressed their frustrations on poor service delivery and lack of maintenance of available amenities and infrastructures (Hawker, 2013; Funani, 2012; Anthony, 2011, Staniland, 2008). A study conducted in Phumulela in the Free State revealed that problems of “water quality, and a lack of sewage management featured prominently in the memoranda and complaints handed to the municipality” (Marais, et al., 2008:61). Similarly, in Vrede in Free State province, one of the complaints that were raised with regard to poor service delivery was dirty water from taps (Atkinson, 2007). Protests against the poor quality of services were also witnessed in Mitchells Plan, Cape Town where residents barricaded roads as they protested against “poor workmanship in RDP houses” (Atkinson, 2007:55). Booysen (2007) also highlights the quality of service delivery as one of the reasons for two consecutive years of ‘grass-roots protests.’

A study by Nleya (2011) in Khayelitsha, which sought to find the link between service delivery and protests, found that informal settlements dwellers attended protests more frequently than formal house dwellers, with the percentages of 50 per cent and 36 per cent, respectively. Based on this finding, the researcher concluded that the propensity to protest is lower in formal settlements than in informal settlements. In addition, Nleya (2011:8) “found some evidence to support the hypothesis that service delivery failure is the cause of protests.” Protests declined when service delivery improved and the same is true for the protests and perceptions of service delivery and conditions of life, for, protests declined when there was an improvement in both perceptions of service delivery and conditions of life (Nleya, 2011). This seems to suggest that improvement in service delivery reduces service delivery protests – which appears to suggest

that in these cases there is no ‘hidden agenda’ for protests. A study by Marais, et al. (2008:56) in the Free State concluded that there were “ample causes contributing to the emergence of social protest, such as poor living conditions and increasing poverty.” This is especially important given that even by 2001 more than 5 000 households in their case study used the bucket system. Important as this observation is, it must be borne in mind that the same study found that “a significant percentage of protesters came from white communities” which were better resourced and where the blacks who lived in these communities were fairly satisfied with service delivery, and as such, this “suggests that other factors also played a role” in causing these protests (Marais, et al., 2008:56). What then are those other factors at play? Unfortunately, Marais, et al. (2008) did not look into these factors. In somewhat the same vein it would be revealing to understand why other communities with equally or even higher levels of inadequate service delivery (quantity) and poor quality of service delivery do not protest. Although this is beyond the scope of this study, it raises an important issue central to this study, that is, the key role that networks play in initiating and maintaining protests.

2.5.2 Protests receive better reception

Another reason why people protest is because they believe that protests receive better reception from responsible authorities than other means of engagement. Alexander (2010) argues convincingly that of late there exists a belief that grievances expressed in the form of protest action stand a better chance to be addressed under Zuma’s administration. The same sentiments were shared by Booysen (2007) who noted that response by local government to protesters resulted in the perception among communities that protests work to take root, and as such, communities included protests as part of repertoire for political participation. Similarly, a study

by Akinboade, et al. (2013:458) in Sedibeng district municipality in Gauteng, which sought to gain a deeper understanding of the causes of protests, revealed that “service delivery protest participants opine that doing so (protesting) is the only way of getting things done in the municipality.” In other words, the lack of responsiveness from councillors to other means of political engagement lead communities to protest knowing that the responsible authorities will pay attention to them.

The same goes for violent protests. In some communities, the transition from peaceful protests to violent protests is premised on the belief that violent protests will be attended to swiftly. In a recent article entitled ‘Violence is the only language that this government knows’, the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation revealed that for four years protesters in Azania township, Gauteng had used non-violent methods but had not achieved the desired results and as a result it seems that they used violence as ‘the last resort’ (Von Holdt, et al., 2011:68). Resorting to violence as the last resort is also expressed in an article entitled ‘Sending a message to the top’ conducted in Kungcatsha in Mpumalanga province where researchers noted that “some township residents were predisposed to resort to violent protests because of the failure of previous peaceful protests and their increasing frustration with local government” (Von Holdt, et al., 2011:50; see also Oldfield and Stokke, 2004). In 2011 many protesters in Schubert Park, Tswane similarly claimed that “Residents are used to the fact that if they don’t do anything violent they will never get joy [their demands] from the city” (IOL, 1 January 2011). Frustrated by months of non-violent protests which yielded no results, residents of Morokweng village in Northwest Province resorted to public violence and arson which damaged school property (Mottiar and Bond, 2012). In a similar way, participants in a focus group interview in the Phumelela in the Free State summarized their situation: “After four years of complaints and

frustration, residents may believe that the only effective way to achieve [a solution] is through violence and confrontation ... but listen, this is not born out of a desire to be violent. Instead, it is born out of [the] belief that nothing will significantly change exclusively through non-violence and appeasement” (Marais, et al., 2008:63). Clearly, there seems to be a willingness to protest peacefully and to only employ violent protests as a last resort following a long time of lack of appropriate response from authorities. It will be interesting to see whether or not Gugulethu residents have this desire for peaceful protests.

Harber (2009) convincingly argued that the term service delivery implies that apart from voting, communities have to do nothing to get services. He further points out that the only other time that people are supposed to act is when responsible authorities fail to deliver and that the form of action is protest action in order for them to be heard. Similarly, in Booyesen’s (2007:21) words, “surveys in the run-up to the election indicated that protest and voting were rated equally as mechanisms to attain improved levels of service delivery.” The point here is, voting and protesting seems to be important repertoires of protest that communities use to attain service delivery. Is this supposed to be the case though? In line with Harber’s argument, this research seeks to identify existing networks that enable Gugulethu residents to protest. Additionally, the study tries to find ways the community uses these networks to bring about community development. Not only so, the community can use the networks to better connect and contest well in order to make their voices heard. It is fitting to offer a clarification here. As has been pointed before, protests, and in particular, peaceful protests are enshrined in the laws of South Africa and as such, peaceful protests are an expression of democratic right. That said, community members’ knowledge and appreciation of networks at their disposal could be helpful in initiating other long term development projects rather than relying solely on the service

providers to deliver and only act when they fail to do so. Understanding of such networks will help communities to act regardless of whether or not service providers deliver.

2.5.3 Politics

A study by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation revealed that some protests are politically motivated but are masked as service delivery protests (Von Holdt, et al., 2011). Such cases typically have rivals positioning themselves to oust political opponents and “to engage in struggles to reconfigure power relations” (Von Holdt, et al., 2011:10). This is clearly expressed in the words of a protester interviewed who claimed that “It is not service delivery, but people are just fighting for tenders, but using the community to do so” (Von Holdt, et al., 2011:11). A similar opinion was expressed by a protester in Kungcatsha in Mpumalanga who claimed that “Some of the leaders were angry that they were no longer getting tenders and then they decided to mobilize the community against the municipality” (Von Holdt, et al., 2011:11). Clearly, some protests have nothing to do with service delivery but are sold to the community as service delivery but the covert reason will be to secure lucrative business tenders for the instigators of the protests.

Sometimes, protests were initiated by ANC politicians who were involved in infighting in their structures (Bam, 2005 cited in Booysen, 2007). At other times, it seems that rival politicians used service delivery problems to initiate service delivery protests in order to oust political opponents (Sunday Times, 5 June 2005). A good example to illustrate this point is that of a former Mayor in Phumelela in the Free State who claimed that the former Mayor was instrumental in initiating ‘service delivery protests’ for his own political ends (Marais, et al., 2008). In the aforementioned study, the interviewees claimed that the former Mayor did this by spreading a bad report about

the Municipal Manager, suggesting that he was incompetent and that he had out of his own initiative raised his salary by R110 000. Essentially, what these studies are arguing is that although service delivery problems and service delivery protests exist it is common for people to use the service delivery problems and mobilize people to protest, yet the actual reason for protest will be for individual or for a few people's political gains. This underscores the importance that networks and mobilization play to achieve change. Although some politicians use service delivery protests for their own selfish ends, it can be argued that what is implied in such politicians' actions show the importance that networks and mobilization play to achieve change. The implied importance of the power of networks is important to this study.

There is, however, also a genuine politics to service delivery protests, one in which protestors' networks have a larger political objective of promoting a more egalitarian society. Von Holdt, et al. (2011:6) rightly regard such protests as a "contestation over the meaning and content of citizenship." Similarly, Mottiar and Bond (2012) argue that when the urban poor protest against poor service delivery and for authorities to improve service delivery they reveal the lack of dignity they suffer. The lack of dignity was aptly captured on a bucket written "Dignity in our lifetime" to demand proper toilets and sanitation, which was organized by the Social Justice Coalition in Khayelitsha (Nicholson, 2011). Ballard, et al. (2006:309) highlight this point and suggest that "much activism in South Africa is directed against government policy on distributional issues, particularly with regards to the inability of many poor South Africans to access basic services." Protests then become a tool used to achieve desired and dignified service delivery. It is important to bear in mind that many people in poor communities expect democracy to improve their standard of living including income and services such as housing, education and health (Zeurn, 2011). In fact, for Zeurn (2011) the fight to end apartheid was based on a desire

for economic and social rights, and as such, today's dissatisfaction with the post-1994 government comes from the failure on the part of the government to meet people's expectations adequately.

2.6 Triggers and Tactics

Service delivery protests are “catalysed by lack of response by local authorities, billing issues, the lack of employment and business opportunities and high crime rates” (Mottiar and Bond, 2012: 311). Unemployment is an important factor in protests. Alexander (2010) noted that the significance of high levels of unemployment is shown by the large number of unemployed and underemployed young adults who participate in service delivery protests. Marais, et al. (2008:63) found that the “lack of a complaint management system and the inability to create open communication channels (and thus, the inability to listen) were probably the main factors that triggered the protests.” Clearly, although people protest against service delivery problems, there are numerous factors that trigger protest action. Such triggers perhaps help in initiating a protest action.

A number of tactics are employed by participants in protests. These vary with the people involved and the issues they raise and include, inter alia, drafting of memoranda, petitions, mass meetings, toyi-toying, barricading roads, burning tyres, confrontation with police, forcing elected officials to resign, xenophobic tendencies towards foreigners and looting (Alexander, 2010). Mottiar and Bond (2012) note rallying, demonstration, striking, downing tools, picketing, burning tyres and blockading of roads as some of the tactics used by protesters. Burning of tyres and barricading of roads are reported by both Alexander (2010) and Mottiar and Bond (2012) as noted above. Burning of tyres is of significance because it is a continuity of what happened in the

apartheid state, where ‘necklace burning’ (where a tyre soaked in petrol was placed in a victims neck before setting it alight) to punish political opponents and collaborators (Ball, 1994). Protestors favour different tactics for different protests. Mottiar and Bond (2012) note that barricading roads and burning tyres seem to be preferred tactics in service delivery protests. Recently, other novel tactics have been employed like the poo protest in Cape Town, where protestors carried buckets of excrements and dumped them at the offices of the Western Cape premier and at Cape Town international airport (Kadali, 2013). The rationale for dumping the excrements at a popular airport was, obviously, to attract national and international awareness of the service delivery problems townships face, such as the bucket system.

The notion of service delivery protests is loaded with promises by the government which, according to Harber (2009), built promises exclusively on the improvement of service delivery because among other things, promises of better service delivery ring better election slogans. Perhaps it is fair to argue that what makes it easier for people to network is that they share the same frustrations. They all know the promises of service delivery, but what they later get is far removed from the promises they get during election time. Mobilization is therefore easier especially because of the meaning they attach to this negative development done by politicians and municipal officials.

2.7 The Media

The role that television, radio and the internet played in the wave of protests that swept through South Africa since 2004 deserves some attention. Booyesen (2007:24) observed that “the turn to protest was facilitated through a snowballing effect, with communities in many cases following examples that were observed in the mass-media’s coverage of preceding protests.” Snowballing

was facilitated at the beginning stages of the service delivery protests due to the extensive coverage that television and radio provided. Over time, however, coverage declined. Globally, the internet's role in social movements and protests is worth noting. Castells' (2012:2) argument that societies are networked and as such "movements spread by contagion in a world networked by the wired Internet" is quite helpful. Castells (2012) further pointed to the significant role of the internet in creating a platform "for mobilizing, for organizing, for deliberating, for coordinating and for deciding" (Castells, 2012:229). The significant role of TV, radio and the internet to this study lies in their ability to transmit information, something that is important in networking and mobilization. Even though Castells (2012) was referring to a networked community and how the internet can play an important role in organizing, this study can draw lessons from this, and indeed ask questions around how widespread the use of the internet is in sparking spontaneous protests in South Africa's townships.

However, my study does not focus on social media and networks but touches on it in passing because of the demographics of the activists under study – the old people, do not use social networks, such as facebook, whatsapp, BBM and Mixit as widely as the young people do. Importantly, the youth, who usually use the above mentioned social networks, are not as actively involved in protest organisation in my case study. Also, the use of social networks is relatively limited due to the prevalence of poverty in Gugulethu. However, in order to answer one of the research questions that seeks to find how service delivery protests are initiated, the proposed study will also investigate the role of social networks.

2.8 Conclusion

The empirical studies investigated revealed the reasons for service delivery protests to be inadequate services, poor quality services and the better reception that protests receive. There are some protests which on the surface appear to be service delivery protests, yet are politically motivated. And there are some protests which have an egalitarian objective. Levels of unemployment and poverty also influence the people who participate in protests. Service delivery protests often commence as a result of trigger factors. The review included the different tactics that service delivery protestors employ. The literature review noted the role that the media, the internet and social networks, such as facebook and whatsapp play in the organization of protests. In order to better understand the protest phenomenon the review considered some protests that occurred around the world and then zeroed in on South African protests, particularly service delivery protests. What emerged from global and South African protests is that networks play a critical role in protests. However, the role of networks in protest action has not received adequate scholarly attention in South Africa. The next section discusses the theoretical framework that guided this study.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Theory is very important in laying a foundation for research in the social sciences. Ragin (1994:58) defined a theoretical framework as a “detailed sketch or outline of an idea about a phenomenon.” Basically, two main theories were used; social movement theory and network theory. This study makes use of ideas from the political opportunity structure approach, the resource mobilization, and framing theories of social movements, as well as social network theory and social network analysis as a departure point for analyzing service delivery protests in Gugulethu. Whereas social movement theory is helpful in studying, among other things, how movements organize and what they do, network theories (namely, social network theory and social network analysis) provide an understanding of the relationships and networks in promoting and sustaining collective action. The use of these theories stated not only guided the research and helped in viewing evidence gathered, it also helped in analyzing the gathered evidence.

3.2 Social Movement Theory

Social movement theory is widely used in investigating social movements. Three interconnected approaches which will be discussed under the social movement theory are the political opportunity structure approach, resource mobilization theory, and framing processes. These different but interconnected approaches bring different strengths to better understand service delivery protests in Gugulethu.

3.2.1 The Political Opportunity Structure Approach

The political opportunity structure approach is concerned with the context within which social movements may emerge or may fail to emerge. Chloe and Kim (2012:56) defined this approach “as a political condition that exists outside of the social movement forces and affects the process of social movement mobilization.” Ballard, et al. (2006:4) point out that “structuralist discussions of political opportunity seek to understand the contexts within which mobilization is more or less likely.” In other words, the available structures have an important impact on the activities of social movements. Mohanty, et al. (2010:6) offer a useful definition of political opportunity structures as those political mechanisms which “are available (for example, constitutions, policies, institutions, legislation) as well as historical opportunities or moments at which coalitions are challenged”, for instance, “before and after elections.” Clearly, although social movements affect the course of history they do not choose the circumstances within which they make history (Meyer, 2004). Perhaps this is one of the reasons as to why political opportunity proponents borrow insights from collective behaviour theorists and underline the key role of that political openings and instabilities play in the broader structure, and how such broader structures affect how actors respond (Ballard, et al., 2006). This then means that the political opportunity structure defines contestations by social movements (Mohanty, et al., 2010).

According to Tarrow (1994:85, cited in Ballard, et al., 2006), the political opportunity structure is “consistent – but not necessarily formal, permanent or national - dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure.” In light of this, the political opportunity structure offers a useful understanding into how the presence of institutions can either permit or constrain service

delivery protests in Gugulethu. Opportunities include a diversity of circumstances and events, for example, changes in regimes, changes in elites, a time of political instability, which may offer leeway for social movements to mobilize (della Porta, 2008). The political opportunity structure helped this study to understand, among other things, the circumstances which allow service delivery protests to continue.

Given that political opportunity structure deals with “the structure of opportunities and constraints within which movements may or may not develop” (Ballard, et al. 2006:3), the existence of grievances does not necessarily lead to protests but the context and timing of the grievances determine whether or not protests will occur. In fact, even the success of movements is influenced by the social environment. Indeed, as della Porta (2008:223) argues, social movements “develop and succeed not because they emerge to address new grievances, but rather because something in the larger political context allows existing grievances to be heard.” This is significant because it explains the importance of external factors and why protests may take time to occur even when there are pressing grievances.

Political opportunity structure also sheds insight on protest cycles. Proponents of the political opportunity approach argue that protest cycles begin when “structurally created political opportunities” increase, but are expanded by the activities of the movement itself such as its ability to successfully mobilize and rapid innovation which also contribute to the expansion of protest cycles (Ballard, et al., 2006:5). Yet no matter how strong a movement is, there are a number of factors that may lead to the ebbing or disappearance of protests. Some of the factors that may cause this include increased repression by the state, an increased level of acceptance by the people of the claims made by activists (Ballard, et al., 2006), boredom, tiredness (‘protest

fatigue'), frustration and disillusionment by participants in movements (Tarrow, 1994; Zeurn, 2001). In other words, not only do changes in the environment affect cycle of protests, but the actions of government and participants can also affect protest cycles.

The political opportunity structure approach guided this research in understanding the political structures that either constrain or enable service delivery protests in Gugulethu. Yet, while the political opportunity structure helps in understanding mobilization, it places less emphasis on the actors' role. Perhaps this is because it does not have a clear analytical framework which aids it to explain the interplay of actors and the opportunity structure (Goodwin and Jasper, 2004). Indeed, although the approach does a good job in explaining the contexts within which influence social movements, it fails (in some respects) because it places little emphasis on the role of the activists themselves. Also, it lacks a clear analytical framework of how to measure the contribution that actors and the environment have on social movements' mobilization, hence the need for another social movement approach to complement its effort.

3.2.2 Resource Mobilization Theory

As helpful as the political opportunity theory is, it offers no explanation on how new movements rise (Ballard, et al., 2006). As such, there is a need to bring in the resource mobilization theory. Resource mobilization theory (RMT) can be defined as a process whereby a group collectively gains control of resources necessary for collective action (Jenkins, 1983). The strength of this theory lies in its realization that movements are "built upon existing human and material resources" (Ballard, et al., 2006). Indeed, the key issues here concern the resources that a group controls before mobilization efforts, the process that the group uses in channelling the resources towards social change, and the input of outsiders in increasing resources at the group's disposal

(Jenkins, 1983). RMT concerns itself with organizational processes and, as such, underlines the importance of resource accumulation, organizational base and coordination by the majority of political actors (Carey, 2009). In the same vein, McCarthy and Zald (1977), Tilly (1978), Jenkins (1983) and della Porta and Diani (2006) highlight the importance of both material and non-material resources, such as, money, work, services, concrete benefits, friendship, authority, faith, labour, legitimacy, technical expertise and moral engagement available to communities which enable mobilization. In other words, RMT underlines the importance of both tangible and intangible resources needed for mobilization to occur.

One of the intangible or non-material resources concerns the role of networks in mobilization. As Ballard, et al. (2006:5) put it, resource mobilization “investigates how social movement organizations are formed, what local networks they build upon, what existing institutions they employ, and what access they have to political and material resources.” In other words, RMT recognizes and appreciates the role that local networks play in protests. More importantly, they also point out that the movements are built on both formal and informal networks where some of these networks develop along racial, ethnic, class, gender, religious lines and others that go beyond these. This theory helped guide this study which sought to understand how people are socially, economically and politically networked to engage in service delivery protests.

Formal, centralized structures and informal decentralized structures mobilize resources differently. Analysts of RMT hold that today’s social movements are characterized by an organized, centralized and formal structure and that these formalized structures mobilize resources better than movement structures which are informal and decentralized (Jenkins, 1983). While this highlights the weakness of so-called spontaneous protests, it is clear that in one way

or another, resources have to be mobilized to have effective protests. This is because “mobilization by communities is a crucial element in struggles” (Oldfield, 2002:103). Although the premise of this study is that there exists a level of organization and leadership in Gugulethu protests, the findings from the field will either confirm or disprove this view. What is critical here is that RMT underscores the need for mobilizing resources and argues that formal, organized structures are more effective than informal structures in mobilizing resources.

The emphasis that resource mobilization theorists place on grievances deserves special mention. Traditional studies, which sought to understand why social movements emerge, placed emphasis on the increase of short term grievances and how such increases, made possible by changes in structure, helped in mobilization (Gusfield, 1968). Contrary, resource mobilization does not view grievances as primary but secondary in mobilization (Jenkins, 1983). A number of scholars such as Tilly (1977), Oberschall (1978) do not subscribe to the view that an increase in grievances results in the formation of social movements. Instead, they argued for the relative constancy of grievances and stressed that long term changes in resources, coordination and organization and the opportunities for collective action cause movement formation. Similarly, Walsh (1981) notes that the resource mobilization perspective does not view discontent as a variable, but as a constant, and ignores incidences where major grievances lead to protest.

It is worth noting that resource mobilization theorists hold different views regarding the role that grievances play in protests. Scholars like McCarthy and Zald (1977) assume that in any society, there is discontent, at all times which helps in supplying enough support from the community if a given movement is tactically organized and has the necessary resources. What is therefore important here are not the grievances, but the resources at the disposal of a movement or a

discontented group. However, for Walsh (1981) grievances along with the mobilizing process and existing structures must all be classified under variables and he highlights the need to search for a theory that is inclusive. The argument that grievances are not the primary causes of protest (because there are other communities which experience the same grievances or even worse but which do not engage in protests) provide a glance which will be used in viewing protests in Gugulethu.

With regard to strategies, tactics and individuals involved in social movements or protests, resource mobilization use diverse strategies and use people from the community and outside the community involved. The strategies and tactics include “mobilizing supporters, neutralizing and/or transforming mass and elite publics into sympathizers, achieving change in targets” (McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1217). They also note that sometimes some tactics and strategies may work well to achieve one aim but may conflict with the necessary behaviour desired to achieving another aim. Furthermore, support base may either be based or not based on the grievances of the beneficiaries of the desired change, but these may be individuals, groups of conscience organizations which seek to provide support and at such groups may not even hold the underlying values of specific movements (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). For Jenkins (1983:533), the “most distinctive contribution of resource mobilization theory has been to emphasize the significance of outside contributions and the cooptation of institutional resources by contemporary social movements.” In other words, resources not only come from direct beneficiaries of movements’ actions, it also comes from other quarters. These resources are then pooled together and different strategies and tactics are employed that suit a particular aim.

In sum, RMT highlights the role of both internal and external resources, material and non-material resources in mobilization. One of the important non-material resources the theory values is pre-existing networks. This is particularly important to this study which examines the role of networks in service delivery protests. Another aspect with respect to social movements relates to grievances, with different scholars differing on the level of importance that grievances have in influencing behaviour. This study supports the view that although grievances are important they do not have primacy in the formation of movements and in sparking mobilization.

3.2.3 Framing Processes

Although resource mobilization is useful in highlighting the importance of resources in mobilization, it cannot explain the reasons why movements mobilize from the movement's own understanding (Ballard, et al., 2006), that is, from an insider's perspective. That is where framing processes approach comes in. In fact, as Ballard, et al. (2006) note, even though political opportunity theory explain the reasons for social movements emergence, they do so largely from an outsiders' perspective, that is, by considering the external factors to the movement such as the environment. The framing process is useful in that it sheds light on the "the very processes by which movements define themselves" (Ballard, et al., 2006:6).

Framing processes is used in a number of disciplines such as psychology, discourse analysis, linguistics, policy studies and political science (Benford and Snow, 2000). Respected scholars have for long stressed the importance of framing processes in the understanding of social movements (Goffman, 1974; Touraine, 1981; Melucci, 1989; Benford and Snow, 2000). Framing processes underline the importance of 'subjective elements' by participants in social movements which include values, identity and status (Ballard, et al., 2006). Similarly, Snow (2004) notes

that framing processes are concerned with how movement actors and other parties involved in the movement interpret their world (Snow, 2004). In other words, it is not about how the outsiders to the movement explain their grievances, problems and social world, but what the social movement adherents and other relevant actors understand and define their world.

Theory is thus important in shedding light on how mobilization takes place by the group's constructing of meanings, particular ideas, and moral standings of a problem (Leach and Scoones, 2007). In effect, framing helps social movement actors to identify, label, perceive and locate phenomena that directly affect them and those that are far removed from their space and in the process make sense of such occurrences (Goffman, 1974). Clearly, meaning-making is important in the social movements and protests, and thus plays a key role in mobilization and in the life of the movement. For example, meaning-making helps to forge collective identity and solidarity among social movements and protesters (Hunt and Benford, 2004), which are important in mobilizing and in movement activities.

The framing processes hold that social movement activists' actions in their interpretive work are well calculated. This is because adherents of social movements not only "frame, or assign meaning to and interpret relevant events and conditions" but they do so "in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists" (Snow and Benford 1988:198). However, framing processes also looks at problems and identifies who is to blame and what needs be done to achieve the desired change (Larana, 1994). The importance of frames, therefore, lies in the fact that they give meaning to happenings and help in organizing experience that will lead to action (Benford and Snow, 2000). In other words, protagonists' frames are designed in such a way that they lead to action and bring

mobilization to those who are opposed to the movement or those who are neutral about the actions of the social movement.

Importantly, framing is not a once off activity but is a continual process. As Snow (2004) notes, the framing perspective explains how social movement actors engage in both producing and maintaining meaning to different groups such as the protagonists (active supporters of the movement), bystanders (those who are not interested or who are neutral) and antagonists (those strongly opposed to the views and arguments of a movement) (Snow, 2004). This shows that not only is the production of meaning important but the maintenance of a movement's meaning is crucial. Once identities are constructed, meanings are continually redefined to incorporate new experiences (Snow and Machalek, 1984). In fact, one way of maintaining the meaning of a group is by continually redefining identities. What this means is that the way social movements adherents frame their experiences change over time to incorporate new happenings into their world. This involves the “production of mobilizing and countermobilising ideas and meanings” (Benford and Snow, 2000:613). In other words, meaning-making is not a once off event but it is a process which involves redefining their social world to include new occurrences into their frames.

This study finds framing processes useful because it aids the researcher in understanding the meanings protestors in Gugulethu attach to service delivery protests. This is built on the understanding that framing is concerned with how protestors define their group or movement and how this definition changes over time. This theory also helps in understanding who protestors blame, and how they sell their meanings to potential protestors who will identify with the problems they seek to change in Gugulethu.

3.3 Network Theories

Given that this study places emphasis on networks, it needs theories that speak directly to this area, namely, social the network theory and social network analysis.

3.3.1 Social Network Theory

The notion of ‘social networks’ emerged in 1954 from Barnes’s study of a Norwegian island parish (Rhodes and Mullins, 2006). Social network theory is concerned with relationships that exist in networks and social behaviour that ensue from relationships of different kinds, such as those where individuals or groups are cooperative, competitive, hostile and aggressive to each other and the approach even helps to “investigate the intensity, frequency and directedness (i.e. who initiated an aggressive interaction or provided support) of such interactions” (Krause, et al., 2007:16). This will help in understanding how protestors are connected and how they cooperate to engage in protests, something that is at the heart of this study.

Another key component in social network theory is that of links, which are divided into weak and strong links. Simply put, whereas strong ties relates to connections that exist between individuals who have frequent contact, weak ties refer to relationships which do not contact regularly and such weak ties are generally facilitated through ordinary connections such as friends of friends (Cook-Craig, 2010). Concepts such as strong and weak ties are important in understanding how community partners’ networks can contribute in the success of community engagements. Network theory is important because it explains the impact that relationships have on behaviour and helps to explain the impact networks have on behaviour (namely, participation in service delivery protests).

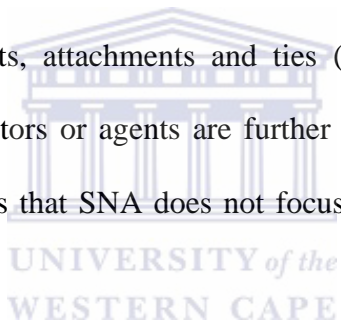
Additionally, social network theory helps in understanding “who interacts with whom and how often and what the total number of connections is that an individual has in a network” (Krause, et al., 2007:18). This information is quite helpful because, among other things, it helps the researcher to understand who interacts with people, who engaged in service delivery protests, how often they meet, and the connections that service delivery protesters have in their network. Knowledge on who interacts with whom and how often speak directly to how people maintain networks that will enable them to engage in future service delivery protests, should the need arise. Among other uses, this information helps in studying how people cooperate (Croft, et al., 2006). Social network theory is thus quite helpful because it helps in studying how people cooperate to engage in service delivery protests in Gugulethu.

3.3.2 Social Network Analysis

Another approach that explains the importance of networks is social network analysis (SNA), which has attracted attention in a vast number of disciplines such as sociology, biology, mathematics, physics, information sciences (Barzinopour and Ahmadi, 2013). While there is a general consensus that SNA concepts are helpful, researchers hold different views regarding the classification of this approach. Some researchers argue that the network approach is a distinct theoretical perspective and others view it as a collection of methods (Kilduff and Tsai, 2007). For Degenne and Forse (1999) SNA is a theory of social structures. Contrariwise, renowned researcher John Scott views SNA not as a theory but a method, arguing that it is an “orientation towards the social world that inheres in a particular set of methods” and that it “is not a specific body of formal or substantive social theory” (2000:37). While the two opposing views are

relevant, for the purpose of this study, the SNA will be viewed as an approach that will help in understanding networks in Gugulethu.

The social network analysis concerns itself with relationships that exist among social entities, for example, communication among group members, economic transactions that exist between corporations and treaties, and trade that occur among nations (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). This focus on relationships is of great significance to this study, particularly because unlike traditional social and behavioural research which place much emphasis on attribute data of social units, such as attitudes, behaviour and opinions, social network analysis places emphasis on relational data, such as ties, connections, contacts and attachments (Scott, 2000; Wasserman and Faust, 1994). These connections, contacts, attachments and ties (relational data) relate an actor to another and then these pairs of actors or agents are further connected into broader systems of relations (Scott, 2000). This means that SNA does not focus on actors but on the relationships that exist between actors.



Apart from the importance of relational data, Wasserman and Faust (1994:4) raise other key prepositions which underpin Social Network Analysis:

Actors and their actions are viewed as interdependent rather than independent, autonomous units; relational ties (linkages) between actors are channels for transfer or “flow” of resources (either material or nonmaterial); network models focusing on individuals view the network structural environment as providing opportunities for or constraints on individual action; network models conceptualize structure (social, economic, political, and so forth) as lasting patterns of relations among actors.

The approaches’ view of relational ties (linkages) as channels which allow the flow or transfer of both material and nonmaterial resources (Wasserman and Faust, 1994) links well with resource

mobilization theory which highlights the importance of both material and nonmaterial resources in mobilization. The SNA's assumption that people in a network are interdependent and that such interdependence allows resources to flow (Galaskiewicz and Wasserman, 1994) is crucial in a research that deals with how people mobilize to engage in service delivery protests. Social Network Analysis will guide understanding on how relational ties in Gugulethu serve as channels where information about community grievances and protests flow.

The social network analysis thus highlights the importance that relationships have among interacting units, in this case, the importance that relationships have among service delivery protestors. Importantly, this approach “conceptualize structure (social, economic, political, and so forth) as lasting patterns of relations among actors” (Wasserman and Faust, 1994:4). In view of this, this approach helps the researcher to understand, on the one hand, how service delivery protests are initiated and maintained by social, political, economic relationships among actors, in this case, protestors, and how, on the other hand, service delivery protests networks shape and influence future service delivery protests. Using social network analysis researchers can also explain both the nature of interactions in a network and how such relations might influence outcomes (Cook-Craig, 2010). This approach will help in identifying the nature of relations that exist in Gugulethu and how such interactions in a network might influence decision to engage in service delivery protests.

Due to the fact that people do not operate in a vacuum, their actions are influenced by external factors. That is why, SNA “indicates that actors are positioned in and influenced by a larger social network” (Johnson, et al., 2013:1). In other words, the approach concerns itself with how humans organize and how that organization is influenced by external influences. Actors’

behaviour is affected by the relations or linkages between agents (Scott, 2000). The assumption that behaviour is affected by relations with other agents foregrounds the SNA's attempt "to explain human behaviour and social change from a relational perspective" (Vera and Schupp, 2006:408).

In network analysis, the unit of analysis is not an individual actor but a collection of actors and the linkages that exist among them (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). One of the assumptions of the SNA is the importance of relationships among interacting actors (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). Importantly, these "relations are treated as expressing the linkages which run between agents" (Scott, 2000:3), which clearly shows that the focus of network analysis is on the relationships of actors, not the actors themselves. This also means that there is a need to identify and make sense of these relationships.

Although it is easier to identify and measure tangible factors, intangible factors though somewhat difficult to identify and measure, play a pivotal role in initiating and maintaining service delivery protests. One example of an intangible factor in service delivery protests is relationships. As such, this thesis employed ideas from SNA to help in identifying relationships, ties and networks that enable service delivery protests in Gugulethu. This is especially important given that SNA can enhance understanding of complex relationships by seeking to understand 'relational embeddedness' and connections among units at different levels such as organizational, structural and individual (Kilduff and Tsai, 2007). The use of SNA proved helpful in aiding understandings of the complex relationships that help in initiating and maintaining service delivery protests in Gugulethu.

The SNA approach can be used both quantitatively and qualitatively (Scott, 2000). Although it is possible and important to conduct quantitative counts of relations, this study uses the network analysis qualitatively to measure network structure; this study only uses some aspects of the SNA. The qualitative side of SNA works best in this study because of the sensitive nature of the research. A social network analyst can attempt to model relationships to describe a group's structure and then study the influence that the said structure has on the individuals in a group concerned (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). This means that SNA measure can be quite instrumental in understanding a wide range of group dynamics such as role of individuals in a group or organization, “network evolution while concomitantly elucidating issues related to organizational cohesion, effectiveness, and performance” (Warner, Bowers and Dixon, 2012:54).

Clearly, Social Network Analysis is an appropriate approach to use when working with relational data. Its focus on relational data such as contacts, attachments, ties makes it an appropriate approach to use in a study that focuses on the role that networks play in service delivery protests. SNA helped in understanding how information flow among Gugulethu protestors, and even consider the means that are used in dissemination of information. The flow of information is important in service delivery protests.

3.4 Conclusion

Having built a strong case for the ‘when’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ aspects of protests using three approaches from the social movement theory, the study found it necessary to also draw from network theories (namely, social network theory and social network analysis) to further deepen understanding of the role that networks play in service delivery protests. As discussed above, the importance of the two approaches (social network theory and social network analysis) lies in

their ability to directly address concerns of relationships, networks and behaviour. These approaches aided my analysis. However, before turning to the analysis, let me detail the research design and method used in this study.



CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research design and methodology that was employed in this research. The researcher used in-depth interviews, group discussions, attended meetings, informal conversations as well as cell phone texts. In addition, this chapter outlines how the researcher collected data and analysed it. Included in this chapter are the first impressions the researcher had in the field and the interviewee response to the researcher. The chapter concludes with the ethical considerations that guided the empirical research and challenges encountered in carrying out this study.

4.2 Research Design

Research design refers to a framework or plan that stipulates how a researcher intends to conduct a research project (Babbie and Mouton, 2004). It is the general plan that is set in place in order to obtain the answers to the research question (Polit and Hungler, 1997). This research falls under the qualitative design because it is the most appropriate in gathering information that answer the study's research problem. Indeed the nature of this study necessitated a qualitative study. According to Mouton (2001) the qualitative research enables an understanding of the dynamics of people's experience, assumptions, attitude, perceptions, behaviour, structure of their lives, suppositions and their judgments in the context of their social world. The importance of the qualitative research lies in that it enables subjective responses from participants and enables a deeper understanding of people's experience (Silverman, 2010). The underlying reason for

choosing the qualitative paradigm is that it allows the researcher to have an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study.

4.3 Research Methodology

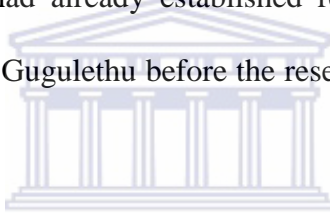
Before indicating the research methodology that was used in this research it is pertinent to provide a definition of a research methodology. A research methodology is a technique used to collect data (Bryman, 2001). The study employed a qualitative research methodology. Qualitative methods are relevant to this study because they enable the researcher to get “an insider perspective on social action” (Babbie and Mouton, 2004: 270). The qualitative method best suits this study because it helps understanding service delivery protests in Gugulethu from the eyes of the protestors. As such, in order to understand the role that networks play in service delivery protests, the researcher carried out an empirical study in Ward 44 of Gugulethu. The qualitative methods allowed the researcher to gather detailed description of how protests are played out from the actors’ point of view.

A snowball sampling technique was used to identify key service delivery protestors. Snowball sampling is also known as network, reputational or chain referral sampling because it identifies and selects subjects in a network and it “begins with one or a few people or cases and spreads out on the bases of links to the initial cases” (Neuman, 2007:144). Basically, snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling technique used in qualitative studies which is appropriate when locating members of a given population is difficult; hence each located member of a group is asked to locate other subjects (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Given that protestors are difficult to locate, in line with the snowball sampling, identified protestors helped identify other protestors.

It is important to note that this project is not primarily focused on a specific protest action but on the processes of protests through a network lens. In other words, it concerns itself with, for instance, how existing networks enable service delivery to commence and what and how networks help to maintain such protests, when the need arise. For this reason, the project did not consider all the instances of protests in Gugulethu (hereafter, I sometimes use the colloquial Gugs for Gugulethu).

4.4 How the researcher got into Gugs

Getting into Gugulethu fulfilled this research. One of the reasons which made this project feasible was that the researcher had already established relationships with some of the key service delivery protests leaders in Gugulethu before the research started. A brief history of how this happened is detailed below.



Although the researcher has been in Cape Town for a long time he had never been to Gugulethu. He then developed an interest for an area which he had only seen from a taxi and a train. He used to hear news about Gugulethu in the TV and read about it in newspapers, in relation to how service delivery protests happen in Gugulethu. The question that kept coming to mind was why this place is so much imbued with protests. The researcher then developed an interest in trying to understand what was and is happening, and how these protests develop. The major concern that kept me wandering was, how I can get there and how I can know the people who are involved. Then it happened that I shared my research interest with one of the students who had done a research in Gugulethu for two years from 2011 to 2012 on ex-combatants. Even though what my colleague did was different from what I was interested in, I was interested to know how he got there and how he came to know the people and got into contact with participants, in such a

historically violent township. He then organized and helped me to contact the protest leaders of which one accepted the invitation to come to our residential place.

The protest leader, who in this study will be called Mbuyiso (pseudo name) was happy to reunite with my colleague who had organized our meeting. In order to protect the identity of the respondents, pseudo names will be used in this study. After I was introduced to Mbuyiso, I then told him my research interest. Mbuyiso agreed to go with me to Gugulethu and gave me his phone number. He told me to feel free to call him anytime. He also invited me to feel free to attend community meetings, which I did. Mbuyiso told me to phone him every time I wanted to go to Gugulethu so that he can wait for me at the bus stop. I did not ask him why he came to walk with me from the bus stop each time I visited but I anticipated it was a way to protect me from criminal violence which I had heard before. Nonetheless, as days went by in the field, I asked him to tell me the reason why he wanted to wait for me each time I come to Gugulethu. Interestingly, he perched his voice: “Gugulethu is dangerous.” In light of this, I adhered to his advice and always phoned him to come and walk with me from the bus stop.

In order to have proof that I am indeed a student at the University of the Western Cape, I always carried my student card to Gugulethu. In this study, none of the participants were forced to participate. In fact, respondents voluntarily signed the consent form. Although at first they were skeptical about the consent form, because all they wanted to do was talk about my research, they signed. I also got their consent to audio record them. However I only used a tape recorder in interviews not in the meetings I attended. Mbuyiso had already advised me that in the meetings it would not be good to record and I also felt the same. In fact, I did not even take field notes in the meeting but I quickly took them down as soon as I got home. It is important to underscore that

even though Mbuyiso was coordinating participants to be interviewed, I had to follow ethical guidelines. As such, I reiterated to the participants the research objectives and that they were free to participate or not to participate and that the research project was not for monetary gain but for academic purposes.

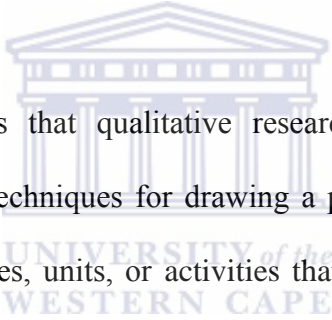
4.5 Data Collection Methods

4.5.1 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviewing as a data collection technique is quite useful in qualitative research. The expectation in carrying out in-depth interviews is that “the interviewed person is more likely to express their views spontaneously in a relatively openly designed interview situation” (Abiche, 2004:10). The interviews were conducted in places of the respondents’ choice. Some were interviewed in the ‘comfort’ of their homes, some at the community hall after the community meeting and some at work for example a man I interviewed at his barbershop.

The researcher used a semi-structured check list in order to allow the process to be “flexible, iterative, and continuous, rather than prepared in advance and locked in stone” (Rubin and Rubin, 1995:43). In order to ensure accuracy, the researcher used an audio tape recorder to record respondents’ responses. In cases where the researcher was not allowed or could not take notes in Gugulethu for instance in meetings, he took notes as soon as he got home. Audio recorded responses were quickly transcribed soon after the interviews while the researcher still had a visual image of what transpired during the interviews. In fact, the prompt transcription allowed the researcher to note even the reactions and tones used when certain questions were asked, thus enriching the research. For instance, the researcher noted that respondents’ reactions

and feelings varied with different questions. Sometimes the respondents got angry and raised their voices. For instance, one man was so overcome with anger that he started shivering. One woman was so emotional about service delivery problems that she started crying. Many people expressed dissatisfaction at the way municipal officials when they spoke about the way they were treated, for instance, the lack of consultation on the part of municipalities. In the meetings people mostly used angry voices accompanied by wrinkled faces and red eyes, quite different from how they talked to me. However, at other times, especially when they spoke about protest actions and how they mobilized, they spoke with vigour and enthusiasm about how their actions led the local government to pay heed to them. These will be detailed more in the analysis chapter.



Neuman (2007:141) rightly notes that qualitative researchers “focus less on a sample’s representativeness or on detailed techniques for drawing a probability sample” but focus on a “sample or small collection of cases, units, or activities that illuminates key features of social life.” In view of this, this research focuses less on Gugulethu protests representativeness, but on the key features of service delivery protests. The researcher selected 15 rich stories from a pool of 29 interviews conducted. Of these, 11 were protest leaders with an average age of 43. There were no women among the leaders but among other 18 participants interviewed 8 were women in their mid-thirties and 10 were youth in their early thirties. Included in these interviews were informal conversations that were outside Mbuyiso’s network. The rich stories selected spoke directly to the research objectives. The researcher started by interviewing Mbuyiso, because he is one of the key protest leaders in Gugulethu. I interviewed him at his house. From his home area we then moved to the community hall where there was supposed to be a meeting. Unfortunately there was miscommunication as there was not supposed to be a meeting on that

day. However, this was a blessing in disguise for me, because it enabled me to meet some of the key leaders in protest there. I took the opportunity to interview one protest leader in Mbuyiso's car. The in-depth interview took long so I could not talk to all the protest leaders there, as they had dispersed to their homes. However, as soon as we finished we went to a number of the protest leaders and interviewed them. This was easy because I had already introduced myself to them at the community hall. Mbuyiso invited some of the participants to his house and I went to others' houses and work places.

4.5.2 Focus Groups

A focus group is a qualitative research technique which entails informally interviewing people in a group setting which allows for discussion (Neuman, 2007). Basically, a focus group consists of 6 to 12 people in a setting with a moderator facilitating a discussion on selected issues (Neuman, 2007). In this study, two focus groups were held; the first was made up of seven adults; the second was composed of 4 women and 4 youths. These groups represented varying interests, particularly because the first focus group was held after a community meeting, which had people from different political parties. The focus groups proved helpful in identifying the role of networks in protests, how networks are maintained and the meanings that service delivery protests attach to protests. The researcher directed the discussion in such a way that every focus group member was given a chance to express his or her opinions. Interestingly, although the study did not envisage using focus groups, some of the interviews ended up being focus groups. This shows the need for flexibility and preparedness in carrying out a research project.

An advantage of these focus group interviews was that they provided clear evidence which shows similarities and differences in participants' experiences and opinions on a given topic

rather than drawing such conclusions from “post hoc analyses of separate statements from each interviewee” (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:292). I asked the Focus Group discussants not to divulge information from the focus group discussions.

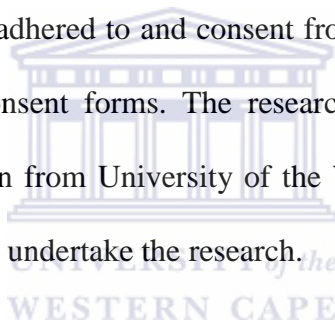
4.6 *Data analysis and presentation*

Data analysis is carried out by identifying themes and patterns in data and drawing conclusions from these (Mouton, 1996). This study will use qualitative data techniques to analyse data. In order to make sense of data, chunks of information were grouped based on the objectives they addressed. This made it easy to categorize data into distinct meaningful groups and the different themes were then analysed. In this research, data were analysed even during the collection process in order to see preliminary results. The rationale behind this was to allow preliminary results to influence the remainder of the information gathered particularly to clarify certain questions that needed to be clarified and to make follow ups on important questions. Presentation of data is in the form of texts and quotations.

4.5 *Research Ethics*

Diligence was taken to ensure that no harm, threat or other problems were made as a result of this research. Bless, Smith and Kagee (2006) point out that social scientists are concerned about research ethics because many people have been abused of their human rights in the process of social research. Babbie and Mouton (2001:520) delineated four ethical issues that must be considered in social research to be “voluntary participation, no harm to the participants, anonymity and confidentiality, and not deceiving subjects.” This research upheld these ethical considerations. First, the participants were not forced to participate, but they out of their freewill

willingly participated. In addition, participants were told that they are free to withdraw from the process at any time if they so wish. Second, maximum caution was taken to ensure that no harm befall the participants during and after the research process. Third, although it was not possible to attain anonymity (at least to the researcher, because these were face to face interviews), their responses were treated with a high level of confidentiality and their names were not (and will not be) disclosed. Also, because the information provided may be sensitive, this study concealed participant' real names but used pseudo names. The fourth area with regard to ethical consideration is that no participant was in any way deceived in this study. To ensure this, the subjects were told that the reason for conducting this study is for academic purposes. All the above ethical considerations were adhered to and consent from the respondents was sought, and all the respondents signed the consent forms. The researcher only conducted this empirical research upon receiving permission from University of the Western Cape Senate and from the Institute for Social Development to undertake the research.



4.6 Challenges faced in this study

Qualitative researchers have to remember that they are part of the social world they study and as such they have to be mindful of their biography – something called reflexivity. Reflexivity acknowledges that the researchers' social and historical locations shape their orientations, interests and values (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). I have always been fascinated by protests – as far back as my school days. Over the years, this interest has grown partly because of the number, nature and, importantly, the reasons for some protests – socio-economic challenges (especially housing and water). Although I do not stay in Gugulethu, as I interacted with the participants (observing, walking, talking and eating with them), I ended up getting angry at the

things that angered them. In fact, I developed attachments with them, and I still communicate with my participants. Yet, although reflexivity is a necessary understanding there are still difficulties and practicalities in understanding this necessary exercise (Finlay, 2002; Handerson, et al., 2012). Notwithstanding these difficulties and my biography, throughout the research I committed myself to realism with the ultimate goal of producing knowledge.

A major challenge for this study was that this research employed non-probability sampling and as such, the findings cannot be generalized to all protestors in Cape Town and South Africa (findings are case bound – I can only draw lessons from Gugulethu). In addition, sometimes it was difficult for me to give my participants exhaustive answers to their questions. An example of this was when Mama Mtombeni asked: *“So are you going to give the government what we are saying so that they will know that we are suffering here. Are you going to give to the parliament?”* Such questions positioned me in a very difficult position, that of being a researcher and doing something that is policy relevant. Nonetheless the researcher navigated through this kind of a question by stating that I am willing to share the findings through publications which would reach the wider audience including the government (my response was in the Xhosa language which they understand better).

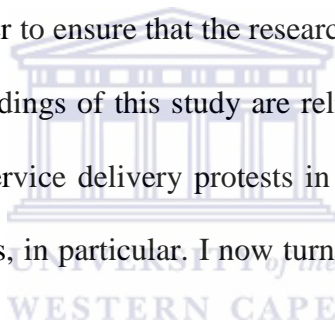
The researcher was always with one of the protest leaders, Mbuyiso, and as such it was difficult to interact outside his network. Nonetheless I happened to have opportunities to talk to people when I was alone in the taxi from Gugulethu and it added to my data because these were people from Gugulethu since I would ask whether or not they were Gugulethu residents. Also, the researcher held informal conversation at bus stops, while waiting for Mbuyiso to come and pick me up. This helped me complement the data with informal conversations which were outside the

leader's network. In addition, I attended community meetings which enabled me to meet a wide range of people who were from both the leader's network and those outside his network. Sometimes the protest leader introduced me as one of them. He would say: "*He is one of us but he is at school.*" In fact, I 'blended in' fairly well into the community. Nonetheless this was not a covert research because they were informed prior to my fieldwork and in their meeting they were carried away by what affected them the most, water, toilets, taps, water meters, charges. Observation was quite helpful because it allowed me to observe and think "on the scene of the action" (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 294). During these meetings, which we held in one of the leaders' houses, I would then reflect on the conversation I did with other members of Gugulethu of which similar issues were raised. Although this study wanted to interview municipal officials to get their side of the story, repeated efforts to meet with them came to no avail. However, the researcher complimented the interviews with informal conversations, and with the interviews that turned into focus groups, as noted above. Therefore, although the researcher faced the above mentioned challenges he is optimistic that his research is worthwhile because he devised ways to overcome the challenges.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter detailed the research design used in this study. The chapter opened by giving a brief history of how the research interest was conceived and the people who made it possible, for instance my colleague who had conducted his research in Gugulethu between 2011 and 2012 and Mbuyiso, the protest leader who was instrumental in introducing me to the case study area and introducing me to people who are involved in protests. Using in-depth interviews and focus group interviews the researcher managed to gather the necessary information to answer the

study's research objectives. Attendance of meetings also proved helpful to this study as it allowed the researcher to observe and gather new information from people outside Mbuyiso's networks and it allowed me the opportunity to observe activists in their natural setting. The same is true for informal conversations that I held alone with residents from Gugulethu in taxis and the bus stop. The use of an audio tape recorder and prompt transcription and taking down of field notes proved helpful not only in capturing accurate information from the respondents but also in recording the reactions and emotions of interviewees as well. Throughout the interviews the researcher strictly adhered to proper research ethics. As with any significant endeavour there are normally challenges and difficulties. This study faced difficulties and challenges which nonetheless were addressed in order to ensure that the research is worthwhile. In light of this, the researcher is confident that the findings of this study are reliable and will set a background for further studies in understanding service delivery protests in Gugulethu, in general and the role that networks play in these protests, in particular. I now turn my attention to the findings of this research.



CHAPTER 5: RESULTS, DISCUSSIONS AND DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

Protests are enshrined in the laws of South Africa, meaning that protests are a democratic right. A number of factors determine (whether or not protests will happen and whether protests will succeed or fail) service delivery protests such as the political environment – where the political environment can be enabling or inhibiting, grievances (there is debate around the role of grievance though) resources (material and non-material), among others. Networks are one type of non-material resources. I contend that even with the right political environment, grievances and other resources, but without networks, protests will likely not happen. Networks help people mobilize available resources, frame their problems together and take advantage of a conducive political environment. I restate the study's aim: To understand the role that networks play in service delivery protests. This chapter presents the findings of the research. This is done by providing a detailed discussion and analysis of these findings. Included in this section is a triangulation of the findings in the case study with those elsewhere. Also, data will be looked at using the theoretical lens used in this study. I end the chapter by referring to a situation that best captures the findings of the study. I want to reiterate that I will use pseudo names to protect the identities of my participants.

5.2 The existing networks which enable service delivery protests in Gugs

In doing this research, the findings reveal that there are historical and political issues that bind Gugulethu Ward 44 residents/protestors together such as everyday life experiences. Importantly, the fact that Gugulethu residents settled together after a pre-1994 displacement from beautiful

places such as Simons Town explains a shared history of frustration and injustice. So their networks are historical which developed over time. Although communities change over time due to continued inward and outward migration (both local and international migration), my study found that historical relationships perpetuate already existing social and political networks. More so, these networks are strengthened by virtue of sharing the same township services such as communal taps and toilets.

Interestingly, Mbuyiso, a protest leader who was actively involved in the struggle against apartheid, stated the reason protestors listen to each other. For him:

It's because of the networks, and I think it's because of the trust, the relationship, because it's people who grew up together, went to school together, you know [some] going to church together, playing together. So that's why we listen to one another.

The excerpt reveals that networks are historical and are also embedded in where people go, what people do and how they do it. Attending the same schools (or their children attending the same schools), churches and believing in the same religion are good examples of these. Indeed, many Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC) branch members are church-goers (Egan and Wafer, 2006). I argue that such networks are a source of service delivery protests. This is what Oberschall (1973) refers to as networks or associations of everyday life which build useful resources that can be tapped for struggle purposes. For Gugulethu protestors, the struggle is for service delivery against a post-apartheid political system which seems to deny its citizens the promised services. Following this, I argue that, it is not only about the history of injustice and inequality that binds Gugulethu people, but importantly the persistence of such poor service delivery which helps in re-forging protest networks. My argument concurs with that of Oldfield

and Stokke (2004) who in reference to Phillipi and Athlone (both areas in Cape Town) concluded that the rationale behind community organizing was driven by both contemporary problems and past experiences communities and families faced during apartheid.

In addition, Gugulethu Ward 44 community shares similar grievances. One such grievance which almost every participant noted was lack of proper communication from the local government officials (see also Staniland, 2008). While the local government does respond to service delivery demands, the responses are somehow fragmented. In many cases when the local government responds, it is often delayed. For Rapport and Amit (2002) common problems build a sense of ‘contextual fellowship’ that cuts across divides that come from differences in class, race and age. It is hereby argued that fragmented response from the local government, which is partly due to governments’ inability to meet demands timeously, creates a ‘contextual fellowship.’ It follows that when responses to service delivery are delayed they foster an identity among people. In this case, people in Gugulethu share a sense of frustration and a feeling of marginalization as a result of lack of adequate or substandard services rendered to them.

In building my argument, the Resource Mobilization theory helps in understanding the role that grievances play in protests. McCarthy and Zald (1977) argue that grievances are a constant while Walsh (1981) holds that grievances are a variable. Notwithstanding these assertions, grievances in Gugulethu are a necessary ingredient in the forging of social and political bonds which are (re)sources for service delivery protests. Grievances are simply an ingredient because by themselves, they do not become resources that lead to protests; in the same way as resources (human, social, historical, cultural, political, and economic) by themselves, although important, do not lead to protests. That is why movements need to frame these grievances or demands in

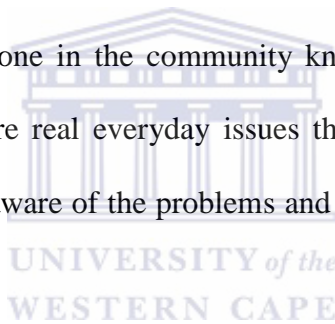
ways that help build a collective identity which can initiate and sustain collective action. The framing by Gugulethu protestors will be dealt with in subsequent sections.

Even though people in Gugulethu share more or less similar histories, there still remain differences which are mostly social and economic. In general, some participants claimed that people who came from the Eastern Cape now stay in good houses and yet people who fought the apartheid system and who were born in Cape Town are still living in the old houses. This was even echoed with regard to jobs. The interviewees stated that in the job market most of the people who are employed are those who came recently from the Eastern Cape, a finding that seems to concur with that of Staniland (2008). This also relates to protests. Many participants reasoned that Khayelitsha service delivery grievances are known and addressed, at least, better than Gugulethu's because Khayelitsha residents, most of whom hail from the Eastern Cape – hold more protests than Gugulethu residents. This seems to create distrust and, in some cases, conflicts between old and new residents. Although such distrust may create divisions, it also solidifies the group that feels neglected by enforcing mutual frustration thereby reinforcing networks. Indeed as in the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee, the “fact that it affects ‘us all’ is the glue that binds members” (Egan and Wafer, 2006:58).

In fact, many Gugulethu protestors stated that they have to be treated first before anyone else; that they should be given better houses before new comers. My finding echoes that of Staniland (2008:52) who found that some Gugulethu residents verbally abused and in some instances attacked recent immigrants from the Eastern Cape Province, who had benefited from a housing scheme, whom Gugulethu residents felt “had no right to housing before Gugulethu residents, some who had been on the housing waiting list since the late 1980s.” Similarly, in a discussion

with the Lentegeur Community Forum in Mitchells Plain, activists who were removed from District Six in 1980 felt that they should be treated differently and indeed prioritized before others (Oldfield and Stokke, 2004; see also Oldfield and Zweig, 2010). I argue that, on the one hand such a sense of superiority by ‘old’ residents and entitlement over ‘new comers’ brings the old residents together. On the other hand, this can prevent the building of alliances between old and new residents and it can create xenophobic tendencies.

Another difference highlighted by participants relates to the people in New Rest in Gugulethu (because they have new nicely built houses); they are not really part of the service delivery protest campaign because they are not affected by the current problems in Ward 44. This is contrary to Ward 44 where everyone in the community knows the problem they are fighting against: service delivery. These are real everyday issues that affect them. This then makes it easier to mobilize because all are aware of the problems and can easily rally against the inaction by officials.



In a similar way, in her research in Greenpoint Khayelitsha, Oldfield (2002) found that the formalisation of infrastructure which resulted in other residents moving into formal housing (under Phase One of the project) and others remaining in informal settlements (who would move in Phase Two and Three) created new dynamics and tensions. She notes that whereas the community used to be united by common struggles for housing, new divisions affected the community. In fact community leaders feared that the move to new houses might divide the community and as such devised a strategy to counter this (which included continued participation by Phase One recipients in Phase Two and Three housing struggles). Although on the surface the strategy appeared to have worked, over time and on a deeper level, it became

increasingly difficult to overcome differences that divided those who were now in newly built houses and those who were still in informal ones. For one, they now had different concerns, because those in new houses were now concerned with, for example, payments of rates and water problems – which many of them were unable to pay (Oldfield, 2002). This might be the case with New Rest residents who now grapple with new challenges and concerns. That said, it is improbable that all New Rest residents do not support Ward 44 service delivery problems. Although framing is helpful in creating an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ for purposes of service delivery protests, it may not always reflect the reality on the ground. For example, in the Greenpoint case, while some old leaders under Phase One did not want to participate in Phase Two and Three struggles some still wanted to although it became increasingly difficult (Oldfield, 2002).

Asked how they identify potential protestors especially given that there might be suspicion and the fear that a person may report the protest plans to the authorities, Amanda, one of my focus group participants, notes:

That thing happened before. But what is good about it is that, the people from New Rest. This issue we are trying to address does not affect them. Jaa because if you go to their area you will see a lot of running water from taps, and for the running water, they don't pay the rates. It's us, people from the old apartheid houses who are paying these rates, so there is that division already. So what is good about this is that all the people who are part of this [protest] are people who are coming from the old apartheid houses so they are affected by it. But even for them alone [people from the old apartheid homes] there is that lack of trust but because we have been sitting in a lot of meetings, you know, conscientising one another, that trust is being revived. People trust each other now. Because they elected a committee that they trust and they gave it a mandate to represent them.

What comes out of this excerpt is that there are social and political divides in Gugulethu: those who reside in old apartheid houses and shacks being affected by lack of running water from the

taps, while those in ‘new’ post-apartheid houses live in better conditions – something I also observed. This shows how people compare their circumstances with those around them and how such comparison can help in collective action – chiefly from the aggrieved population. It is also interesting here that even-though Gugulethu people have the same history, the issue of trust is very political too. Trust for them is not something that is given, but is practiced through meetings. People are convinced to be able to trust their neighbours, to trust that they can fight and struggle together in these service delivery protests. The idea of trust is bestowed on others: representatives in their community. Many participants mentioned the importance of conscientising one another. Conscientising aids in the process of mending broken trust. This raises awareness and collective identity which build and strengthen networks.

5.2.1 Leadership in Networks

Drawing on the social network analysis, some protestors (actors) act as brokers who bridge ‘structural holes’ (Burt, 2005), in other words such actors link unconnected people. This study found that the leaders connect people of different wards and communities. For instance, a leader – Mandla, spoke of how leaders of Ward 44 connect with other leaders from Wards 40 and 42 and other communities such as Langa. While certain brokers may or may not be part of the group involved (Krinsky and Crossley, 2013:11), in Gugulethu the brokers are also key members in the protests. This idea feeds into the resource mobilization theory which shows that protests can be supported by the aggrieved population and those outside the community who are not affected by the problems in a given community, thus showing the importance of both internal and external resources in mobilization (not everyone supports the Ward 44 protests though – as has already been illustrated by the New Rest example). Similarly, the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee’s

(SECC) impact in and on society comes from its ability to network with like-minded activists and other organizations (Egan and Wafer, 2006).

The topic of brokerage is somewhat linked to the Social Network Analysis' concept of centrality. Centrality deals with the position of actors in a network, with the central actors in a network those uniquely positioned and who, compared to others, play a greater role in connecting diverse parts of a network – something called 'betweenness' centrality (Krinsky and Crossley, 2013). The study found that leaders, particularly those who were once involved in the apartheid struggle, to a greater degree than others, are uniquely and strategically positioned to connect Ward 44 protestors to other protestors of other Wards and other communities. Thus, those who fought in the liberation struggle claim roles of leading other protestors and know better (in protest-related issues) than others.

Centrality also deals with 'degree' centrality which unlike 'betweenness' centrality which deals with an actor's position between unconnected actors, degree centrality refers to how many ties to other actors an actor (in this case a protestor) has (Scott, 2000). The study found that certain leaders have many connections in the network which not only give them prestige but power. This power allows them to be listened to (influence) even by the youth, who as the study found, are not actively involved in the planning and organization of protests. Mbuyiso explains this point with admiration: *"There are people of influence here [in Gugulethu] they are so connected and influential that even the youth and gangsters listen to them."* I argue that well connected individuals be it 'betweenness' centrality or 'degree' centrality earn what can be called a 'badge of honour' in Ward 44 and beyond – particularly from other not so-well-connected leaders and

other members of the community. This stands in sharp contrast to the vilification that, as the participants claimed, the media labels protestors in Gugulethu as ‘criminals’.

5.2.2 Gender Dynamics in Gugulethu Service Delivery Protests

Women are also another group of people that make a significant contribution in service delivery protests. In fact, the recent water meter problem affects women a lot as Mama Malose explained: *“Tina [we] women are the back-bone of a family because jonga [look] we are the ones who take care of children, the sick, the elderly and do household chores like cooking and washing – so when we have to protest we do not hesitate to, we do what we have to do.”* In fact, in the interviews the women were emotional, some were angry and some cried as they lamented the poor services and the high cost of services. In an interview, Mama Mkalibi showed me an electricity bill of close to R50 000 which she said was being asked to pay but which she says does not know how the amount got to that. Accruing rental, water and electricity arrears generate insecurity for residents (Oldfield and Stokke, 2004). I argue that such insecurity encourages women involvement in contestations.

Even male respondents underlined the significant role that women play, particularly in the new water meter struggles. Mr Hlabati concluded that he has realized that the statement which goes *“Wathint abafazi wathint imbokodo”* (He who hits women hits a rock) is true because when women are involved in a protest it is bound to go well. The SNA measure can be quite instrumental in understanding a wide range of group dynamics such as the role of individuals in a group’s or organization’s performance and effectiveness (Warner, Bowers and Dixon, 2012). In this case the involvement of women helps in protests’ effectiveness. What came from the study is that there is a general consensus among different age groups and sexes that women play a crucial

role in service delivery protests. My finding on the prominent role of women in service delivery protests echoes that of Egan and Wafer (2006) and Buhlungu (2006) who found that women were instrumental in Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC) and Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) struggles, respectively (with older women – called the ‘grannies of Soweto’ playing a key role in SECC).

5.3.3 Youth involvement in SDPs

With regard to youth involvement in protests, there was what might seem conflicting opinions at first sight due to differences in opinion from the different age groups interviewed. The older interviewees did not see the real positive involvement of the youth in service delivery protests. Mama Radebe even pointed to a group of young men who stood a stone’s throw away from the community hall while older people were holding a meeting to address service delivery challenges. An elderly but energetic participant whom people call ‘Bra Sizwe’ stated that the youth are not concerned about the protests chiefly because service problems directly affect the older people who are the ones that pay for the services. This is because, even married young men, still stay with their parents. The youth, however, gave a different opinion. They believe that protests will not be successful without the youth. In a focus group discussion, Zakora, a charismatic youth leader stated that:

I would say protests without youth will not be successful, my brother. Because we [the youth] are energetic, we run around on the day of protests handing out flyers for people to turn out in numbers. When protesting, we are the ones who dance, sing, chant, raise placards, erect barricades, eish bra [brother!], the youth are important in protests.

So which is which, especially in the face of the accusation by the older people that often times than not, the youth hijack the protests and use them for their own ends, such as looting shops and violence. The older people's argument is that the youth just turn up on the final day of the protests but they do not get involved in the planning, organizing in community meetings where service protests are discussed. It seems plausible that both sides are correct. The youth are energetic, and they are more visible on the day of the protests but they do not participate in protest planning. Effectively, this leads the protests to be 'hijacked' for their own ends. This means that sometimes, the protestors end up doing things that were not agreed upon in the community meetings. The testimony of the youth is also valid that on the day of the protest, they do much in terms of distributing flyers and urging people to come for the protests. This suggests that different age groups complement each other – with the elderly involved throughout the process of protests and youth playing a significant role on the day of the protest. Such differences and the apathy of youth in protest planning can create tensions in the community. In fact, the majority of elderly participants claimed that youth are not interested in politics.

In other communities, however, the youth are actively involved in protests. In their case study undertaken in Balfour in Gauteng, Alexander and Pfaffe (2013:205) note that:

The poor, especially poor youth, have ... sources of strength. They have time to organize and the ability to mobilize in the name of a community as a whole; they have the capacity to win backing from workers and to mount dramatic protests that threaten the rule of the state; and they can unseat politicians and undermine the legitimacy of established politics.

While the above quotation paints a good picture of the phenomenon in Balfour, the 'rhythms of struggle' (Alexander and Pfaffe, 2013) are different in Gugulethu because although the youth

have time (because many of them are unemployed), they are uninterested in organizing. This has to be understood against the backdrop of resource mobilization theory analysts who argue that the central tenet in a movement's ability to expand depends on 'discretionary resources' – initially understood to refer to time and money (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). What is important here is the significance placed on time. The youth's gap is filled by the older people who, like the youth, have time especially because some are retired and some are informally employed which give them flexibility. With time on their hands, the older people in Gugulethu threaten to undermine the legitimacy of established structures and promise to make the township ungovernable. The promise to the make townships ungovernable will be returned to later.

5.3.4 Communicative Channels

Given the predominant involvement of older people in the organization of protests in Gugulethu, there are certain communicative channels that they use. In effect, the use of social media such as facebook and whatsapp in organizing and in communication are not really used in Gugulethu to this end because many of the elderly people do not have smart phones. Even those who have the smart phones do not really know how to use them nor do they have the interest to communicate such issues via social media. Older people use more traditional ways such as word of mouth and face-to-face communication. This shows that context and exposure matter in protests because while the use of social media such as twitter, facebook and the internet was pivotal in the Spanish *Indignados*, Occupy Wall Street, Arab Spring and the Spontaneous Uprisings in Brazil, the poor context in Gugs does not give room to this method of mobilization. That said, although Gugulethu protestors primarily use more traditional channels of communication, they also use certain modern organizational and administrative materials. For example, they have loud

speakers to announce the venue and the time for protests, especially on the day of the protests. People also use cell phones to text each other and to call people informing them of the protests. Additionally, they also give out flyers particularly a few days before the protest and on the day of the protest to remind people to come. In line with the Resource Mobilization theory, resources such as loud speakers, cell phones, flyers are needed because they enable mobilization. In fact, both material and non-material resources help in mobilization (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Tilly, 1978; Jenkins, 1983; della Porta and Diani, 2006) which underlines the importance of both tangible and intangible resources (such as networks) needed for mobilization to occur.

5.3 How service delivery protests are initiated and maintained in Gugs

The findings show that there are a number of ways that protests are initiated in Gugulethu, which differ and depend on the nature of the protests, the triggers which initiate collective action, and the desired solutions sought. For example, protest leaders mobilize residents to take to the streets against a persistent problem. This, however, is taken as a last resort as protestors often first seek to hold meetings with municipal officials. In a focus group, Mama Mtombeni claimed in a loud angry voice that:

Now everyday when you call them [municipal officials] in so that they can come and debate these things. Because discussing it, it's one on one, but debate it's a wider forum. But they are too busy to come to the people. Now we the people get frustrated [emphatically] and we start to protest and take the roads. Now that's another way of expressing or sending another message that we have called you to come personally, now this time, we are calling you this way... You first go and consult, you call them to come to debate, they do not want to come. We call them again, let's come and debate at the broader forum, or bring other officials as well from all these departments from the water, from the electricity, from the housing and you name it, we need them all here. Only one person wants to account for all these things which is impossible. And when you call that same person, [he/she] will refer you to another office. But then why did he or she wanted to answer for something that he or she don't know?! Now that you are there, they want to

refer you. And it's costly to go to these places. As I have said, we have elderly people who need water and other services.

There is a kind of disjuncture between the community and the municipal officers. The failure on the part of municipal officials to come and discuss the problem that service delivery protestors face creates frustration and feelings of betrayal. This finding is congruent with that of Staniland (2008) who conducted a study on relationships between activists and the 'community' and local government in Gugulethu between 2005 and 2006. Clearly, frustration caused by repeated efforts to get an audience from municipality officials tends to lead service delivery leaders to mobilize for protests. Again, this is done as a last resort and it is done as a way to call the authorities to hear and address the grievances and problems the community faces.

At other times, however, protests are initiated instantly when there is a problem that needs immediate attention. In the words of Mr Sixole, who drives his car around on the day of protests – with some people announcing service delivery protests news on loudspeakers and others handing out flyers from his car:

The City of Cape Town with their programmes which they plan for whatever time, if they feel like starting it, they just do it without saying a word to the public. Without saying something to the people that they were supposed to be serving. The only thing that we will see happening is when we see city council vehicles and officials moving around the area and doing things. What are these things? Firstly, they turn off the water without saying a word. During the course of the day we open up the taps and there is no water. You ask the neighbour, the neighbour does not know what is happening. When you start to call the officials of the city then you will hear, we are busy at the pump, we are busy servicing and doing this and that but then why didn't you inform the people? ... Why did you just turn off the water? And they don't do this overnight. [Instead,] they do this in the early hours of the morning when we have to prepare, to go to work, prepare the kids to go to school, and for that matter we need water for people who are frail. We have elderly people. We have people that are bedridden who need to take their medication and medication comes with water. Fresh water, you can't just take any water. But when there

is no water you are left with no option... and all the city officials say is that we are sorry. And sorry doesn't solve the problem.

There is a fragmented kind of communication: between the municipality and Gugulethu people. The quotation above reveals the poor nature of state-civil society relations. Clearly, even without proper communication from authorities, Gugulethu people will not passively accept certain actions and inactions of the municipality. In view of this, people decide to take the quickest way that will give them the services back or that the authorities will respond to: organize people to protest. In one such instance, activists held hostage a contractor who was installing new water meters. I will return to the hostage situation later.

In the same way, there are many ways that protests are sustained. Some of them are carried out both consciously and unconsciously. Based on the interviews, three committees were identified in Gugulethu: street committees, area committees, and ward committees, all of which to some degree provide the building blocks of community organization. Indeed, as Crossley (2002:93) argues, with “networks and communities come leaders, places of association, communicative channels and means, and often a stock of organizational and administrative materials.” Gugulethu residents have elected leaders who serve on street committees, area committees and ward committees. The primary place of association of Ward 44 residents’ and leaders’ meetings is the community hall in their ward. People of different political parties also hold their meetings in the community hall. In general, some people meet in the community weekly and others fortnightly and when a need arises. Community structures or ‘places of associations’ in Gugulethu can thus exercise a critical role in substantiating networks which further forges and reinforce networks. The use of social network theory helps researchers to explain both the nature

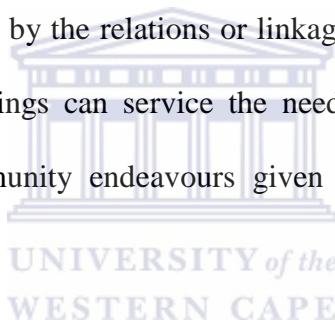
of interactions in a network and how such relations might influence outcomes (Cook-Craig, 2010). This approach helped in identifying the nature of relations that exist in Gugulethu and how such interactions in a network might influence decision to engage in service delivery protests.

The community committee meetings – which are held regularly – are crucial to maintaining service delivery protests. As Tata Xolani, a well-travelled elderly man who has a wealth of experience in activism, said, “*periodic meetings help keep the momentum in the community*” of which this momentum helps to keep the fire of protests burning. Although protests die down after a time, these periodic meetings help to keep the networks which will be utilized when the need arises. Drawing from Social Network Analysis, the unit of analysis was not an individual but a collection of actors and the linkages that exist among and between them (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). The participants certainly value these linkages between one another as they enable the flow of information and help maintain networks which are utilized in service delivery protests.

5.3.1 Political networks

Political networks make a crucial contribution to service delivery protests. As already indicated, members of different political organizations hold separate political meetings in the community hall which help in advancing their political objectives. However, these meetings also help in reinforcing networks within that political organization. These networks are then utilized by the whole community when the need for a protest arises. Participants reiterated that the committees that discuss community problems and which organizes protests are apolitical. They also stated that although people in the committees are from different political parties, they are not at ‘war’

with each other. Chipa, one influential leader who serves at the helm of one of the committees, spoke of how people of different political parties “*bandage each other’s wounds.*” Party leaders influence party members to join protest activities that have the community at heart. Party leaders’ influence on members must be understood using social network analysis. Social network analysts, Johnson, et al. (2013:1) highlight how “actors are positioned in and influenced by a larger social network.” In this regard, Oberschall (1973) writes that “organization and leadership come from whatever pre-existing forms of network, association or community that exist within” a population. In Gugulethu, the pre-existing networks include comradeship and activist experience in the struggle against apartheid. Using the social network analysis I noted that protestors’ behaviour is influenced by the relations or linkages between agents (Scott, 2000). In other words, while political meetings can service the needs of a party, they are also useful resources that can help in community endeavours given that actors are influenced by the networks they belong to.



Strikingly, community networks against service delivery problems and demands are very strong and cut across political divides. Indeed, the statements by Chipa above that different parties are not at ‘war’ with each other instead they ‘bandage each other’s wounds’ underscores the strength of community networks. In fact, stressing the importance of the networks in protests, Mbuyiso, one of the experienced protest leaders, notes that:

I will say, protest without networks is no protest. It plays a vital role when it comes to protesting, you know, coz [because] we do it via sms, word of mouth, mostly, word of mouth, people see some people protesting and they ask, them what’s going on, and they tell them that we are protesting against one two and three issues.

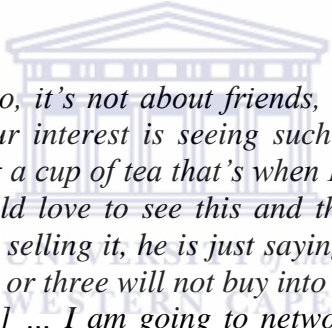
In Gugs, the centrality of networks is emphasized as vital in organizing and executing protests. They are at the heart of their actions. Networks emerge as mobilization tools. This is what I can call the ‘instrumentalisation of service delivery protests’ which means networks are tools that protestors use in service delivery protests. Even though an individual can stage protests, there is power in numbers. As such, networks help in mobilizing and staging a stronger and more visible protest. Similarly, resource mobilization theory reveals how important it is for social movements to build on local networks (Ballard, et al., 2006). In addition, using social network analysis ideas, I noted that relationships that exist among social entities (Wasserman and Faust, 2004), in this case Gugulethu Ward 44 service delivery protestors, are crucial. Such relationships allow for the exchange of crucial information about service delivery problems and protests.

The Social Network Analysis helped this study understand that in a network there are subgroups which are understood, among others, by analysing ‘cliques’ – which are groups of actors of at least three – “who are completely joined to each other” (Krinsky and Crossley, 2013:14). There can be ‘cliques within cliques’ something that Everett and Borgatti (1998) regard as useful especially given that being members of multiple cliques can show how central such individuals are to the network and can show the presence of a dense network. Density is “the number of ties among actors (or other ‘nodes’ or elements) in a network as a proportion of all the possible ties” (Krinsky and Crossley, 2013:14). They further argue that compared to sparse networks, dense networks tend to be less centralized because the more connected actors are to each other, the less need there is for the network to depend on one or a number of highly central actors for its structure. The study found that most members of service delivery protests also belong to political committees and other institutions such as churches, as already noted. This, likely, creates cliques

particularly with people from the same political party who are also in the area committees and street committees and same institutions or who share a particular history.

5.3.2 Continual mobilization: 'Buying and Selling'

Even though all the interviewees stressed the importance of networks, they were careful to explain that protestors are not confined to friends only and friends of friends. This seems to speak well to the Social Network Theory, which shows the problem of strong ties and the strength of weak ties (Cook-Craig, 2010). Sthembiso, an influential protest leader who took part in the apartheid struggle, reflected on the question as to whether the people they network with are friends or friends of friends:



Not really. Now what we do, it's not about friends, it's about talking. To say, here we have got something and our interest is seeing such and such happening in our area. Maybe whilst we are having a cup of tea that's when I will bring it up. We just talk about it informally. Maybe I would love to see this and that happening. But he [the activist bringing up the idea] is not selling it, he is just saying it. Alright, fine. Okay. This was a good thing. Now maybe two or three will not buy into it, fine. Now what I am going to do, because I am buying in [is] ... I am going to network now. I am going to sell it. You understand what I am saying? Now whilst I am busy ... I usually sit under that tree [pointing to a tree near his house] when it's very hot. Then I meet people who pass by, and I sell it. It's going to be my way of selling it, but in a different version. Because when you are leading people, you have a way of talking.

What is interesting here is how Sthembiso used a metaphor of “buying and selling” to meticulously articulate the ways in which he influences others to be part of protests. This is a language of the market where demand and supply forces apply. This implies that protest ideas are marketable; they can be ‘sold’ or communicated – using persuasion not money as a means of exchange. It also suggests that there are people who can ‘buy’ or have an affinity with these ideas – potential customers who are willing and able to buy protest ideas – this speaks to

mobilization and how luring others into protests expand the protest network – something that helps in maintaining protests. Because the local leadership in Gugulethu gives a kind of history of the problem of service delivery they are able to convince others to join them. Also important here is the critical role that leaders play as Sthembiso spoke about selling the idea to others and investing time to ‘sit under a tree’ waiting for people – suggesting effort and dedication. This is in line with the ideas from the Social Network Analysis which helps understand the role of individuals in a group’s or organizational cohesion (Warner, Bowers and Dixon, 2012).

5.4 The meanings protestors attach to service delivery protests in Gugs

Although a number of meanings were mentioned, one stood out: anger. For the protesters, protests are an expression of the frustration and anger that they harbour inside. A similar meaning was echoed in Spain where the movement coined their name around anger; labelling themselves the *indignados* which is Spanish for ‘the indignant’ (Perugorria and Tejerina, 2013). In Gugulethu, all the interviewees stated that they do not protest for the sake of protesting, but they do so as a way of conveying a message of anger to the responsible authorities. In an in-depth interview Tata Xolani notes:

The problem ... is, when they don't respond, then the people become angry. It's not because people do these protests deliberately. No! It's all about red-tape or bureaucracy, I can call it, jaa, coming from these people who are not willing to serve us. So it's from the community to the executive committee of that structure which is spearheading the protests and then to the councillor goes up front and then if nothing comes up, trouble starts. Because now the councillor will be targeted and then from there it's a chaos because all people will rise and mobilize to say look nobody is listening to our plight. So the best thing to do is we go on this route [protests] that's the last resort. People know that these things belong to the people because the government, the local government is working for the people, whatever is here. But you know when you have exhausted all avenues you know the outcome. That's how these protests come about. It's not about irresponsible people who out and say ah let's do it just for fun or an agenda because as you can see, when these things come up in papers they say these protests are being led by

hooligans and gangsters. No! It's not true. It's the people because you know in any situation where there is war there is got to be casualties from both sides so it's only unfortunate ... when these things happen so you see tyres burning and businesses smashed, it comes from there, not because people had an agenda. The root of the whole thing is the people who are supposed to service the community are silent or ignorant or whatever [in a raised angry voice].

The use of the 'war' metaphor reveals that protests are carefully planned. Also, the word 'war' speaks of the danger and the seriousness that protestors attach to their actions. It is significant that protestors use the war metaphor because it shows that all means of engagement have been explored but have not yielded the desired results. It flows from the 'war' language that 'casualties' are bound to happen. The use of the word 'casualties' not only speaks to the danger of protests but it supports the protestors' argument that protests are not for fun given the risks involved. Casualties are from both sides, from the police and the protestors that are affected by violent protests. Such casualties are expected because violence is both from protestors and from the state, particularly when the police respond with force (Von Holdt, et al., 2011). A classic example of state violence is the death of Andries Tatane who was killed by police in Ficksburg, Free State province (Mail and Guardian, 2013). Although the violence that occurred in Marikana in North West province was about salaries and not service delivery per se, the massacre shows that the state sometimes acts violently in protests (Rheeder, 2012). A similar example of the violent nature of protests is the recent farm workers protests that wracked the Western Cape from 2012. Drawing from the above extract, I argue that a key feature about protests – at least in South Africa – is that there seems to be an inclination to use war language and other strong terms and phrases when referring to protests phenomena. For instance, in Balfour, Gauteng, after a violent protest the leaders of the protest, for fear of their lives, went into hiding but they regarded it as

‘into exile’ (Alexander and Pfaffe, 2013). Similarly, the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) frequently uses militant action and rhetoric (Buhlungu, 2006). I argue that the use of these strong words and phrases is indicative of the animosity that exists between protestors and the local government which, if not adequately addressed, is a ‘time bomb’ which will likely explode.

The extract above also reveals that protests are a means of communication to responsible authorities. Akinboade, et al. (2013:458) similarly found that “service delivery protest participants opine that doing so (protesting) is the only way of getting things done in the municipality.” Likewise, Von Holdt, et al. (2011:68) in an article entitled ‘Violence is the only language that this government knows’ revealed that for four years protestors in Azania, in Guateng, used non-violent methods but did not achieve their desired results which led them to use violence as “the last resort.” What this shows is that protestors use protests as another means of engagement with the government (see also Staniland, 2008). Similarly, the move to violent protests seems to be premised on the belief that violent protests will be attended to swiftly. The Valhalla Park Cape Town example illustrates this, where a series of success were a result of a “savvy mix of engagement and opposition” (Oldfield and Stokke, 2004:15).

In addition, the quotation by Tata Xolani above shows how Gugulethu residents interpret occurrences that happen to them. It is exactly as Leach and Scoones (2007) argued that framing processes sheds light on how mobilization occurs and how the group constructs meanings, particular ideas and moral problems of a problem. Effectively, movement actors, in this case Gugulethu residents, identify, label, perceive and locate social delivery phenomena that affect them in the process of making sense to such happenings (Goffman, 1974).

What is important to note here is that residents in Gugulethu do not solely blame the ward councillor but they also blame the system. For instance, a number of participants indicated that the previous councillor worked well with the community to address service delivery. For Andile:

Before this councillor, there was a councillor lady. You know we had a big gathering in this hall [pointing to the hall, where the interview was held]. All the wards, all the areas you know [came] then like we thought we were in the bottleneck of this, we were about to achieve what we were fighting for. But her term ended and there was a new councillor who said no, I did not know about it, I was not part of that. So there is no progress, you know, but the hope is still there, but it's becoming a pipeline hope now.

The extract above reveals that the system does not give room for progression when a councillor leaves office which frustrates the pace of development. What this shows is that the protestors rightly see the flaw of the structure and how that, in some cases, is beyond the councillors' control. This shows the fragmented nature of local government in service delivery. It flows from this predicament that 'hope' is all that remains among these service delivery protesters. Yet this hope may not always remain, as studies elsewhere in South Africa show that communities have little faith in workings of the systems of government (Barichievy, Piper and Parker, 2005; Tapscott, 2005). What is also interesting in the extract above is how Gugulethu people come to realize the distinctiveness and effectiveness of councillors in their community. This shows that protestors do not simply blame every councillor, but they appreciate and commend councillors who are effective. This is in line with framing processes which postulate that movement actors interpret their world and who they blame (Snow, 2004).

Moreover, insights from the framing processes help understand that some protestors view one of the problems they face as a result of poor communication (this must not be confused with the discussion on protests as a means of communication dealt with earlier). Ms Dlamini opined:

The problem is maybe communication is not good because now as we have been told in the structures we have been told to go the executive committee, we sit in the meetings. And the executive committee also sit meeting and they and they come back to the general council and they report the mandate jaa. They get mandate from the people, then they go there and come back and report that number 1, 2 and 3 has been addressed and these 2 have been put on hold and then it goes like that. It's not something which was, what can I say, cooked somewhere by certain individuals. No. It's the people. There are structures. As you can see, we are going to have a meeting. It's a structure.

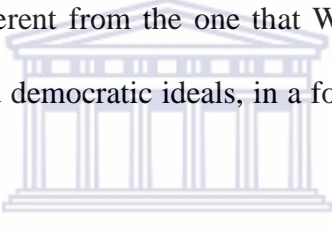
Clearly there are local structures in Gugulethu which allow for the communication of grievances. However, there seems to be poor lines of communication between the community and the municipality. For instance, many participants claimed that many attempts to call the municipal officials to come and address service problems did not yield any result. The only time they came was when there was a hostage situation (which will be dealt with later). It is hereby argued that in one way or the other the municipal officials will have to communicate and engage with the communities they serve. They either do it proactively or they do it reactively when there is unrest.

Proactively addressing service delivery problems is important especially given that Gugulethu residents are determined to continue protesting because they feel that that is what will make their problems to be addressed. A number of protest leaders suggested that if nothing is done to solve their problems they will make Cape Town ungovernable, echoing language used in Danielskuil, in the Northern Cape where angry protestors vowed to make the municipality 'ungovernable'

until their demands are met (Mokoena, 2011). The same sentiments came from the Concerned Group in Azania township in Gauteng which stated that it would embark on a “work stay-away and make the township ‘ungovernable’, actions that were immediately recognizable from the days of anti-apartheid resistance” (Von Holdt, et al., 2011:8). As I have demonstrated in the discussion earlier, many Gugulethu protestors threaten to make Cape Town ungovernable – if their demands continue to be neglected. Clearly, Gugs residents are ready to continue protesting (both peacefully and violently) until their demands are met.

The violence that sometimes occurs in Gugs protests is in two. On the one hand, violence is due to anger and the hype that comes when many people are gathered together and the frustration that is experienced which is sometimes vented out on public property and sometimes on unpopular people. On the other hand, violence is sometimes at the hands of the youngsters who do not have anything to do with the protest but who see protests as an opportunity to make money. As Mbuliso has it: “*protests are sometimes hijacked.*” My research revealed that some youth take advantage of the protests to rob and attack businesses. This is understandable especially given that the youth are not willing to attend the weekly meetings held in the community hall, as discussed earlier. This finding is similar to that found in Brazil where repression resulted in a massacre when Rio de Janeiro police confronted a gang, which had allegedly used the demonstrations to launch a number of robberies; the operation by the police led to ten people losing their lives in Favela da Mare (Affonso, 2013). This goes to show that violence is not always from the protestors but from those who infiltrate the protests with a hidden agenda. As such, I argue that to bracket everyone who engages in a protest as a hooligan or thug is therefore a naïve way of looking at protests and how protests are played out.

Interestingly, Gugs committees are elected democratically. After a term elections are held to elect new street committees' leaders and area committees' leaders. The continual involvement of people in electing leaders helps to maintain unity and to exercise democracy in some way in Gugulethu. Contrariwise, the findings of the study reveal that there has not been an exercise democracy from the municipal officials. Instead there is a top down approach where people only see things being done in their community without their knowledge. For instance, Mandisa – a lady protestor who was abreast with developments in the community, reported that no community member was invited to the naming of their streets and how they heard that there is a street name for their community. Some respondents also accused the ward councillor of electing a parallel committee which is different from the one that Ward 44 residents elected. To show how the councillor does not uphold democratic ideals, in a focus group discussion, Mr Khumalo claimed that:

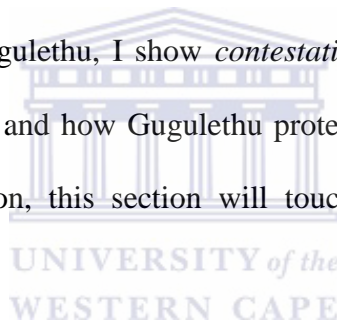


He [the councillor] is meeting people individually. So he targets certain individuals and he goes to them, and then he gives them tasks for those people to investigate, to be his eyes and stuff. Before, this community was united but after he came, he came with this strategy and there is now no more unity in this community.

The apparent plan to divide the community brews anger in people. What it also does is that it gives people a resolve not to employ a top down approach where community members are told what to do by street committees and area committees; rather, they want the community to take ownership and make decisions regarding the things that affect their lives. One way to do this is by periodically electing leaders. Also, some meetings held are open to people in the community regardless of leadership status thereby allowing open lines of communication which help subsequently protests – this stands in sharp contrast to what the municipality is doing.

5.5 *The poster situation: The hostage*

To draw the long curtain down – I refer to one situation that stood out in the interviews – the hostage situation which all interviewees celebrated. Before I do, it is pertinent to note that each community has its own success story (or stories). Whereas Gugulethu had a hostage situation, residents in Valhalla Park had an equally radical stance. Oldfield and Stokke (2004) detail what transpired. After numerous children were hit by cars in Valhalla Park, the Valhalla Park United Civic Front (the Civic) spent 2 fruitless years trying to persuade the municipality to build speed bumps. When this failed, the Civic activists dug a deep and wide hole across the main road – at night. As expected, cars slammed into the hole. Following this, speed bumps were built that day. Using the hostage situation in Gugulethu, I show *contestations* that necessitated this situation, the use of *connections (networks)* and how Gugulethu protestors reached *negotiations* with the municipality. As a poster situation, this section will touch on a number of things already discussed.



The *contestation* began with the installation of new water meters in Gugulethu Ward 44. In an interview, a visibly angry Tholani recalls the history of the water meters:

Now recently they have installed some new water meters which has a new system of billing us. Now what they did, firstly in 2011, it was announced by the honourable mayor – Patricia de Lille that the local government is gonna [going to] bring in a new system of trying to improve our living standards and conditions in [by] saving a few cents of spending. The government is gonna [going to] give us 6000 litres of water per month, right. That is per household. But now, when you talk 6000 litres we don't all understand how much water are you talking about here. Now you need to come to the people. Now she didn't come herself, [but] she should have sent her subordinates, that is the councillors. They were supposed to come to us and explain to us what this is all about. But they never did that!

The extract above reveals that the language that is used is many times beyond Gugulethu people's comprehension. Most importantly, the use of technocratic language is problematic. For instance, when they spoke about the 6000 litres many people did not understand the quantity of water they were referring to. It is clear that the people expected the officials to go to Gugulethu and explain this new plan but they were frustrated that the officials did not go to them.

An explanation by Solly, an articulate and well-connected man in and outside Gugulethu, sheds more light on what happened:

They came and they implemented it [the new water meters]. We just saw private company cars coming to our yards. Digging holes and put up this blue thing. Now what is this here, we asked [in an astonished voice]. They responded 'No we don't know'. We said but why can't you know yet you are the one installing it? You can't just come to my yard and install something, and when I ask what it is, you say you don't know. You are an intruder. If you don't know, maybe you are planting a time bomb into my yard [started laughing]. Jaa maybe you are planting a time bomb. Fine, it went on and on.

The extract above reveals that the people only saw a vehicle that came to install the new water taps that they did not know of and that they had not approved. It is interesting to note how the protestors frame their experiences. In the extract above, the use of the 'they' and the 'we' clearly shows how they frame their world. Using the framing processes I noted how protestors interpret their world and how their shared interpretations forge identity and collective action (Snow and Machalek, 1984). This is similar to the Occupy Wall Street's slogan that we are the 99%; they are the 1%. It is significant that Solly referred to 'time bomb' because it speaks of the war rhetoric dealt with earlier.

The above extract further shows that people have to be involved in development projects that affect their lives. Sadly, it seems there is just a top down approach not a bottom-up grassroots

approach where people get to participate in development. Undoubtedly, lack of consultation is one of the problems people protest against – as was in this hostage situation. This has to be understood, at least in South Africa, against a backdrop of the National Development Plan and the Constitution which categorically state that citizens must be involved in both the formulation and implementation of policies. Ideas from the political opportunity structures are helpful here because they help in understanding the available political mechanism such as constitutions, institutions, policies and legislation (Mohanty, et al., 2010). There is however a disjuncture between theory and practice because the reality on the ground is often poles removed from what is stipulated in the Constitution. Numerous studies in South Africa reveal this lack of consultation and participation (Oldfield and Stokke, 2004; Barichiev, et al., 2005; Staniland, 2008). Other parts of the world are affected by the same problem. In their protest, the Spanish *indignados* called for wider citizen participation in both the formulation and implementation of policies (Della Porta, 2011). As I have demonstrated throughout the study, failure on the part of those who are supposed to include community members sometimes lead frustrated and angry residents to exercise their democratic right of engaging in a protest.

The installed water meters created problems. In a focus group discussion, Chipa – a well-respected leader in the community claimed that:

Before we knew it, people started to come to me, saying ... [calling his title] we do not have water. I asked, You don't have water? What do we mean? People responded 'no, there is no water and yet some of our neighbors have but we do not have water'. Then we [protestors] said, okay, we called the officials saying, so and so doesn't have water. They [the municipal officials] said, 'no it's because you have a new system she used up all the water that she was provided with'. What do you mean, used up all the water, we asked. 'Well, there is a new system' [officials responded]. Then we said, okay fine. Hold it right there. Is this the new system that the mayor was talking about? Then we said [amongst ourselves] we need to do something here [in a serious voice]. We said to them, come here. They do not want to come. We need to go to them. But whom did they come to, when

they installed? We took action [in a stern voice]. We started a protest. We vandalized that. Yes! We vandalized it. We even took some the water meters. Now it's going to cost the city millions of Rands.

Important to note from the extract above is that the new water meters did not affect everyone; that is why some neighbors had waters and others did not. In fact protestors claim that the City of Cape Town's main targets were the pensioners and children who inherited their deceased parents' houses. Protesters even reason that perhaps these two categories are targeted because the municipality wishes to repossess the said houses. Yet it is significant that even those who were not affected participated in the contestation upon being called by those who were directly affected by the new system. This shows the willingness on the part of other residents to fight for their fellow neighbors something that again speaks to comradeship and solidarity – at least in a circle that usually protest together. People who were affected by this new development quickly reported this to leaders in Gugulethu. Some called using cell phones, some sent text messages to invite people to come and witness what was going on. This speaks to the networks that people have and how such networks helped in initiating this hostage situation. In addition, the fact that people have each other's cell phone numbers and that they are willing to go and fight for each other speaks something about the networks or connections that exist in Gugulethu Ward 44. However, there are also other complexities, because as already noted – people usually use word of mouth – so it is not solely the use of cell phones that led to this success.

The extract above also reveals that protestors took action and vandalized the water meters. Protestors vandalized the water meters and yet they knew that it costs the City of Cape Town a lot of money. Elsewhere, the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) has frequently resorted to militant

mobilization, for example, by destroying pre-paid water meters and reconnecting water and electricity, for instance, in Soweto (Buhlungu, 2006). Interestingly, in Gugulethu, the protestors felt that vandalizing the gadgets did not really help in catching the attention that they needed. As such, they proceeded to do something that was well calculated in order to get the City of Cape Town's attention, as explained by Mbuyiso in a focus group discussion:

They didn't feel the pain but when we caught up with the contractor who was contracted to install these things we took them in for hostage. We said to him come here. We told him: Now you call the person that gave you the tender. And the person is the City. Call the person that gave you the tender. That person came. We had said to him, if he or she does not come, you can just as well call your family and tell your family that you are not coming home tonight until those people [affected people in Gugulethu] have their water back! They came! [Following the call, the municipal officials came].

The extract above shows how protestors employed more radical measures to attain their desired goal. The hostage situation substantiates my earlier argument that there seems to be a progression in the tactics employed and how there tends to be an increase and intensification of tactics used in a bid to be heard.

In a focus group, Mama Dlamini had the following to say regarding the hostage situation and the results it yielded:

Now reflecting on this success story that happened here, the water meter, it was a great success... If we look at the hostage that we had about those guys who were installing water meters, because it was just like that, in less than 30 minutes everything was sorted out, and the debate that everyone was running away from, it happened you know, at that moment. And then that leads me to conclude that cellphones, people's contacts are very useful in protests. Because it was just a question of calling us. 1, 2, 3 is happening. And then we called people to come. People came and gathered. We informed them in seconds.

All the respondents celebrate this recent hostage situation. For instance, an excited Xolani claimed that:

It took us only a half an hour of a debate and we came to an agreement that they are going to give back water, free flow until such time as they come and discuss that with the people.

This shows that, for the protestors, the hostage situation is a poster situation of success in the struggle. When the people decided to hold hostage the private company owner who was installing the new water meters, the people who had given him a tender came. *Negotiation* between the City of Cape Town municipality and Gugulethu Ward 44 residents only took place because the lives of a few individuals who were held hostage were at stake. According to participants, all other attempts to meet with municipal officials did not yield fruit. Studies elsewhere show how, for example, the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign has managed to disrupt city policies and delay evictions (Oldfield and Stokke, 2004), or how the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee managed to reconnect electricity in Soweto (Egan and Wafer, 2006). In light of these examples, I argue that protests and social movements' activities (particularly radical action) can and do shape the course of development – that is, they play a role in the development process.

One thing that deserves mention is that *networks (connections)* not only helped in bringing people together to decide the course of action regarding the new water meters which were being installed, but networks also helped to avoid dangerous ideas that other people were proposing. For instance, there were those who wanted to overturn the company car and beat up the people who were installing the water meters. Tata Xolani recalls angry residents saying they: “*want to*

make an example out of him [company owner] and them [the people who were working with him].” However, because of proper leadership and that there are networks which help in people listening to each other, they finally decided to only hold the people hostage. Based on this, I argue that networks can be used for other community building projects – here networks helped to avoid dangerous ideas which would have amounted to crime.

There are a number of reasons why the hostage situation is relevant to this study. First, it shows not only the contestation, but what necessitated the contestation. At the core of the contestation was lack of consultation from the City of Cape Town officials because the community only saw people who were busy installing water meters in their yards, without their consent and without their knowledge. As a result of the new water meters, after sometime people did not have water in their homes. Unknown to the people was that the new system meant that the City of Cape Town Municipality had allocated a certain amount of water to each family a day. As a result, using up that water meant that they would have to wait for the next day to get water. Indeed the water meter seems to be a form of social control, but evidence from the study show that people will not passively receive it.

5.6 Conclusion

The study found that a number of existing networks help in enabling service delivery protests. Some of the networks are historical for instance networks built on shared history, that is, people who were moved from places they used to stay to Gugulethu. People who also participated in the apartheid struggle tend to have networks that are easily drawn upon when protesting. In addition, the existing network also include current factors such as day to day associations which help forge bonds that can be used in service delivery protests. Another finding for this study was that

protests are initiated and maintained by a number of factors. Chief among the factors that help maintain service delivery protests are regular meetings. These meetings range from political meetings to community meetings. Political meetings are meetings are held by people of different political parties in order to achieve their political ends. However these regular meetings are also used in service delivery protests. Street committees and area committees meet regularly under the leadership of democratically elected leaders. In addition to leaders, women are pivotal in service delivery protests. The findings show that the youth are not as active in the planning and organization of the protests, although they are involved on the day of the protests, sometimes to support the protests but sometimes to hijack the protests and use the protests to engage in illegal activities such as looting people's shops. The study found that the primary meaning attached to service delivery protests relates to an expression of anger. Because of frustration and lack of service delivery and lack of consultation that residents face, they tend to express themselves by engaging in protests. The protests are meant to send a message to the authorities. What emerged in the study is that protests are used as the last resort in order to get attention from the municipal officials.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

Despite a number of protests in Gugulethu, research on service delivery in this township is scanty. It is against this backdrop that the overall aim of this study was to investigate the role that networks play in service delivery protests in Ward 44 of Gugulethu. The importance of networks in protests and social movements is widely acknowledged (Diani and McAdam, 2003; Della Porta and Diani, 2006; Snow, et al., 2007; Crossley, 2002, 2007). Although there is widespread acceptance of the importance of networks in protests, there is a dearth of research on networks in South Africa and in Gugulethu in particular. Using a qualitative study, I investigated the following three areas. Firstly, the study attempted to understand the existing networks which enable service delivery protests. Secondly, the study sought to understand how service delivery protests are initiated and maintained. And, thirdly, the research investigated the meanings that service delivery protestors attach to protests. This section revisits the major arguments and findings raised in the preceding chapters, offer recommendations, and highlight areas for further research.

6.2 Concluding Remarks

The empirical evidence clearly showed that there exist networks which enable service delivery protests in Ward 44 of Gugulethu. These networks range from formal to informal networks. The networks are based on historical factors such as networks built in the struggle against apartheid, frustration resulting from forced removal from other parts of Cape Town to Gugulethu, and day-to-day interactions. With regard to the later factor, Oberschall (1973) argued that networks or

associations of everyday life are important in building resources which can be utilized for struggle purposes. Historical networks and day-to-day interactions build connections that are useful in service delivery mobilization. I argued that apart from the binding effect of a shared history of injustice and inequality that stems from the pre-1994 era, persistence of poor service delivery in Gugulethu Ward 44 re-enforce protest networks.

Stemming from the persistence of poor or inadequate service delivery, this study found that in Gugulethu, grievances play an important role in solidarity building. The study revealed that grievances also act as a unifying effect and help in collective identity (as the framing process shows – chapter 3) and in mobilization. Rapport and Amit (2002) rightly argued that common problems create a ‘contextual fellowship’ that cuts across age, race and class divides. Also important to this study is that drawing from framing processes I was able to note how protestors interpret their world and who and what they blame for their problems, such as some councillors and the municipal system. With regard to councillors, the study found that protestors understand the distinctiveness and effectiveness of different councillors. One of the grievances which stood out was a lack of consultation on the part of municipal officials. Although there is no consensus on resource mobilization theorists regarding the importance of grievances in protest mobilization (Walsh, 1981; McCarthy and Zald, 1977), based on the empirical study conducted, that in Gugulethu (specifically Ward 44), I argue that grievances are an important re(source) for service delivery protests because they forge social and political bonds.

To the local government’s credit, the study found that the municipality does respond to service delivery concerns in Gugulethu. However, such responses by the local government officials are often delayed and fragmented. More importantly, such responses come after protests, for

example the hostage situation detailed in chapter 5. This suggests that collective action sometimes ‘force’ government to respond to community demands. Therefore, communities and social movement networks play a role in the development process. Following this, I argue that actions and inactions of social movements and protestors (in Gugulethu) resist top down technocratic development and this sometimes facilitate bottom up development. This flows from an understanding that residents do not passively accept actions and inactions of the government but they actively engage in order to better their lives.

Of significance to this study is that networks are very strong and cut across political divides. In effect, people of different political parties unite to stage protests that they feel bedevil their community. Based on the centrality placed on networks in organizing and executing protests, I argued that in Gugulethu, networks are an ‘instrumentalisation of service delivery’ because they act as a mobilizing tool. For instance, drawing from the social network analysis ideas, the study found that relationships among social entities (in this case, protestors) help in communication and the exchange of information among them (Wasserman and Faust, 2004).

The study found that chief among the networks are the community meetings that people hold on a regular bases, whether they be for politics or for community issues. The weekly and fortnightly meetings help keep the momentum and, in the process, help in maintaining service delivery protests. The study found that the networks make it easier for people to mobilize again when the need for protests arises. Additionally, participation in social networks is not only built by participation in community meetings, but that participation in collective action also shapes networks, reinforces pre-existing ones, and forges connections which affect subsequent engagements (Snow, et al., 2007; della Porta and Diani, 2006). In Gugulethu, networks built and

reinforced in community meetings tend to ensure participation in collection action. In view of this, I conclude that participation in protests build on pre-existing networks and forge new networks which help in maintaining service delivery protests. In other words, networks are not static, but they are dynamic in that they are in a constant process of remaking themselves through struggle.

The results of the study revealed that certain people play key roles in initiating protests. This finding found support in the Social Network Analysis ideas which highlight the role of individuals in a group or organizational cohesion (Warner, Bowers and Dixon, 2012). The study found that certain leaders (men and women) and women in general, play a key role in protests. The findings of this study reveal that compared to other communities in South Africa where the youth feature predominantly in protests (Von Holdt, et al., 2011), in Gugulethu the youth are not actively involved in the planning and organization of protests. Elsewhere, the youth are actively involved though, from protest planning to execution – for example in Occupy Wall Street in the United States of America, *Indignados* in Spain and in Middle East during the Arab Spring. In Gugulethu, the youth are only active on the day of the protest or a few days prior to the protests. Older protesters claim that some protests are hijacked by the youth who often do not attend the regular meetings. Such youth hijack protests because they see protests as an opportunity to make money since they get to loot shops and businesses.

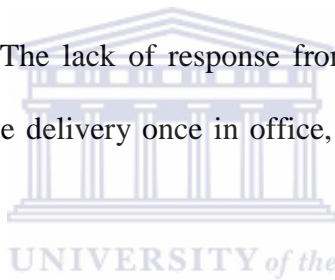
Some older leaders act as brokers who connect Ward 44 with other Wards and other communities. This is in harmony with ideas from the Resource Mobilization Theory that protests draw on internal and external networks. This research found that some protestors have both ‘betweenness’ centrality and ‘degree’ centrality (see Social Network Analysis in chapter 3 and

5). Due to these connections and their central role in the network, I argued that protesters with stronger centrality in the network not only have prestige, but also power which allow them to be listened to for example by youth and gangsters. Not only that, but contrary to what protesters claim is bad labelling and vilification from the media (portraying them as criminals, thugs and hooligans), protesters who are well-connected and have key roles in the protest network in Gugulethu are admired and highly respected. Such admiration comes from not-so-connected protesters and members of the community, something I have called a ‘badge of honour’ that admirers bestow on such leaders.

In fact, I argued that the protesters’ use of war metaphors (though figurative) is indicative of the risks involved in the protests. As such, those who engage in protests and who play key roles in initiating and maintaining protests are unsurprisingly hailed at least by other protesters and well-wishers in the community and beyond. The use of the war metaphor also revealed the careful planning, organization and coordination involved in protests. The study also found that protesters use of the word ‘casualties’ to refer to the injuries and death that sometimes occur during or as a result of protests show that protesters understand the danger that protesting may pose, thereby showing that protests are not for fun but are a risky means of engagement employed as a last resort. Interestingly, a key observation about protests is that there seems to be an inclination to use strong phrases and terms when referring to the protests phenomena. For example, in Balfour, Guateng, when leaders of a protest went into hiding after a protest, for fear of their lives, they regarded it as going ‘into exile’ (Alexander and Pfaffe, 2013). Based on the widespread use of such strong terms and phrases, I argued that such usages are indicative of not only the animosity that exists between the protesters and the local government, but of the impending danger that may befall communities in South Africa – particularly in Ward 44. In fact, I labelled this as a

‘time bomb’ which, if not adequately addressed will, after strong and careful networking, mobilizing and a concoction of other factors in place, will likely explode – with far reaching consequences.

The overarching meaning attached to protests was that of anger. The study found that protests are an expression of anger at the service delivery problems the community faces, a finding that is echoed in other studies in South Africa and throughout the world, as detailed in chapter 2. What makes this anger aggravated is that they continue to receive promises which they regard as empty promises. This is in line with Harber’s (2009) argument that the notion of service delivery protests is loaded with promises by the government which builds promises exclusively on the improvement of service delivery. The lack of response from the authorities, who at one time would have promised better service delivery once in office, creates frustration which is vented out in protests.



The study found that protests are a way of communicating the community’s problems in order to get attention from local, provincial and the national government. Protests are seen as a communicative means employed as a last resort after all other avenues such as dialogue have been considered but have yielded no result. In fact, the protestors felt alienated and neglected by the people who are supposed to serve them. Protests then become a language directed at the authorities. While protesting is an exercise of democratic right (see chapter 2), it is important to note as Harber (2009) does that the term service delivery is misunderstood leading to wrong expectations. For him, the term service delivery implies that all communities need to do get services is vote – nothing less and nothing more. Following this, the only time people feel the need to act is when service providers fail to deliver – and the action will be to protest. It is almost

as if communities adopt a wait and see attitude and are fully depended on the government to deliver.

What also emerged from the study is that there exist links to the language used during the apartheid struggle, for instance the call to make townships ungovernable. This attests to connections that exist between contemporary protests to those pre-1994 or at least, the drawing of lessons and repertoires employed then. Whether this is just a threat or something that will be a reality one day is subject to speculation but what is clear and can be concluded from the study is that drawing from the pool of resources they have, one important one being networks, protestors employ more stringent measures and tactics in protests in order to make their voices heard – for instance, the transition from peaceful protests to violent protests detailed in chapter 2. In this study a good example was when after the water meters were installed and the problems that ensued, people first vandalized the water meters. Upon seeing that the municipalities did not really seem to care about the vandalism, the protestors employed a more radical tactic – that of holding hostage the contractor and his workers who were installing new water meters. Using cell phones and word of mouth people called each other; people came together and decided on the way forward to resolve the water meter impasse. When other protestors proposed beating the contractor and his workers – to make an example out of him – the networks that exist helped, as senior protest leaders calmed others and instead agreed to only hold them hostage. This shows the importance of networks not only in mobilizing but in deciding the appropriate course of action to be taken. Based on this study, I conclude that *networks* or *connections* help in *contestations* which will then help in arriving at *negotiations* with the local government.

6.3 Recommendations

Service delivery protests remain high in South Africa despite two decades of democracy. Although protests are an expression of democratic right, the loss of time, loss of life and damage of property is a worrying trend. On the one hand peaceful service delivery protests should not be banned (and in fact cannot be banned because they are enshrined in the Constitution) as they show a reflection of democracy. On the other hand however, there is need for authorities to try to use community networks to ensure that the community does not resort to violence.

At the same time, the responsible authorities must not wait until there is a protest for them to respond. To be sure, in one way or the other, negotiation between communities and service providers is unavoidable. The question that service providers need to consistently ponder is whether they want this negotiation to occur after a service delivery protest (when public goods, disruption of order and perhaps injuries and loss of life) or before a service delivery protest. Therefore, understanding networks and making use of these networks is perhaps useful in municipalities being proactive in this matter. Furthermore, such effort on the part of the municipality may build the community's trust of service providers which could facilitate peaceful and healthy interactions between the community and service providers. Building community trust is important given that there is little faith in the communities on the workings of government systems (Oldfield and Stokke, 2004; Tapscott, 2005).

Given that social, historical, economic and political networks play an important role in organizing and maintaining service delivery protests, more needs to be done to understand these networks. Such an understanding will prove helpful given my findings that networks that are used in service delivery protests can be used for other purposes in Gugulethu. As such,

knowledge of such networks may be of use to communities and municipalities. On the one hand, communities may be more aware of the networks they possess and use this information to better organize themselves and stage peaceful protests (in their exercise of their democratic right) and also use such networks to embark on community development projects, such as in combating crime. On the other hand, the municipal officials should try to understand the networks that exist in Gugulethu and work towards building better lines of communication with Gugulethu residents. This would go a long way in mending networks between the local government and Gugulethu. In other words, the municipality should study service delivery protest networks in Gugulethu (study them not spying them), with a view to see how they can be used to build better relations with the City of Cape Town municipality.

The study results show that there is lack of consultation on the part of the local government. The City of Cape Town should work hard to ensure that they involve Gugulethu residents in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of projects that affect Gugulethu residents. If the community is involved from the planning and implementation of projects, the frustration and the anger could be avoided or at least reduced. This could also result in Gugulethu Ward 44 taking ownership (thereby ensuring sustainability) of community development projects that the municipality and the community would have implemented together.

6.4 Areas for further study

A further study is needed which seeks to understand the networks, formal and informal that exist between Gugulethu residents and the City of Cape Town.

More study is required with an aim of understanding how Gugulethu protestors can use their pre-existing networks to engage in other community building projects, such as promoting peace by combating violence and crime, raising awareness on health issues and better ways of using the available resources.

Another important area for further research would be one which seeks to understand the problems that the City of Cape Town municipality encounters in networking with Gugulethu residents. Such a study will help understand the challenges that the City of Cape Town faces from the municipality's point of view.

6.5 Conclusion

Service delivery protests have affected all the nine provinces of South Africa. The protests have become increasingly violent. While the violent turn of protests is a negative development, protests per se are an expression of democratic right. This research has demonstrated that networks play a pivotal role in service delivery protests in Gugulethu Ward 44. What emerged from the study is that networks play a key role throughout the life of a protest. Whereas pre-existing networks help in mobilization for protests, participation in protests build protest networks which help in subsequent protests. During a protest, networks help people to listen to each other and particularly to protest leaders. Networks also help in deciding the appropriate course of action such as protest tactics to be used. Effectively, networks are important before the protest event, during the protest event and after the protest event. Given the pivotal role of networks in service delivery protests in Gugulethu, perhaps effort and more research are needed to see other ways that these networks can be used not only in protests but also in other community building projects such as combating crime – especially given that certain leaders

with what I termed a ‘badge of honour’ are respected and listened to even by youth and gangsters in Gugulethu. In sum, the study found that *networks* or *connections* help in *contestations* which will then help in arriving at *negotiations* with the local government.



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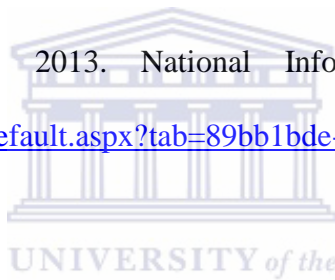
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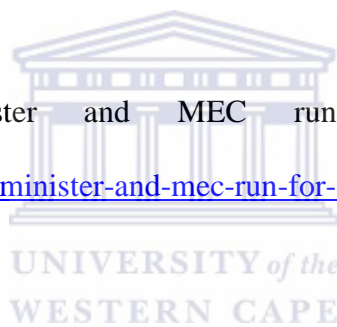
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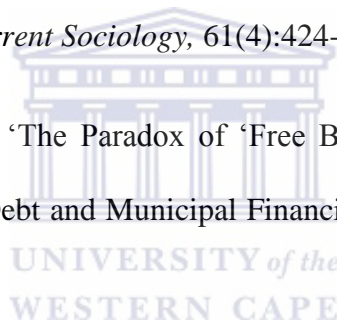
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APPENDICES



University of the Western Cape

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E-mail: pkippie@uwc.ac.za or spenderis@uwc.ac.za



Project Title: Contestations, Connections and Negotiations: The Role of Networks in Service Delivery Protests in Gugulethu Township, Cape Town.

What is this study about?

My name is Kenny Chiwarawara, a Masters student at the Institute of Social Development of the University of the Western Cape. I am conducting a research in which I kindly ask you to participate because you are a stakeholder in service delivery protests in Gugulethu township. The aim of this research is to understand the role that networks play in service delivery protests. The researcher hopes that information of these networks will be useful to municipalities and to service delivery activists.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

If you agree to participate then you will be asked to contribute towards this research by answering some questions which will provide your opinions and information. The interview will be between you and I. Furthermore, the interviews will be held in the place of your choosing and they will be for less than an hour.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

Your name and other personal information will be kept confidential if you so wish. Your identity will be confidential and anonymous. In addition the information you provide will safely stored in my locked desk and will only be used for the purpose of this research. I will only interview you

if you freely allow me to. For this reason, if you so choose to participate in this interview you and I will be required to sign a consent form that binds me to adhere to what we agreed to, which include upholding your privacy and keeping your information and opinions anonymous.

What are the risks of this research?

Participating in this research does not pose any risk to you before and after the research. You will not be deceived in any way.

What are the benefits of this research?

While no direct personal benefit is anticipated, it is hoped that this research's findings will help municipalities to better connect and network with Gugulethu residents and also help the community to better connect in establishing community development projects.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

You do not have to be in this research. You are kindly asked to participate voluntarily. If you do choose to participate, you are to remember that you can stop at any time and you will not have to provide reasons for your decision.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

This study poses no danger to you.

What if I have questions?

If you have questions feel free to contact **Kenny Chiwarawara**, who is conducting the research. My phone number is 0027 83 428 8203.

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact my supervisor Dr Abdulrazack Karriem at The Institute for Social Development (ISD), University of the Western Cape, his telephone number, +27 (021) 959 3853 .

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Professor Julian May
Head of Department: Institute for Social Development
School of Government
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee. Yes



University of the Western Cape

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Letter of consent: For service delivery protesters

I....., have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, and received satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I agree to take part in this research.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary. I am free not to participate and have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to explain myself.

I am aware that this interview might result in research which may be published, but my name may be/ not be used (circle appropriate).

I understand that if I don't want my name to be used that this will be ensured by the researcher.

I may also refuse to answer any questions that I don't want to answer.

Date:.....

Participant Name:.....

Participant Signature:.....

Interviewer name: Kenny Chiwarawara.....

Interviewer Signature:.....

If you have any questions concerning this research, feel free to call (Kenny Chiwarawara 083 428 8203) or my supervisor, (Dr Abdulrazack Karriem 021 959 3853).



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