



Graduate School of Development Studies

**Citizenship in Social Movements:  
Constructing Alternatives in the Anti-Privatization  
Forum, South Africa**

A Research Paper presented by:

*Meghan Cooper*  
(Canada)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of  
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialisation:  
**Politics of Alternative Development  
(PAD)**

Members of the examining committee:

Kees Biekart  
Jeff Handmaker

The Hague, The Netherlands  
November, 2009

***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Research papers are not made available for circulation outside of the Institute.

***Inquiries:***

Postal address:           Institute of Social Studies  
                                  P.O. Box 29776  
                                  2502 LT The Hague  
                                  The Netherlands

Location:                 Kortenaerkade 12  
                                  2518 AX The Hague  
                                  The Netherlands

Telephone:               +31 70 426 0460

Fax:                       +31 70 426 0799

## Acknowledgements

First, I must thank my PAD ladies: Tania, Tinyu and Stefania. You are beautiful women and a huge source of my inspiration throughout this degree. You have helped me grow in ways that I cannot thank you enough for and will always remember. Ms. Mumford, you are a brilliant woman who has supported me through this whole process and always offered a good pep talk when they were needed. To Isa – so many things to thank you for, but most of all your thirst for life has kept me going.

I would like to thank Kees Biekart, my supervisor for his patience, guidance and friendship. Further, Jeff Handmaker, my second reader for his insightful recommendations, friendship and inspiration beyond what I can explore in this paper. Of course, Rachel Kurian, our PAD convenor who was willing to help wherever it was needed, emotionally and intellectually!

For my family, in particular my brothers, my sister and my mom – you have always encouraged me and for that, whatever steps I take and success I have owes significant thanks to you. Uncle Fernando, I would not be writing this or even have come to Europe if you had not pushed me to do so. You have always believed in me, sometimes even more than I believed in myself.

I owe significant gratitude to Iain. For proof reading, listening, coffee breaks and reassurance when I needed it. This paper would not have been finalized if not for your support.

Finally, thank you to Dale McKinley, Trevor Ngwane and Peter Waterman for the materials, assistance with interviews and inspiration that have significantly shaped the outcome of this paper.

*...the recognition of the capacity of social movements to produce new visions of a democratic society in so far as they identify the existing social ordering as limiting and exclusion with respect to their values and interest...contestations are not seen as by-products of political struggle but as constitutive of the efforts by social movements to redefine the meaning and the limits of the political itself (Evelina Dagnino, 1998:47).*

# Contents

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Acknowledgements   | iii       |
| List of Acronyms   | vii       |
| Abstract   | viii      |
| <b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b>  | <b>9</b>  |
| 1.1 Building South African Social Movements  | 10        |
| 1.2 Relevance and Justification  | 11        |
| 1.3 Research Objectives and Question   | 12        |
| 1.4 Information Sources  | 13        |
| Secondary Sources  | 13        |
| Primary Sources  | 14        |
| 1.5 Methodology  | 14        |
| 1.6 Limitations and Scope of Research  | 15        |
| <b>Chapter 2 Framing Collective Action and Citizenship</b>                         | <b>16</b> |
| 2.1 Approach to Social Movement Theory   | 16        |
| 2.2 Contesting Definitions and Citizenship   | 18        |
| 2.2.1 Is social citizenship enough?  | 19        |
| 2.2.2 Inclusive Citizenship  | 20        |
| 2.2.3 ‘Marketization’ of the Citizen   | 21        |
| 2.3 From Frame Analysis to Collective Action Framing                               | 22        |
| 2.3.1 Injustice and Diagnostic Framing   | 23        |
| 2.3.2 Agency and Motivational Framing  | 24        |
| 2.3.3 Identity and Prognostic Framing  | 25        |
| <b>Chapter 3 South African Political Struggle and The Anti-Privatisation Forum</b> | <b>27</b> |
| 3.1 Mass Mobilization in South Africa  | 27        |
| 3.2 Transition by Economic Reform  | 29        |
| 3.3 Citizenship in the post-apartheid South Africa                                 | 31        |
| 3.4 South Africa and the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF)                            | 32        |
| 3.5 Tensions and Engagement: The ANC and the APF                                   | 33        |
| <b>Chapter 4 Citizenship and its barriers in the Anti-Privatisation Forum</b>      | <b>36</b> |
| 4.1 Challenging South African Reform   | 36        |

|       |   |           |
|-------|---|-----------|
| 4.2   | ‘the struggle continues!’- Framing the working class                  | 37        |
| 4.3   | Collective Action Framing in the Anti-Privatization Forum             | 38        |
| 4.3.1 | Injustice and Diagnostic Framing                                      | 38        |
| 4.3.2 | Agency and Motivational Framing                                       | 40        |
| 4.3.3 | Identity and Prognostic Framing                                       | 41        |
| 4.4   | Constructing Citizenship for the Working Class                        | 43        |
| 4.4.1 | Neo-liberalism and Citizenship  | 45        |
| 4.4.2 | Legal Restraints and Opportunities                                    | 46        |
| 4.5   | Merging Approaches  | 47        |
|       | <b>Chapter 5 Analyzing the Citizenship Lens</b>                       | <b>48</b> |
| 5.1   | Inclusive Citizenship: the ideal type?                                | 48        |
| 5.2   | Situating the Anti-Privatisation Forum: Leadership and Participation  | 49        |
| 5.3   | Problematizing a working class citizenship                            | 51        |
| 5.4   | Engaging the state  | 52        |
| 5.5   | Criminalizing Resistance  | 54        |
| 5.6   | Conclusions   | 56        |
|       | <b>Chapter 6 Citizenship and Social Movements: Revisited</b>          | <b>58</b> |
| 6.1   | Continuing the debate   | 60        |
|       | References  | 62        |
|       | Appendices  | 69        |
|       | Appendix A: Interviews Conducted                                      | 69        |
|       | Appendix B: The Demands and Structure of the Anti-Privatisation Forum | 70        |
|       | Appendix C: ‘struggle continues’ –APF Newsletter                      | 71        |

## List of Acronyms

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| APF:    | Anti-Privatization Forum                  |
| ANC:    | African National Congress                 |
| CAWP:   | Coalition Against Water Privatization     |
| CALS:   | Centre for Applied Legal Studies          |
| COSATU: | Congress of South African Trade Unions    |
| DWAF:   | Department of Water Affairs and Forestry  |
| GEAR:   | Growth Employment and Redistribution      |
| FBW:    | Free Basic Water policy                   |
| NGO:    | Non-Governmental Organization             |
| RDP:    | Reconstruction and Development Programme  |
| SACP:   | South African Communist Party             |
| SANCO:  | South African National Civic Organisation |
| TAC:    | Treatment Action Campaign                 |

## **Abstract**

Social movements have quickly become pre-dominant actors within South Africa's civil society largely contesting the basis upon which South Africa's post-apartheid reality has been constructed according to specific policies. Citizenship is one of the discourses which surround the impacts of said policies and is therefore used as a lens of analysis to how social movements in South Africa are contesting the implications of macro-economic policies and government re-structuring. This paper then explores how social movements construct citizenship and redefine the very notion of the political realm. This is situated in relation to a broader theoretical framework of collective action framing informed by an integrated social constructionist approach and various notions within citizenship discourse. Applicable research to this theoretical understanding was then placed in relation to an evaluation of a prominent social movement, the Anti-Privatisation Forum. Such an examination was done with reference to the historical context and formidable research surrounding the politics of South African social movements. The overarching aim of this paper therefore is to discuss how social movements actively construct citizenship in a way that redefines how the political realm is seen and can be created through an engagement of citizen agency. The outcome is to reignite the meaning of citizenship to potentially understand the concept as a process and lens for citizen lead activism.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

Citizenship has long been a contested and relevant discussion for development studies. As argued by Mohan and Hickey 'citizenship analysis arguably has a significant contribution to make towards development theory and practice. As befits development theory, it is an inherently multi-disciplinary concept, relating to socioeconomic, political, legal and cultural spheres' (2004, 70). Therefore, it is useful in understanding how and who are involved in processes of defining citizenship relative to how citizens are situated within the construction of their own societies. This becomes especially relevant in South Africa where citizen agency and identity remains contested in how the post-apartheid government has sought to rectify apartheid divisions.

## **Keywords**

Citizenship - social movements - collective action frames - basic service provision – neoliberalism



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

All human beings are citizens somewhere, somehow with the fullest rights to dignity, respect and identity. Exactly what these rights mean, how they are to be fulfilled and by whom, is the concept of citizenship. Much ambiguity however, remains in what needs to be considered not only in the definition but also in the lived experience. Therefore, as understandings to citizenship continue to expand, so to do the interpretations of rights that moves beyond particularistic or nationalist ideas (Turner 1993: 14). Generally, 'citizens are equal before the law, but the law is not applied equally to all citizens, because its interpretation is mediated by exclusion and discrimination because of race, gender, language or social status' (Gamucio-Dagron 2008:70). There are few places where this is as overwhelmingly visible and with such a staunch historical context among marginalized groups than in South Africa. South Africa's apartheid shift from a system of blatant citizen exclusion however, has not changed dramatically with the citizenship of historically persecuted communities failing to be considered in the construction of South Africa's post-apartheid reality (Von Lieres 2007: 227). In turn, the purpose of this research is to identify how citizenship has been constructed by South Africa's burgeoning wave of social movements struggling for political change. This is in direct opposition to how citizenship is conceived within South Africa's neoliberal macro-economic policies emphasizing strategies such as privatization.

Social movements such as those reflected in South Africa, often serve to express the interests and identities of those systemically exploited or overlooked during times of political and economic change or transition. Therefore, a study of this nature is relevant to look at how social movements construct citizenship as an oppositional tool within this process. As will be addressed, how citizenship is defined is through a process of collective action framing, an inherently social constructivist account. This is a part of a particular integrated approach to citizenship that moves beyond state-centric

notions accounting for contextual interpretations to rights and the structural barriers, which may limit their full realization.

## **1.1 Building South African Social Movements**

Political struggle has a long history in South Africa recognized most notably for the main anti-apartheid character- the African National Congress (ANC). South Africa's 1994 democratic transition from segregationist apartheid rule to a supposed democratic, accountable government has similarly brought a shift in the role of civic actors. Actors previously a part of the ANC led political struggle against apartheid, shifted to a politics of transition negotiating the new constitution and administrative character of South Africa's new democratic state. Further, the 1994 elections brought a politics of transformation, whereby civic actors were required to redefine their roles in relation to the newly formed state, with the ANC as the leading party (Handmaker 2009: 74). While the legacies of the apartheid struggle remain fresh in citizens hearts and minds, a wave of new community-based organisations and social movements have emerged drawing from the 'more militant and revolutionary political styles, objectives and modes of mobilisation of the apartheid era' (Robins 2008: 19). All the while, the ANC is perceived to have transformed 'from a revolutionary liberation movement into a political party, a bureaucratic machine and corporate state structure' (Robins 2008: 19). In turn, how the ANC has emerged in responding to South Africa's development concerns through 'the enforcement of market discipline in the access to social services deprives large numbers of residents of access to healthcare, housing, water, electricity and sanitation' (Barchiesi 2006: 214). For the purpose of this paper I will draw particular attention upon one group of civic actors, social movements and the role that they have played in constructing South Africa's post-apartheid reality by way of recognizing new elements and barriers to citizenship especially as this relates to the provision of basic services.

Exactly when in the 1990's or earlier South Africa's wave of movements began to emerge is highly contested. Further, their formation cannot be deduced to simply a product of the aforementioned governmental policies and

impacts (Egan and Wafer 2004: 3). However, for the purpose of this paper I will focus primarily on the time period following and during the implementation of such contested policies, mainly from the year 2000 to the present. What I aim to discover is how social movements have exercised their agency in the new South African democratic structure to constructing citizenship in the post-apartheid polity. This will largely be in relation to the perception of government failure in service delivery towards historically marginalized populations. Such an examination will not provide a singular construction of citizenship within South Africa or elsewhere however, is meant to provide a lens of analysis as to how social movements contest and redefine citizenship in its application and lived experience.

## **1.2 Relevance and Justification**

Collective action frames as the primary theoretical approach for this analysis are ‘not static, reified entities but are continuously being constituted, contested, reproduced, transformed, and/or replaced during the course of social movement activity’ (Benford and Snow 2000: 628). Collective action framing is an evolving framework that considers material socio-economic, political or cultural conditions in relation to ideological concerns that may inform these circumstances. Therefore, this paper seeks to fill a noticeable gap in the literature that takes the construction of citizenship within social movements as given. What remains to be understood is the process of *how* citizenship is defined, transformed and contested within movements. Such justification resonates with this paper’s ultimate view of citizenship as an integrated concept

that understands socially and spatially located nature of the ‘mobilising citizen’, engaged in a dynamic, networked political interactions, drawing on a variety of resources, becoming part of shifting forms of social solidarity and identification (Leach and Scoones 2007: 15).

Redefining citizenship implies a strong emphasis on participation and reorganization to what is defined as the political arena affecting the participants, institutions, processes and agenda of that arena (Dagnino 2008b: 30). This is especially relevant in South Africa as previously the political arena was defined through a collection of racist divisions within an apartheid state

structure. Now, social movements are contesting South Africa's post-apartheid economic policies that seem to emphasize a view of citizenship that is best achieved through policies of privatization and cost-recovery. As South African social movements evolve in their perceptions of the post-apartheid democratic reality, so to do their framing of rights and entitlements. Therefore, this leaves justification for understanding how citizenship is contested in the post-apartheid reality.

The Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) was chosen among a pattern of mobilizations, situated to the left of the ANC. It is a formidable yet under-researched movement against the ANC government who are arguably 'failing to act on issues that affect a significant constituency' (Buhlungu 2006: 68). The APF presents a fascinating case study of opposition to material as well as ideological circumstances that have been created in post-apartheid South Africa. Further, the APF is contesting common development terminology that relates to questions of citizenship such as the ANC's promises for a more 'people-driven development'<sup>1</sup>. The personal justification emerges from an intrigue surrounding actors who are creating an alternative rubric to neoliberal conceptions of development and citizens as viable within political discourse.

### 1.3 Research Objectives and Question

In conducting this research my objectives are as follows:

- To analyze the interpretations of rights (limitations and opportunities) that emerge from collective action frames employed by contemporary social movements
- To explore how social movements are challenging prevailing conceptions of a citizen, and in turn the institutional or macroeconomic arrangements that consider their rights.

In attempting to address said objectives, the driving question to this research is: *How are contemporary social movements such as the Anti-Privatisation Forum in post-apartheid South Africa, constructing definitions of citizenship?* This question will be subsequently addressed through the following sub-questions:

- How does collective action framing relate the concept of citizenship to the work of social movements?
- How do social movements such as the APF use collective action framing as a lens for definitions of citizenship?
- How do social movements use citizenship as a political strategy and what are the implications of defining such a contextual concept?

By undertaking these questions I hope to display how the APF is framing the injustices they condemn, the agency they seek within political discourse and the identities they demand to be considered in the form of a distinct process linked to claiming rights – citizenship. While the APF does not directly address or problematize citizenship, its approach and demands are in relation to issues linked to it. This includes access to certain basic services including water, healthcare, electricity, housing and education. Therefore, the discourse and process of citizenship is used as a lens to analyze the ongoing collective action and frames utilized by the APF.

*It will be argued in the following chapters,* that a part of how social movements promote their interests and challenge oppressive structures is in the construction of citizenship as a position not empirically given rather contextually created and defined. Such a stance is part of an integrated perspective of social movement theory and citizenship as proposed by Leach and Scoones (2007) whereby mobilization processes are diverse and common meanings such as citizenship are constructed and practised through emerging social solidarities.

## **1.4 Information Sources**

### *Secondary Sources*

In establishing the context and background of South Africa emphasis was placed on authors with historical involvement and attention to South Africa's political economy and civil society responses – in particular those of social movements. While not all authors come from the same epistemic tradition,

they present a well-rounded critical view to neoliberal traditions in South Africa.

Finally, for frame analysis presented in Chapter 4 secondary data was from materials of the APF itself including web announcements, opinion pieces and their newsletter entitled ‘the struggle continues’ (for an example of the APF newsletter see Appendix C).

### ***Primary Sources***

While the basis for this research relies upon an expansion of secondary sources, interviews with current or past APF activists enabled further analysis of this literature. Direct interpretations to citizenship from the APF membership were minimal, however clarification and insight was provided through semi-structured interviews with APF co-founders Dale McKinley and Trevor Ngwane. Outside perspectives to the work of the APF were accessed through semi-structured interviews among past-APF activists and others who are not part of, but familiar with the work of the APF (for a list of all interviews conducted and when, see Appendix A).

## **1.5 Methodology**

The methodological approach for this research is primarily based on frame analysis and in particular collective action frames. As a methodological tool ‘collective action frames deny the immutability of some undesirable situation and the possibility of changing it through some form of collective action. They define people as potential agents of their own history’ (Gamson & Meyer 1996: 285). Accordingly, this literature fundamentally adopts a social constructivist perspective whereby events and actors are perceived to take place in a context influenced by certain external (systemic and human) conditions (Olesen 2005: 20). The incorporation of such a characteristic is particularly visible from the work of William Gamson who conceptualized collective action frames along lines of *injustice*, *agency* and *identity* (Gamson 1992: 7). Gamson’s original framework (1992 and 1996) has since been expanded and contested therefore, this literature will be emphasized with more recent interpretations of collective

action framing from Snow and Benford. All three actors are considered as central authors to the understanding of collective action frames in a more broad sense (Gamson) and particular (Snow and Benford).

Citizenship discourse is the second theoretical principle explored throughout this research. How citizenship is contested is analyzed in relation to the claims and actions of a social movement – specifically the Anti-Privatization Forum of South Africa. The APF is assessed according to their demands and framing of political disparities within South Africa’s socio-economic circumstances. An understanding of the various perspectives to what these circumstances are has been explored through an examination of APF affiliate movements and other academic literature surrounding South Africa’s post-apartheid political struggle.

## **1.6 Limitations and Scope of Research**

While it would be fascinating to analyze the APF on its ability to identify with and shape local struggles, as an outsider to South Africa this ability is limited without fieldwork. Thus, my position limits my understanding of how citizens perceive the activities of the APF and my ability to examine the impacts of the APF framing activity.

This research is a meso-level analysis to understanding the movement politics of South Africa, the APF and how they relate to the overall macro level policies and perceptions of social justice and poverty alleviation. I do not pretend to fully understand the sentiments of broken post-apartheid promises therefore cannot identify with any particular population in their experience of citizenship. Interviews conducted among South African activists were among a small and specific group of individuals within movements. This afforded me a macro-level picture of South African movements and additional internal information about the APF. However, my method of conversion was non-existent among the populations for whom these frames are partly directed. In turn this research is intended and only able to be a lens to movement activity in South Africa.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Framing Collective Action and Citizenship**

#### **2.1 Approach to Social Movement Theory**

The theoretical approach employed throughout this examination resides with collective action framing. This is an explicit social constructivist perspective to understanding social movements as opposed to other predominant theories concerning resource mobilization, political opportunity structures or process and movement identities. Resource Mobilisation theory focused on ‘the balance of costs, rewards and incentives’ that motivate individuals to become involved in political struggle (Leach and Scoones 2007: 10). Political Opportunity or Process theories consider movement resources however; emphasize political and institutional contexts whereby protest occurred in cycles depending upon ‘political opportunity structures’ that are available. Identity politics ‘examine the sources and processes through which common identities are formed’ or dissolved and changed through movement activity (Leach and Scoones: 10).

Framing is viewed as most relevant for this analysis as framing accounts for mobilization ‘not just to promote a given social or political agenda, but to establish and promote certain meanings and problem-definitions as legitimate as against those who would dispute them’ (Leach and Scoones 2007: 10-11). This is not to discount the applicability of other perspectives rather to suggest that framing is able to ‘breathe new life into otherwise dead opportunities’ (Olesen 2005: 36). What this research seeks to identify are currently relevant discussions about changing frameworks that dictate rights, agency, identity and how social movements are actively involved in this evolution, constructing citizenship and ‘breathing new life’ into its meaning.

Broadly stated, social movements are not stagnant actors rather they are considered here as an ‘on-going process of collective action, whether organised locally, transnationally, regionally’ or all (Rudin and Hintjens 2009: 18). Often used as a catchall phrase, social movements generally refer to ‘any collective,



organized, sustained challenge to authorities, power-holders, or cultural beliefs and practices' (Gibson 2006: 15). How this is achieved ranges from an attempt to gain access to resources, up hold rights from states and multinational corporations or it can describe efforts to remain completely autonomous from the state (Gibson 2006: 15). Movements are viewed here not only as actors who develop from ideas or meanings from structural arrangements, events or ideological concerns. Social movements are understood as 'signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers' (Benford and Snow 2000: 613). Therefore, this literature seeks to identify how social movements use collective action framing as a method of mobilisation for collective action but also to construct new understandings of citizenship and the political sphere.

Tying my working understanding of social movements to the concept of citizenship relies on the crucial link of citizenship as empirically created and as an ongoing process. Social movements and citizenship in their conceptual understandings and lived experience are related and responsive to structural boundaries, the agency of actors involved and the contestation over specific rights. With citizenship as a reference point, social movements are able to operationalize democracy or the political realm and the claims that individuals have a right to within a system (Dagnino 2008b: 29). Therefore, citizenship is a prominent notion and 'a crucial weapon not only in the struggle against social and economic exclusion and inequality but also in the broadening of dominant conceptions of politics' (Dagnino 2008a: 63).

Finally, it has been argued that most social movement theory tends to have either emerged or been applied to circumstances of the West and is not as applicable or understood to those of the Global South (Thompson and Tapscott, forthcoming: 5<sup>3</sup>). This theory is not irrelevant to experiences within the South. Rather, I would agree with recent research by Thompson and Tapscott that:

Notions of citizenship and of rights broadly understood are not in themselves fixed and immutable. The types of identity formation and forms of collective action evident in communities in the South occur in contexts where the

meanings of citizenship and rights are far more nebulous and contested, as well as globally referenced, than in the history of the North (Thompson and Tapscott, forthcoming: 5).

In turn, my approach is to begin by understanding how a movement, emerging from the Global South, is framing the position and limitations of a distinct concept related to how rights are framed, claimed and ultimately realized – that of citizenship.

## **2.2 Contesting Definitions and Citizenship**

Generally held within liberal democratic school, citizenship ‘is a legal status, synonymous with nationality in the modern nation-state’ (Heater 2004: 115). Authors such as Mouffe (1992), Robison (2006), Dagnino (1998, 2008a & b) and Barchiesi (2006) have understood citizenship beyond the liberal and civic traditions it carries. According to Mouffe, liberalism contributed to the discourse formulating a universal citizenship asserting that all individuals are born free and equal although it similarly reduced citizenship ‘to a mere legal status, setting out the rights that the individual holds against the state’ (Mouffe 1992: 227). Not only can the legal status be critiqued in its limited understanding of where and from whom rights are afforded to citizens but for authors like Dagnino, citizenship is a politics of culture with elements of pluralism that are completely disregarded through a universal assumption of citizenship. Therefore, this paper explicitly challenges the liberal notion as it fails to acknowledge increasing levels of social complexities, which are not state-centric.

In a simplistic sense, a citizen is a member of a political community who is endowed with a set of rights and obligations. Citizenship is commonly viewed to represent the relationship between the individual citizen and the state whereby the two are entwined with reciprocal rights and obligations (Shukla 2006: 94). Turner has broadened this reciprocity to argue that the recognition of citizenship shapes the flow of resources to persons and social groups (1993: 2). In contrast, T.H. Marshall has become widely acknowledged as a forefather in citizenship studies with his distinction of social citizenship in addition to political and civil elements and the institutions in modern societies that exist to

service these rights. Generally, Marshall's analysis of citizenship articulates social rights as contextualized and connected with history and the subsequent operation of civil and political rights (Marshall 1950). By degree, most mainstream approaches address citizenship 'as a complex and contextualized status giving expression to ideals of personal autonomy, social justice, equity and inclusiveness in modern societies' (Roche 2002: 72) which Marshall identifies as democratic-welfare-capitalist formations (Marshall 1950). These formations are advancing, rather than repressing autonomy as they are presumably expressed through political and civil rights. Marshall's analysis accounts for additional complexities in situations however, must be expanded to account for social formations beyond the level of the nation state that in many ways can repress autonomy. Therefore, I move to understand different perspectives of citizenship that have emerged in response to these limitations.

### **2.2.1 Is social citizenship enough?**

Over the past few decades various challenges have emerged against liberal state-centred theories of citizenship as well as Marshall's concept of social citizenship. The typologies and methods through which citizenship is commonly understood have been expanded to consider it 'not as a legal status but as a form of identification, a type of political identity: something to be constructed, not empirically given' (Mouffe 1992: 231). The impacts of globalization whereby time, space and people are increasingly interconnected and in particular the global capitalist economy, further the analysis of state based structures in relation to the realization of citizenship.

As argued by David Harvey (2005), a global capitalist economy has effectively been advanced through the state, fundamentally altering the role of the nation-state, insulating elite interests for a growing capitalist class. Essentially neoliberalism has become the dominant 'political project' working to re-establish conditions for capital accumulation and to restore or maintain power for these capitalist elites (Harvey 2005). Simultaneously this process has structured social relations of power to the primacy of a market incentive and multiplied the levels of consideration for how citizenship is to be conceived

(Robison 2006). These complexities render an analysis of citizenship relative to the nation-state as inadequate given mechanisms operating independently of the state and or simultaneously influencing the function of the state. This places citizenship as a concept much more malleable in its definition and lived experience, responding to socio-economic and political circumstances as they continually evolve at global, national and local levels. The following are a few of the currently contested and evolving discourses surrounding citizenship that account for the aforementioned contextual understanding.

### **2.2.2 Inclusive Citizenship**

The concept of inclusive citizenship examines what it means to be included or excluded from a political sphere or society. Naila Kabeer suggests the presence of values, which people associate with the idea of citizenship. Commonality exists through a fundamental connection of experienced exclusion, which provides a basis for the imagination of a more inclusive structure (Kabeer 2005: 3). Discussing inclusivity to the notion of citizenship reconsiders how identities come to be acknowledged whether formally or informally and in state or non-state actors. This is referred to as ‘citizenship from below’ or a ‘horizontal’ viewpoint whereby citizenship is fulfilled ‘beyond the incorporation into the political and into a project for a new sociability, a more egalitarian framework for social relations at all levels, new rules for living together in society’ with ‘recognition of “the other” as a subject bearer of valid rights and legitimate interests’ (Kabeer 2005: 22).

Kabeer’s distinction of horizontal understandings echo’s recent research by the Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability, which suggests that a sense of citizenship often does not begin with the state. Most often, citizenship begins with a ‘societal’ sense of belonging, exclusion, and collective associations and defines identity in relation to these. In turn, a sense of citizenship resonates in the terms through which people participate in collective life and the forms of agency they may or may not be able to exercise (Eyben and Ladbury 2009: 9). The way citizens are able or unable to interact within the state are consistently changing due to evolving

structural constraints, placing citizenship as more of a process defined under given circumstances and constantly evolving rather than static.

While the idea of inclusive citizenship represents a move towards understanding citizenship as something that is not simply given due to territoriality or nationality it can be limited in its scope of understanding the power relations (structural or human) that act as barriers to a new sociability. Citizenship is understood as a process of struggle for consideration, inclusion, and participation and for rights socially, politically and economically. However, what remains contestable is the construction of the very system that one will be included in or participate in.

### **2.2.3 'Marketization' of the Citizen**

Advocating for rights such as access to basic services is quite different from political and civil rights that underpin liberal democratic notions. Neo-liberal traditions have shaped how we answer to all these rights viewing civil and political rights as essential to understanding citizenship. However, 'these traditions have been reluctant to award the same widespread attention to social and economic rights because such rights have strong links to social justice and imply moving away from the neo-liberal notion that people's socio-economic status is determined by the market' (Mehta 2005: 237).

The interpretation of citizenship by neo-liberal principles and practices has become widely recognized for its implications of conceptualizing the individual as a consumer rather than a citizen. In turn, an individual is endowed with rights and responsibilities but these are dictated in relation to their position within the global economy and further marginalize processes of representative politics (Jayasuriya 2006: 235). This is quite problematic not only in relation to political and economic rights, but also social as the individual is conceptualized according to their involvement with neoliberal projects of economic reform. Citizenship according to neoliberalism can then be seen as 'increasingly about the creation of new forms of sociability that promote enterprising subjects and values' (Jayasuriya 2006: 237). Whether this sociability is egalitarian in nature as proposed by Kabeer is debatable and assumed here to be doubtful at best.

The perspectives, definitions and limitations to citizenship vary considerably among literature and experiences. This is noteworthy as it would be impossible to attempt to cover the sheer volume and diversity pertaining to this topic. However, social or economic limitations and perceptions of citizenship become increasingly relevant especially when discussing the work of the Anti-Privatization Forum who contest imposed user fees or privatized service provision for basic necessities such as water, electricity, education and proper housing.

### **2.3 From Frame Analysis to Collective Action Framing**

Framing as a process of transforming and inserting meaning into the living world was arguably first understood by Erving Goffman (1974) and has since resulted in a proliferation of scholarship regarding the role of social movements in framing processes. Goffman's central theme emphasizes frames as methods of organizing experiences and guiding actions through enabling individuals 'to locate, perceive, identify and label' events within their lives (Goffman 1974: 21). Along these lines, movements are frequently considered as 'signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers' (Benford & Snow 2000: 613). The expanding literature surrounding Goffman's analysis has since left significant space for understanding the outcomes of framing processes or what is most commonly associated with social movements; collective action frames.

Goffman discusses interpretative naturally occurring and socially constructed frameworks, which guide perceptions of a lived reality (Goffman 1974). Similarly, collective action frames serve this purpose; however, they are 'more agentic and contentious in the sense of calling for action that problematizes and challenges existing authoritative views and framings of reality' (Snow 2007: 385). Collective action frames are therefore intended to 'activate adherents, transform bystanders into supporters, exact concessions from targets and demobilize antagonists' (Snow 2007: 385).

According to Gamson, collective action frames are composed of three central elements including: injustice, agency and identity. Snow and Benford have specified framing activity under: diagnostic framing (identification of problem), prognostic framing (consensus and group mobilization) and finally, motivational framing (instigating action). The perceptions offered by Snow and Benford, contrasted with the more general characteristics within Gamson will subsequently be examined.

### **2.3.1 Injustice and Diagnostic Framing**

The framing of injustice may seem an obvious contribution to social movements. However, this injustice becomes significant in its emphasis on political consciousness to support collective action. An injustice frame consists of the actors who are responsible for the unjust condition and are depicted as having constrained past actions of others if even by seemingly abstract forces. Moral indignation is consequently against the actor(s) whom have a role in bringing about or continuing the wrongdoing. The moral judgment found within an injustice frame is intimately related to beliefs about what acts or conditions have caused people to suffer undeserved hardship or loss (Gamson 1992: 32).

It remains contested as to whether all collective action frames contain an injustice component. While a well-elaborated frame may not have a clear injustice component, the causality of a situation is subjective and despite a lack of consensus as to the source or nature of a problem there clearly exists a circumstance that is deemed unjust. Therefore, while the injustice frame may vary by degree or as Snow and Benford (2000) would argue, contain an 'attributional component', a collective action frame always contains a component of injustice even if abstractly placed. Gamson accounts for this 'attributional component' claiming that it is critical to an injustice frame to identify those who are deemed a target, or responsible for unjust actions. These actors may be corporations, government agencies or specific groups and not just individuals.

Gamson appropriately cautions that structural conditions serving to perpetuate injustices will be missed if too much emphasis is rested on human actors. Exaggerating the role of human actors fails to understand the broader

structural constraints that may assist in creating injustice and misdirecting collective action frames. 'By making sure that the concrete targets are linked to and can affect the broader forces, one can make sure that the heat isn't misdirected in ways that will leave the underlying source of injustice untouched' (Gamson 1992: 33). Therefore, a successful injustice frame directs the source of conditions to a relational impact of human agency and structural conditions. This mutually reinforcing relationship is related to understanding boundary or adversarial framing held within a diagnostic proposition (Benford & Snow 2000: 616). Considerations of injustice, actors involved in the process and the resulting outcomes are composite of Snow and Benford's (2000) understanding to diagnostic framing that diagnoses how the injustice took place and whom is responsible. Directing responsibility upon individuals, organizational entities or structural conditions as a precursor to existing inequalities explicitly questions what or who may be limiting the realization of rights to citizenship, instigating a political consciousness over the role of these actors in a citizens injustice.

### **2.3.2 Agency and Motivational Framing**

Engaging in collective action requires an individual agency within a collective but also one's awareness of the potential for this agency to serve a purpose. This is associated with Snow and Benford's motivational framing whereby groups identify the rationale for engaging in collective action constructing relevant motives for action (Snow 2007). This socially constructed vocabulary provides compelling accounts for sustaining participation and mobilization or similarly jeopardizing it (Benford & Snow 2000: 617). Impediments to collective agency are reinforced by a predominant political cultural which frequently encourages passivity and is mostly upheld by a political economy dominated by centralized, hierarchical, corporations and a nation state (Gamson 1992: 60). Moreover, populations are often faced with 'socio-cultural forces that systematically remove from their consciousness any sense that collectively they can alter the conditions and terms of their daily lives' (Gamson 1992: 59). Therefore the political consciousness ignited within a particular injustice frame, and insisted upon through the framing of agency



serves to advance a sense of collective agency for individuals affected by inequalities or injustice.

What much literature has come to suggest is that frames do not stagnate but are elaborating and evolving through interaction and experiences (Benford & Snow 2000: 623). As agency is invariably influenced by opportunity structures and the identity of individuals within this structure, these processes assist in understanding the multiple features of frames and how they contextualize experiences to account for how agency is perceived and acted upon at any given point in history.

### **2.3.3 Identity and Prognostic Framing**

The identity component of a collective action frame entails the definition of who is considered ‘we’ against a perceived ‘they’ who have a distinct and different set of interests or values. The concept of collective identities is vastly discussed as forming the basis of an individual’s relationships to the collective activity of a social movement. Viewing a collective identity as ‘an individual’s cognitive, moral, and emotional connections with a broader community, category, practice or institution’ also recognizes a perceived shared relation that may be imagined or experienced. This is distinct from personal identities, although it may indeed form part of a personal identity (Hunt and Benford 2007: 440). This is not to disregard personal identities or motivations rather it is to suggest that individuals occupy different roles and positions that form his or her personal identity while at the same time, sharing these roles with other people. Thus, ‘this implies that personal identity is at the same time always collective identity’ (Klandermans 2007: 364). According to Klandermans, personal identity places an individual in various arenas of society, similar to how collective identity assists social movements with identifying specific spaces in society that an individual has in common with others (2007: 364). Collective identities yield frames to be adversarial as much as they are supportive. Moreover, they are a way of distinguishing the identities, interests and beliefs among agents (Gamson 1992: 85) and serve to distinguish individuals or

communities towards collective action as understood by Snow and Benford's 'prognostic framing'.

Separating the characteristics of agents not only clearly distinguishes goals, beliefs and identity but can also be part of a strategic process. Strategic efforts by social movements link their interests and identity to a particular goal and similarly peg them against an antagonist that is a particular actor or set of beliefs. Ideologically and strategically this refers to 'changing old understandings and meanings and/or generating new ones' (Benford & Snow 2000: 625). Whether explicitly or implicitly created, these meanings speak to new formations of the various arenas of society. What collective identities are based upon, the boundaries of who are 'us' and 'them', the political consciousness that is created and the negotiation of meanings are the contents of identity frames and similarly necessitate a prognostic frame. Therefore, citizenship becomes a process conceptualized according to how social movements define the identities of whom they seek to represent and work with.

To make use of a theoretical framework constructivist in nature, which antagonizes actors and structural conditions now relies upon an analysis of how this framework can be applied to a given context where citizenship discourse is contested.

## **Chapter 3**

# **South African Political Struggle and The Anti-Privatisation Forum**

To empirically analyze the construction of citizenship through social movements, I will now look at the work and framing of the Anti-Privatization Forum (APF). In order to understand how citizenship is a useful lens with respect to social movements collective action framing, the process will have to be put within the context of citizenship and social movement history in South Africa. This chapter will then focus on: what is the background of social movement organization in South Africa and how does it relate to citizenship? In particular, this chapter will establish a background to the history of differentiated understandings for basic service delivery, as it is a key issue for the APF.

### **3.1 Mass Mobilization in South Africa**

Mapping the terrain of social movement activity in South Africa must be understood as highly contested in its origins, continuation and purpose. The range of issues that are considered within mass mobilization without doubt have roots in the anti-apartheid liberation movements spearheaded by the efforts of the African National Congress (ANC). Although, how mass mobilization has continued and evolved since the 1994 democratic transition is a story of immense diversity ranging from neo-liberal and capitalist opposition, HIV/AIDS discrimination and gender based violence to narrow confines of nationalist ideals. In general since the 1970's South Africa has witnessed a heightened level of social organization with social movements such as the anti-apartheid liberation movement becoming one of the 'quintessential social movements of the twentieth century' (Ballard et al. 2005: 622). Such movements maintained much strength from the 1970's through to the 1980's and peaked in the early 1990's along the seemingly progressive program displayed in the Freedom Charter of the ANC itself. Therefore, the concept

and action of mass mobilization is not a new phenomenon to many in South Africa including those of the current ANC government.

Many influences ranging from popular struggles and black township insurgency, to widespread boycotts and lawyers were imperative to the end of apartheid. In the years leading up to the political transition the increasing influence of trade unions in particular was revealed as the 'politicization of the unions expressed the deep-seated illegitimacy of the regime and of its coercive forms of labor control' (Barchiesi 2006: 228). Together, unions were vital to the liberation movement's discussion of a working class politics and further were 'instrumental in shaping a consciousness of issues in relation to the economy of basic needs' (Barchiesi 2006: 220). Unions have in turn set the stage for the development of a working class politics in South Africa. Furthermore, their emphasis on the politics of basic needs remains incredibly problematic given the racially skewed capital accumulation of the apartheid era which thrived off of 'cheap black labour, the extraction of minerals and generation of cheap electricity, and the production of protected luxury goods' (Bond 2000: 5). Deprivation and control over basic necessities for certain populations such as electricity, water and housing were then a key strategy of suppressing dissent against the apartheid state.

In 1994 the ANC government's deviation from the liberation movement that preached a more equitable provision of these resources sparked concerns amongst activists and politicians alike. The subsequent policies marked 'a period in which neo-liberal economic policies have been accepted by the ANC leadership as the best way to solve the socio-economic legacy of apartheid, and has provided a new structure of opportunity for collective mobilization in South Africa' (Dwyer 2004: 9). As such, economic policies and the political interests behind them enforced by a neoliberal ideology have come to the forefront as a crucial impetus for post-apartheid collective mobilization.

The characteristic 'new' social movements<sup>3</sup> continually emerging in South Africa such as the Anti-Privatization Forum (APF) arguably must be recognized as 'the survivalist responses of poor and marginalized people who have had no alternative in the face of unemployment and a retreating state that

refuses to meet its socio-economic obligations to its citizenry' (Ballard et al. 2006: 402). The ANC's economic policy shifts have left social wellbeing focused on cost-recovery strategies, which has only served to perpetuate existing inequalities from the apartheid legacy. McDonald observes that with ANC policies 'there are clear and significant examples of ongoing pricing biases in favour of suburban residents and industry' (McDonald 2002: 27). How movements have evolved and framed the implications of continued inadequate and biased service provision are points of contention for this paper. Such a concern lies at the very heart of how citizenship is being contested by social movements in the ongoing construction of South Africa's post-apartheid democracy. Accordingly, in South Africa:

social movements have grown into a potential force in shaping the political agenda and strategies of the state, showing lines of fissure in what, on the surface, seems an almost monolithic political mandate for the ruling party (Barchiesi 2006: 216).

### **3.2 Transition by Economic Reform**

The rhetorical promises of a 'people-centred society' provided the basis of the ANC's 1994 electoral campaign and justified the creation of policy norms by way of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Proposed as a method of pursuing growth and development through reconstruction, redistribution and a government monitored mixed economy, the RDP marked a sense of hope from apartheid rule by way of policy shifts prioritizing basic socio-economic needs and arguing for a basic living wage as a prerequisite for achieving economic growth (Ballard et al. 2006: 415). Within the ANC, the RDP was argued as the only viable vision for change that would meet the needs to the impoverished and jobless excluded during the apartheid era (Bond 2000: 90). It was unfortunately soon after the RDP was implemented that the ANC began emphasizing RDP objectives to be achieved through approaches of tight macroeconomic balance. The ANC in turn, pushed the need for fiscal discipline, export-oriented growth, and privatization as well as decreased corporate tax levels (Ballard et al. 2006: 415). Principles of social equality and basic service provision became based on economic growth, leading to the subsequent creation of what was understood by many social movements to be

ultimate display in neo-liberal policies: the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy.

The fiscally conservative economic framework of GEAR was introduced in 1996 with profound cost-recovery strategies and no consultation with the ANC's labour or civic associates let alone citizen participation (McDonald 2002: 23). South Africa's socio-economic circumstances became determined by an assumed trickle-down effect from neo-liberal institutional arrangements. Radicalized sentiments of the previous anti-apartheid struggles had sustained the hopes of citizens for fundamental transformation however, disintegrated with ANC economic restructuring and to a lesser extent its acceptance among the partners of the Tripartite Alliance which includes the ANC, The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) (Ballard et al. 2006: 416). While it can be said that GEAR was a predictable move from the RDP it remained perceived as a disastrous shift in policy and emblematic of the ANC's lack of will to address the needs of the poor. Essentially, GEAR became the final stage of what was the deteriorating dream under ANC leadership:

The ANC's implementation of neo-liberal economic policies has meant disaster for the vast majority of South Africa's poor. Increasing unemployment and economic inequalities associated with neo-liberal policies have also pushed even more of South Africa's population into the poverty trap (Habib and Padayachee 2000 in Ballard et al. 2006: 402).

As is to be established through the context of political mobilization in South Africa, the struggle over basic services has an immense history. This began during the apartheid era, as the deprivation of public services was used as a control mechanism and continued through the transition to RDP with the provision of public goods used for making South Africa an attractive investment. Finally, culminating to GEAR where such services seem to have become a commodity that citizens must purchase. It is through an understanding of this political history and the struggle that has historically formed around it, that we are able to understand the contestation of the Anti-Privatisation Forum as it relates to the question of citizenship. This can be further clarified in understanding the transition from liberation nationalist

discourse to a citizenship question post-apartheid as they have today impacted how social movements construct necessities for political struggle.

### **3.3 Citizenship in the post-apartheid South Africa**

The immense history of social movement activism in South Africa is relevant not only for the economic activity that has occurred following the 1994 political transition but must also be noted for what the transition itself represented. The post-apartheid shift in South Africa marked the normative shift from nationalism as an overarching framework applied to political subjectivities to one of citizenship in a proclaimed liberal democracy. Speaking of the South African women's movement Hassim argues that the '*nature* of that transition – that is, the creation of a liberal democratic state in which citizenship rights were accorded irrespective of race, gender or ethnicity – unexpectedly allowed feminists to articulate an agenda of equality...' (Hassim 2005: 55). Two important points are worth mentioning. First, social movements were evolving the basis of their struggle from one surrounding nationalism and systematic discrimination to one of contesting citizenship where this discrimination still exists however, within a formal structure of so-called equality. Second, the emphasis on citizenship under a liberal constitution opened new ways of thinking about political participation (Hassim 2005: 57). As can be seen through some social movements, including the APF, they are not only thinking about political participation, rather the very definition of the political system in which they may participate.

If we limit citizen participation to merely formal realms of institutional structures this risks missing the many spaces available for engaging in the creative energy and agency of citizens. Hassim accurately notes that while democracy confers to citizens the right to participate in the public sphere, conditions for the effective exercise of those rights are not only set by formal institutions. Citizenship can be exercised and created through social movements seeking to articulate the interests of various groups or in the case of the APF, the working class. Exercising citizenship through such politically autonomous mechanisms can challenge ruling definitions of policies and assert

accountability from governments to citizens (Hassim 2005: 57). Not only does asserting citizenship through these means challenge definitions of policies but also the very basis of how the ruling party may perceive citizenship and the associated provision of rights.

### **3.4 South Africa and the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF)**

Building itself as an ideologically socialist mass movement (APF 2007a), the Anti-Privatization Forum seeks to ignite political consciousness within South African townships and encourages collective action as central proponents to their political strategy. Linking and mobilizing various community members are part of how the movement opposes the ANC and the policy implications of economic restructuring within livelihoods of the working class (APF 2007a). Established on July 6<sup>th</sup>, 2000 at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, the APF is exactly what its title connotes, a forum. This means that it is loosely structured and quite heterogeneous in participation allowing for flexibility and autonomy for constituent organizations (Buhlungu 2006: 72). As a result, the APF is often considered a formidable social movement representing a platform for solidarity among groups of the left that have broken from alliances with the ANC and COSATU as well as in townships living the contradictions of South Africa's macroeconomic framework defined under GEAR's cost-recovery strategies (Buhlungu 2004: 4).

Influenced by the strong role that unions played in the end of apartheid and having participated in liberation struggles with the ANC and COSATU, many activists gradually shifted towards South Africa's emerging new social movements such as the APF. Arguably, this shift was in response to discontent over government programs of economic liberalization, commodification of basic needs and services and cost recovery strategies in the face of job loss and a lack of social protection. As a result, the movement has expanded to question the role of government under a capitalist rubric directly relating to questions of democracy and local government, water, health, electricity, housing and finally employment and workers rights (APF 2006)(for more information about the demands and objectives of the APF, see Appendix B). Therefore, in opposition



to this reality the forum was created from ‘political activists and nascent community movements committed to the realization of the historic mandate of the people for the decommodification of all basic needs’ (McKinley 2008).

Encouraging collective action as a method of activism the APF uses a wide range of methods for engaging communities to achieve their objectives. This includes mass activities around demonstrations, raising public awareness, influencing public opinion, cultural expression and encouraging participation within the movement organization through local meetings, education and solidarity activities (Buhlungu 2004: 7). The forum draws from a diverse affiliation from unions, communities, students and organizations of the left (APF 2008) while its status as a forum provides it with many representatives from various organizations or movements stretching from as far as Durban (APF 2001). Individual membership, however, is typically divided between older members, pensioners, youth who are either still in school or unemployed and women. By contrast, the APF boasts new articulate youth and highly educated activists drawn from a strong background of political involvement including the anti-apartheid struggle (Buhlungu 2006: 74). This particular blend is a source of great debate within South Africa and movement politics globally and will be discussed later in this paper. For now, from this observation, the history influencing APF framing of citizenship is in direct relation to the experiences and political identity of a working class discourse.

### **3.5 Tensions and Engagement: The ANC and the APF**

The placement of the APF relative to other civil society actors and movements in South Africa vary significantly, according to perspective. This similarly applies to how the APF engages with or operates against the ANC. Moreover, the perspectives vary a great deal within the APF itself due to its heterogeneous nature which has left the movement constantly evolving in terms of larger questions of participation in state elections, governance structures, approaches with the state and collective identity (Interview, Ngwane 2009). Although it must be recognized that the ANC government is quite a heterogeneous entity that has contesting interpretations within it, as much as

the APF does. This has immense implications for when we speak of competing interpretations between the APF and ANC in how citizenship is perceived and will be problematized later in Chapter 5.

Largely representing working class politics Hamilton distinguishes the APF's purpose as:

COSATU's failure to provide leadership, consistent resistance to neo-liberalism and a coherent alternative to capitalism has left working class communities to fight water and electricity cuts and evictions on their own. As a result of COSATU's paralysis, its own memberships and structures have, with few exceptions, failed to throw their weight behind working class community resistance. A vacuum has resulted that is partially being filled by the APF (Hamilton 2002: 17).

In opposition to APF activities, municipal and state government officials often peg the APF as distorting information. In one particular instance with the APF affiliated Kliptown Crisis Committee addressing issues of water and sanitation infrastructure, the Mayoral Housing Committee Head proclaimed 'Kliptown residents should not be confused and misled by the APF to engage in 'violent, meaningless protests' for service delivery' (Radebe 2007: 5). This is no surprise as ANC politicians have publicly labelled those who participate in community resistance to privatization as 'criminals' and 'anarchists' who are trying to institutionalize a 'culture of non-payment'. Further, APF co-founder Dale McKinley has noted this large-scale crackdown on community dissent and resistance culminating in the arrests and imprisonment of hundreds of activists (2008). While the APF retains much support from communities, it is simultaneously being resisted, violently and rhetorically, within the formal allegiances of state-based mechanisms.

Acknowledging the contrast of what the APF claims itself to be and how the government, which they oppose label them, displays one of the conflicts between these two parties not only in APF identity but also in responses to poverty or social exclusion. The APF adamantly opposes the methods for basic service delivery however, also the ideological backbone to that inform this type of delivery. Therefore, the APF is not only fighting for how services are delivered, but also the identity of a citizen. Are citizens consumers or rights holders? Both? These questions completely interrogate the essence of

citizenship especially as it is discussed within a neoliberal framework. Moreover, such concerns have historically been questioned within South African social movements although under a different contextual necessity for questioning – that of apartheid racism. The resulting interrogation of working ideologies has an immense impact upon claims to citizenship as they are differentiated between the APF and the state. This problem will be discussed in further depth throughout Chapters 4 and 5.

## **Chapter 4**

# **Citizenship and its barriers in the Anti-Privatisation Forum**

Having established the history and current context of social movement activity in South Africa, this chapter will assess how the APF uses collective action framing for defining citizenship and whom they target in doing so.

### **4.1 Challenging South African Reform**

The problems of democracy at the local government level are directly linked to the more general crisis of democracy that exists under capitalism (APF 2006).

As stated in an interview with the APF's co-founder Trevor Ngwane, the APF is fighting a battle not only with the ANC but more broadly against the process of privatization that results in a shift in control and ownership over public spaces in turn eroding democratic participation (Interview, Ngwane 2009). Such a claim resonates with understandings that current global power accumulation 'has marginalized polities, 'recasting citizenship in terms of clients to be served by privatizing rights, public space and fulfilment of government obligations' (Biekart and Fowler 2009: 4). Conducting a political project for the rights of the working class entails that the APF contest such government obligations, and the entities and practices of privatization, which have emerged to erode these rights. Operating with such goals in mind, 'the APF has been able to show to its participants that they are all fighting a common enemy namely privatization, the brainchild of GEAR' (Bond and Ngwane 2009: 10). Citizenship therefore is undermined by privatization as 'it robs ordinary people of control, of democratic control over how aspects of the government are run' (Interview, Ngwane 2009).

Among the demands specified within the APF's constitution is the return of ownership and control of public assets and services to the public sector. With mass mobilization aimed at ending privatization, the APF deepens argumentation to confront larger questions of neoliberalism and capitalism (Dawson 2006). Problematizing the methods and ideologies upon which the

state has deemed most suitable for the provision of basic services distinctly draws upon issues surrounding rights and responsibilities between the state and its citizenry. The APF's major sites of contention concern the provision of basic services including: water, electricity, housing, education, health care, HIV/AIDS and labour (APF 2007b). How the APF then connects these themes within a socialist framework and an empirical background of working class struggle, situated against specific actors are all recipes for collective action frames. Moreover, it is such ingredients that direct the course of collective action and responsibilities to rights held within these frames.

## **4.2 'the struggle continues!'- Framing the working class**

Water is life! Without it, no living being can survive and without effective delivery of adequate water, there can be no decent sanitation. With the introduction of neo-liberal policies of cost-recovery, outsourcing, corporatism and making profits from basic services, water has become a commodity like a cool drink to be bought and sold on the capitalist market (McKinley 2006:2).

Framing is known not only for the meanings and messages it invokes but also for the strategic processes involved revealing causes, motivations and templates for collective action. This reemphasizes the importance of ideas, cultural elements and experiences in the framing of political opportunity. Zald has elaborated frame analysis to account for frames purpose and evolution, including: framing for strategic activity such as the projected goals of social movements and the competitive processes that come to understand the context under which frames are adopted (Zald 1996: 262). In the case of the APF, while they may not directly confront the issue of citizenship, it is a lens of analysis that strategically envelops the very issues they contest. Moreover, it can be argued that their frames are competing with and challenging those of the ANC. For the APF this contrast is made with a stark working class voice cautioning citizens voting for the ANC as the reward for doing so:

has been deterioration in living standards (water and electricity cut offs, unemployment, etc). Clearly, this is not what the working class wanted when they voted for the ruling party. This is because Parliament in Cape Town, and the metropolitan councils across the country, are not the institutions whose principal aim is to look after the interests of the ordinary people, the working class (APF 2006: 1)

How interests are incorporated into the APF framing regimen will be subsequently addressed through Gamson's primary conceptualization of injustice, agency and identity. This is in addition to Snow and Benford's contextual elaborations. Central to this process entails an understanding that frames begin 'with peoples own perceptions of what they are due in terms of fundamental freedoms and basic entitlements' (de Gaay Fortman 2005: 45).

### **4.3 Collective Action Framing in the Anti-Privatization Forum**

The following analysis is to identify how collective action framing is presented and utilized through the work of the Anti-Privatization Forum. Further, how the APF frames particular circumstances and rights will be examined in light of a resulting conception of citizenship.

#### **4.3.1 Injustice and Diagnostic Framing**

The APF continues to employ language 'against non-delivery and neoliberalism' pegging neoliberalism as a structural cause while the ANC and its bourgeoisie allies are human agents that have accepted or inflicted such a system (APF 2006). This claim substantially draws on the faults of the ANC as these issues are pegged against the non-delivery of basic necessities that affect citizen's everyday lives. However, the APF similarly target broader structural barriers, which imply that equity and substantial change will only occur with the, defeat of the 'corruption, greed and oppression of capitalism and change our society to reflect the democratic will of the people' (APF 2006: 3). Accordingly, the ANC cannot be the liberating force that it was once considered and protect the rights of its citizenry as long as a capitalist culture that persists associating everything with profits. This includes health, housing, water and electricity. "There are the things that ordinary people need everyday. But more and more, there is one law about all of these things, which comes first: they must help bosses to make profits' (APF 2006). Critics may perceive systematic aggression to be abstract and does little to propose alternatives or solutions. The APF however, directs their moral judgment within a particular

class based analysis speaking directly to injustices reported from community organizations and other APF partners.

The attributional component of an effective injustice frame and diagnostic frame identifies a culpable human agent as well as structural condition (Benford and Snow: 2000). The APF continues to identify culprits in the ANC as well as other elite, private sector individuals coupled with a structural condition of a capitalist structure that dictates the political atmosphere in which the ANC and elite operate. This structural relationship is relational to the boundary framing while the human agents who perpetuate and encourage this structure are intimately related to adversarial framing; both necessary for a diagnostic frame (Benford & Snow 2000: 616). Example of such duality can be revealed in the APF's battle within the Phiri Water Case. Dually framing existing conditions of injustice with systemic references of its creation, the APF has joined forces with the Coalition Against Water Privatization (CAWP) and the Freedom of Expression Institute in a six-year court case against the Johannesburg City Council for the installation of pre-paid water meters (APF 2009a). The case brings to the forefront individuals struggling for water in the Soweto district of Phiri, South Africa's Free Basic Water (FBW) policy stressing cost recovery and an argumentation of what is considered a 'reasonable' amount of water for homes.

According to the APF the Phiri case is 'a direct result of the cynical and repressive closing down of both the institutional and political democratic space which were supposed to act as the vehicles for the "delivery" of basic services and the realization of socio-economic rights' (APF 2009a: 1). Therefore, the injustice and diagnostic frames employed by the APF are consistently directed towards neoliberal and capitalist development however, evolves when directed against human agents utilizing this system thus marginalizing the majority of poor South African citizens. The blame upon human agents is dependant upon the contextual circumstances. Directing who or what is limiting the full realization of citizenship such as a citizens right to water, can be seen in the framing activity of the APF, although how this injustice is challenged has much more to do with the question of agency.

### **4.3.2 Agency and Motivational Framing**

A focus on the working class struggle and representation of the poor, marginalized classes are key references for the APF. Along lines of Snow & Benford's motivational framing, the rationale for collective action resides with challenging injustices. Emphasizing the necessity for political consciousness against injustices '...the APF believes that real power in society is not going to be achieved through casting votes in elections but only through building, mobilizing and struggling for independent and democratic mass working class organization, in both the community and in the workplace' (APF 2006: 3). Through collective action, enforced with educational workshops, the APF implicitly challenge what Gamson noted as 'socio-cultural forces', that impede collective or individual consciousness key to agency framing (1992: 59). In an interview with co-founder Dale McKinley (2009) the APF seeks to educate and engage with communities about the rights that they are entitled to and how they are being limited. Not to be confused with an assumption of uneducated or non-intelligence from the overarching political system, rather the APF encourages flows of information for building consciousness among those affected by inequalities or injustice (Interview, McKinley 2009). Thus, the APF can be seen as a coordinator for collective action against exploitative or repressive circumstances. Additionally, they enable a critical analysis of the ANC's post-apartheid service delivery mechanisms and overarching ideologies, pushing for an active citizenry to discredit these foundations.

More specifically, within the current South African capitalist system the APF has proposed the agency of the 'people' to be best upheld through the establishment of People's Assemblies. Proposed in the APF's Local Government Platform, the People's Assemblies are in response to the lack of direct democracy whereby the national Executive government appoints councillors at the level of local government. This has been created as the ANC and its macroeconomic policies are seen as run by corrupt bureaucrats who deliver to 'those who are rich and well-connected while the basic needs of the poor majority continue to be ignored' (McKinley 2006:3).

The APF not only actively disseminates contextual information about



specific circumstances and the rights that individuals are entitled to. They encourage collective action through education about legal terminology and opportunities enshrined in laws such as the Gatherings Act. In September 2007, the APF published and disseminated information pertaining to the Gatherings Act of 1994 (APF 2007c). The Gatherings Act is

...to regulate the holding of public gatherings and demonstrations at certain places' where 'every person has the right to assemble with other persons and to express his views on any matter freely in public and to enjoy the protection of the State while doing so' and where 'the exercise of such right shall take place peacefully and with due regard to the rights of others (South Africa State President's Office 1994).

Given said activities the APF adamantly challenges a political culture, which encourages passivity among the populous and has increasingly condemned actions otherwise. Gamson acknowledges such conditions to be key to agency framing. A system of political demobilization and disempowerment leads to what Michael Neocosmos has called 'the complete antithesis of citizenship, which is the necessary basis of democracy' (2006: 68). A discursive process of framing articulates, amplifies and punctuates the agency of the 'people', further strengthened with an active distribution of literature to emphasize the need for collective agency against injustice. In this instance, the APF not only frames the agency of the working class through collective action but also facilitates the information necessary for a more comprehensive understanding of rights from an active citizenship.

#### **4.3.3 Identity and Prognostic Framing**

Clearly the APF's continued emphasis on collective action recognizes the concept of collective identity. Planning according to a socialist strategy the APF consistently employs claims that are pro-working class and staunchly rejecting neoliberal frameworks of class-based delivery of services (APF 2007a). In an effort to disseminate information within communities and townships, the APF has produced a newsletter entitled 'struggle continues'. Within this text regular statements to the rights, voices and experienced abuses of communities, the poor, working class, unarmed and innocent citizens are accentuated (APF 2006). Therefore, at its basis the APF conceptualizes

collective identities among the working class, whereby the shared relation of individuals is rooted 'in the struggles of poor communities for human dignity, socio-economic justice and equality' (McKinley 2006:1). Whether these identities are imagined or experienced, they are indeed deliberate and goal directed towards achieving the aforementioned socialist strategy.

Juxtaposing themselves against an antagonist or set of beliefs is a strategic reference to collective action frames (Benford & Snow 2000: 625). To whom or against what is the antagonist, is relational between both systematic and human causes. In this case, we can see a shared relationship between a neoliberal state enterprise and its ruling party, the ANC government. The APF often conflates this relationship with reference to pro-capitalist parties versus pro-working class parties (Ngwane 2006), situating themselves against elites or capitalist 'puppets' who 'enjoy luxury lifestyles' (Mokolo 2007:2). To what extent such references identify with the political motives and desires of the individuals and a community has much to do with participation within the movement. While this is not something contested within this paper it is questionable as to whether or not the APF remains heterogeneous in ideological concerns or rather has mobilized individuals on a lack of basic needs and ideological motives remains driven by leftist intellectuals with a larger political agenda. Although, as can be seen through APF framing the movement attempts to insight political consciousness in a wider public surrounding a working class agenda.

The apartheid legacy bears particular significance to the question of heterogeneity as South Africa continues to support the notion of itself as a multicultural society. 'South Africans are no longer just Blacks, Coloureds, Asians or Whites, but Zulus or Xhosas, Hindus or upper class' from various locations offering diverse political allegiances (Klandermans, Roefs and Olivier 2001: 91). Attempting to curb social cleavages and discrimination that continues to plague South Africa, in 2008 the APF and partner organizations have formed the Coalition Against Xenophobia. Speaking on behalf of poor communities who oppose 'business friendly' corporate policy the APF deems

xenophobia to have structural and social roots. In a statement in 2008 the APF claimed:

These enemies are not foreign immigrants but the corporations that commodify our basic resources, retrench workers, casualise employment and fix the prices of basic foods...Both xenophobia and service delivery protests will not go away unless social development involves people and is not conceived as a benefit trickling down from investments (APF 2008).

Evidently, the collective identities labelled 'we' spoken of by the APF seem to be subject to a disproportionate system, controlled and perpetuated by a particular elite class who are labelled, as 'they' and whom must be challenged. Upon identifying such divides we can begin to uncover the APF's perceived barriers and constructions of citizenship whether stated intentionally or unintentionally.

#### **4.4 Constructing Citizenship for the Working Class**

Before deconstructing the APF's concerns towards privatization it is necessary to clarify the understanding of rights and responsibility held under a cost-recovery strategy. Simply stated, cost recovery is 'the recovery of all, or most, of the cost associated with providing a particular service by a service provider' (McDonald 2002: 18). For publicly owned goods this may or may not entail obtaining a surplus to the cost of production although for private-sector providers it is a necessity (McDonald 2002: 18). Under this notion, citizens are not only paying for access to water, electricity, housing and the like, but also for the surplus profits of the service provider - private industry. This underscores common disagreement with neoliberal principles where 'the move towards giving market provision preference to state provision is turning citizens into customers' (Khunou 2002: 72). Under the assumption that the state is designed to service the basic needs of its citizens and they are dually entitled to such rights, citizens are at liberty to question state relations, which arguably jeopardize this relationship. In the case of South Africa, these relations have commodified service delivery to the point where basic necessities are out of reach or difficult to obtain under diminished socio-economic circumstances. Thus, the historical context of citizenship struggles in

South Africa especially as they relate to accessing basic services for poor communities directly relates to the arguments and discontent expressed through the activities of the APF. Further, this is in direct opposition to how rights and state responsibility are framed in their construction of citizenship.

In a study of the costs and relationship to social citizenship in South Africa's water crisis, Marcelle Dawson appropriately observes that:

The APF's struggles have also shown that, under the system of capitalism, collective resistance efforts must reflect a solid ideological basis that challenges the logic of capitalism and proposes a fundamental overhaul of the economic status quo, which, in the service delivery arena, would mean collective ownership and control of the provision of water services (Dawson 2006:24).

Balancing direct action with legal consideration we can refer again to the highly publicized Phiri water case. Standing against the Johannesburg Water and the National Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), the APF and partners have sought to overthrow the pre-paid water system that disconnects thousands of Phiri residents from water supplies when they are unable to pay for meter credits. The resulting communities are then frequently forced to go without water for weeks at a time because of a state program that seemingly ignores their socio-economic condition. The case sheds light on South Africa's Free Basic Water (FBW) policy demanding that Johannesburg Water give the Phiri community the constitutionally granted right to water through 50 litres per person per day (Centre for Applied Legal Studies 2009). While engaged in a legal battle, the APF and partners have continued with direct protest strongly opposing Operation Gcin'amanzi (Zulu for 'Save Water'). Launched by Johannesburg Water, the purpose of the Operation has been to curb water losses by replacing disintegrated infrastructure with pre-paid water meters (Von Schnitzler 2008: 903). Seen as corporatization of a basic necessity for life, the APF has not succumbed to pressure, encouraging mass mobilization, community education programs and legal action in coordination with the Centre for Applied Legal Studies. Provoking civil and political rights, which in turn dictate social and economic rights, the work of the APF has revealed favouritism in South Africa's institutional framework that

seems to afford a select population free access or majority control over basic services such as water (McKinley 2009).

#### **4.4.1 Neo-liberalism and Citizenship**

Robison references the notion of social neoliberalism whereby citizen's rights are relative to their position and productivity in the market place (2006: 5). The idea of a neo-liberal sociability is pertinent to the discussion of citizenship in relation to the APF. In Robison's analysis social neo-liberalism extends to a focus on the reorganization of social welfare and public spending directed to establishing a social and institutional structure suitable for market transitions (Robison 2006: 6)<sup>4</sup>. This perspective resonates with Jayasuriya's concerns over how this social neoliberalism has fundamentally reformed the idea of welfare in the welfare state (Jayasuriya 2006: 237). According to Jayasuriya the changing ideas of welfare represent a shift in new frameworks of social policy where we must account for citizenship in its legal status and political practice. As a status, 'citizenship is defined by its legal attributes and conditions of access to various entitlements; as a practice it is constituted through the way it is exercised by individuals in various social and political domains' (Jayasuriya 2006: 238). This resonates quite closely to the concerns of the APF as their work is based upon 'challenging the hegemony of the neoliberalism' (APF 2007a).

The APF's approach addresses immediate circumstances surrounding citizenship and the overarching normative considerations in legal status that is driven by a supposed neoliberal and capitalist driven imperative. Recognizing what Von Schnitzler argues in light of South Africa's pre-paid water technology, 'rather than merely destructive of prior formations of citizenship, here neoliberal reforms are seen to hinge on the construction of particular forms of agency and, indeed, to work through the promotion of new conceptions and practices of citizenship' (2008: 901). Accordingly, the APF is constructing a working class citizenship in opposition to the promotion of neoliberal conceptions. In turn, this is a conceptual point to APF collective action framing, questioning and juxtaposing suppositions of citizenship defined under market driven principles.

#### **4.4.2 Legal Restraints and Opportunities**

Attuned to citing contradictory approaches in meeting obligations under major works of legal and political documentation, the APF acknowledges national legislation such as the Bill of Rights and the South African Constitution as well as international including the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights to name but a few (McKinley 2008). Citizenship is therefore also considered in an institutional framework of both national and international law. However, in separate interviews with McKinley and Ngwane (2009) it was stated that the APF views the legal system in a pragmatic fashion rather than as a primary source of liberation or for revolution. Despite disputes to its applicability, South Africa retains a fairly liberal constitution, affording the APF full advantage of its text to encourage collective activity (Interview, McKinley 2009). Further to this, through engagement with local communities the APF directly confronts considerations of citizenship to push new conceptions ‘shaped through actual struggles informed by people’s own understandings of what they are justly entitled to’ (Nyamu-Musembi 2005: 31).

Relentlessly tackling political decisions and what often seems like ANC indifference to its citizenry, the heterogeneity of the APF keeps it grounded in the lived realities of those who do not have access to water, electricity, sanitation, proper housing or face threats of displacement. They understand the necessity of fighting current battles to ensure access and survival as may be demonstrated in the Phiri water case. This approach is then taken an extra step to interrogate the broader systematic political and social structures that facilitate discrimination of those communities who are forced to live under such deplorable conditions. Reflecting on the situation of the APF in political, social and legal activism we can see the multiplicity of the concept of citizenship as it is ‘rooted in different historical contexts, while simultaneously in the process of being constructed through social action and social movements’ (Gaventa 2005: xiii). The APF’s heterogeneous identity rooted in historical struggles of particular communities, especially that of the working class with a fresh apartheid fervour and sentiment, provides the basis of their collective action framing activity. Although the APF heterogeneous identity

can and has been contested as displayed in an interview with founder of the Remoho Women's Forum, Teboho Mashota. According to Mashota the issue of private gender power imbalances, which may silence women's participation in the movement, have yet to be considered (Interview, Mashota 2009). This fundamentally questions the voice and heterogeneity of such a radical movements as they approach issues of accessibility and citizenship.

#### **4.5 Merging Approaches**

Acknowledging the APF's strategic use of both legal and civic approaches to citizenship issues includes addressing international and national legislation as well as deeply problematizing the foundation of such structures. However, the APF has also recognized that 'we need to understand that the law in general favours the capitalist class and is also not always accessible to the working and the poor. We also need to have some discussions about getting good lawyers who are prepared to serve the APF on the basis of its politics' (Segodi 2007:6). Contrasting this with the thematic underpinnings of attributed economic and political structural problems held by the APF, collective action framing is an implicit tool for contrasting notions within civic action. Through this method of conversion the APF is able to mediate ideas, insight action and redefine political subjectivities. Targeting urban settlement communities and those most affected by cost-recovery strategies, the APF ultimately looks to overcome inherent power relations of a class dynamic. Therefore, the merger of approaches in collective action framing assists to redefine the very notions inherent within the process of realizing rights and the political participation necessary for a new conception of citizenship.

## Chapter 5      Analyzing the Citizenship Lens

Understanding the way in which the APF and similar movements use collective action frames requires an examination of the potential implications for the construction of citizenship. While it is quite difficult within the scope of this research to grasp how various constructions of citizenship may be felt or experienced by South Africans themselves, there are particular issues and areas of concern that are worth exploring. Therefore, throughout this chapter the question I seek to assess is: what are the opportunities and constraints for social movements such as the APF for constructing concepts of citizenship?

### 5.1 Inclusive Citizenship: the ideal type?

In a study of the APF's water struggle Marcelle Dawson examines the two concepts of social and inclusive citizenship stating that citizenship may actually reinforce class inequality. She argues, 'resistance efforts should not be driven by a desire to belong or to be included, but should instead centre on citizens being actively involved in defining the basis upon which inclusion occurs' (Dawson 2006: 25). This places citizens 'in a stronger position to claim citizenship rights on their own terms rather than in accordance with the rules set by capitalist agenda' (Dawson 2006: 25).

What Dawson's argumentation highlights is the potential detrimental effects of citizenship definitions, as they may not question the underlying structural conditions and power disparities that facilitate or are even based upon class divisions. This could similarly apply for those definitions, which do not address gender concerns from patriarchal and gender neutral power relations. For a further example, in an interview with an ANC strategist by author Franco Barchiesi, it was stated that the ANC often responds to large-scale social mobilization by establishing a strict separation between the realm of popular demands and advocacy and those involved in institutional representation and party organization – what is deemed 'properly political'. 'In this view movements are re-codified within a template of "civil society" that presupposes a fundamental decoupling between voicing social needs and



desires, and the terrain where needs and desires question power relations' (Barchiesi 2006: 216). Under this observation, the APF does not seem to suggest inclusive citizenship as the necessary condition as it would not require a systemic structural transformation for an active citizen agency to be encouraged rather than deterred. The APF draws upon specific contextual experiences to highlight the ways in which market transformations and the ANC government's acceptance of this have eroded citizen's rights and livelihoods. This stance is more associated with a working class citizenship where the APF is goal directed towards a classless society. In doing so, the APF is not merely antagonistic on the point of governmental programming rather they are transformative in their vision for a more social and worker sensitive egalitarian economic framework.

## **5.2 Situating the Anti-Privatisation Forum: Leadership and Participation**

The question of leadership and participation within movements, local, national or transnational activism is highly problematic. This has been of great concern to many academically including notable works by Fanon, Freire and Gramsci although there are many who have elaborated and drawn from their original argumentation. This remains of concern in South Africa where many movements, including the APF, draw from an intellectual participation of academics. When considering power relations within movements, focus is often placed on those who are able to mediate resources from Northern movements and local community resistance. Northern movements or intellectuals often forge relationships with Southern movements in a developmental mentality (conscious or unconscious) attempting to provide an appearance of legitimacy (Pithouse 2004: 184). According to Pithouse, this can often be more important than the growth and development of resistance. A way to avoid this is to negotiate relationships between movements with democratically elected individuals to act within such negotiations.

A paradox within movements globally is the leadership of individual(s) who take up these positions. During an INTERFUND workshop held to discuss these dilemma's Pithouse notes the applause that was raised for the

APF in utilizing democratic structures for organization (Pithouse 2004: 185). The APF boasts the participation and leadership of some of South Africa's most well known intellectuals including Trevor Ngwane and Dale McKinley, that have a great deal of influence on the course of the movement. They are not formally governing the APF given the aforementioned structure, although, a disparity remains in connecting the broader themes of the APF that seem to be driven by intellectual discourses with its demands and the concerns of activists from the townships where the majority of their participation is derived. The APF is significantly recognizable on the basis of these individuals and the justifiable yet broad concerns that they emphasize such as neoliberal development models. While these concerns are quite problematic to those within the townships, there remains a concern for whether or not these frames shadow the concerns of those in the townships. In an interview with APF activist Teboho Mashota, intellectuals often seem to shadow the voice of those who are continually sidelined or misrepresent the interests as they are. This was mentioned specifically in reference to the lack of attention to gender issues.

Further, in an interview S'phiwe Segodi referring to the Phiri water case, he noted that movements did not place enough emphasis on the case itself and what it was to achieve. Instead, the APF took the discussion surrounding the case beyond its original intent – to provide accessible water supplies in the Phiri Township. Arguably this detracted much needed pressure to the Johannesburg authorities regarding the details of the case, instead mobilizing on broader thematic issues such as privatization. These themes are unquestionably related to the case, however, according to Segodi where pressure was needed is towards the material outcome (Interview, Segodi 2009). My suggestion lends to the APF's need to discuss this contradiction where framing may be misplaced given the contextual necessities and also to question whom is directing the content of this framing. However, the APF's governing structures, electoral process and educational workshops are proactive measures to creating the space for wider participation.

### 5.3 Problematizing a working class citizenship

It has been clearly stated throughout this paper, that the overarching theme and approach of the APF is a socialist working class discourse. However, the question remains of whether or not the structure and methods of the APF are in line with achieving a working class citizenship. According to APF co-founder Dale McKinley, ‘the continued protests of poor communities across the country – which have now been going on for many years – are directly linked to the continued exploitation of municipal workers, the failure to adequately staff municipalities and ongoing managerial corruption’ (McKinley 2009). While this may be true, there is a distinct connection and polarization made by the APF between the ANC and capitalist classes on one hand and the poor or working class majority on the other. I am not going to suggest that the APF does not recognize this opposition to be more complex than the picture I have painted here, although I will suggest that this is just as homogenizing to the antagonist or actor deemed responsible for hardship as well as for the supposed victims.

The ANC’s emphasis on “pro-poor”, relatively interventionist economic policies, maintains that the substantially orthodox framework defined in 1996 by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy, which limits its ability to actively mobilize support from social constituencies that tend to fall outside the formal economy (Barchiesi, 2006: 213).

Noting this observation about the state of the South African economy and employment in particular, the APF seems to have a noticeable lack of attention to foreign and informal workers. While they address issues such as working conditions, xenophobia, wages and basic service provision. There is a noticeable lack of attention to the informal workers and foreign workers who are lacking in employment opportunities in a formalized sense or within their own country. While the APF clearly addresses political and structural constraints that may have caused individuals to be in such circumstances, that does not address the state of those circumstances in an immediate future. In an interview with labour activist and coordinator of StreetNet International, Pat Horn the APF often misses these immediate circumstances focusing too much on the macro level themes (Interview, Horn 2009). Similarly, in an interview

with Teboho Mashota, issues of gender are frequently subsumed and somewhat homogenized under the working class framework within the APF (Interview, Mashota 2009). This reveals that while the APF is making strides in dealing with current battles for basic services such as water, they may have to re-evaluate how they connect broader political themes such as a socialist manifesto to the diversity of issues facing citizenship in South Africa including formal, informal and foreign workers as well as gender disparities.

#### **5.4 Engaging the state**

Within discussion regarding movement strategies and politics the discussion of working with or against the state is frequently treated as black and white. Furthermore, it is discussed in relation to risks of cooptation by bourgeois elites or power structures. This is assumed as a persistent risk to state or private sector engagement and will not be problematized here. However, worthy of discussion are evaluations of civic engagement by the Development Research Centre (DRC) of the Institute for Development Studies. According to these studies there are a number of ways that citizens engage with the state and claim citizenship outside of simple electoral participation including:

- Forums created by the state
- Non-governmental organisations
- Self-organized social movements
- Parallel governance structures (Eyben and Ladbury 2006: 12).

Whether engaged through a state created mechanism or operating in an autonomous yet parallel governance system, these actions are made relative to the state. Similar to movement's world wide, this contestation resounds within movement politics of South Africa and that of the APF. Without doubt the APF directly confronts and is often embroiled in a tenuous engagement with the state, contesting the ANC's motives, methods and outcomes for a 'people-centred' development. DRC research suggests the importance of social movements in building a more democratically accountable state as they reflect a mobilized and organized citizenry, which in turn tests the states 'practical ability to uphold the constitutional rights of its citizens' (Eyben and Ladbury

2006: 15). Further to this, the APF seems to caution the presence and purpose of non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and forums created through the state for reasons of objectives and overarching goals that are not in line with working class interests. Evident in the APF newsletter 'the struggle continues' NGO's 'are opposed to the heightening of the class struggle, the defeat of capitalism and the victory of socialism. Instead they work to humanize capitalism' (Ngwane and Ntuli 2006:1). Although Pithouse accurately observes that many organizations or NGOs engaging with or against the state, many involved with the APF such as the Freedom of Expression Institute are quite beneficial therefore it is unhelpful to create this false binary.

What is useful however, is a distinction between projects, however organized, that pathologise the violence on which capitalism depends while valorising mass resistance, and those that pathologise direct mass resistance while pursuing a limited reformism that effectively normalises the greater part of capital's violence (Pithouse 2004: 180).

This again resounds quite strongly with the transformational nature of the APF and the contestation that emerges to ideas of reformist notions or inclusive citizenship.

Clearly in this view the APF inadvertently recognizes concepts of inclusive citizenship in the existence of vertical relationships between the state and an individual (known to Kabeer as vertical citizenship), questioning structural constraints and citizen agency for this to be altered. However, in its own practice the APF seems to encourage and reflect a form of horizontal citizenship which stresses the relationships between citizens in collective action and solidarity to be just as important if not more so than vertical conceptions (Dawson 2006). Connecting and networking among various communities not only displays the practice of horizontal citizenship by the APF itself but similarly acknowledges that through the collective action of citizens a more democratized vertical citizenship can be established (Kabeer 2005: 23).

In an interview with known South African activist and co-founder of the APF Trevor Ngwane, it was stated that he believed the ANC did not have that much of a different perspective to *what* citizenship is. What has occurred is contradictions in the way the government has responded to rights by way of

economic policy. As stated by Ngwane ‘the economic policies which privatize capital over people creating a contradiction, is where we differ with the government’ (Interview, Ngwane 2009). The APF is often critiqued for their unwillingness to dialogue with different factions of the ANC as a method of reaching middle ground or common understandings for practices and concepts towards something like citizenship. This was displayed in interview with known labour activist Pat Horn. Non-dialogue with the ANC may limit achieving a pluralist engagement of citizenship in line with a more diverse set of objectives from individuals who do not choose to separate themselves from the formal realms of the ANC. However, Ngwane claims the APF’s approach to be more about taking action while others are ‘busy talking’. The implications of this tactic will be addressed in the following section.

In many ways the movement continues to confront the current realities of post-apartheid commodification and its operational ideologies. Although, the participation of apartheid activists has not dwindled the imagination within the movement for the creation of a new post-apartheid state construction accompanied by an active and integrated conception of citizenship.

## **5.5 Criminalizing Resistance**

The strategies of resistance employed by the APF have become a source of contention among South African movements, activists and of course within the formal allegiances of the state. Divisions between approaches of dialogue and those of direct confrontation employed by the APF continue to be a source of disagreement, within the movement and between movements. While the APF continues to encourage collective action, it has similarly been problematic in recent years with the states attempt to criminalize resistance. According to Ngwane (Interview 2009), while not admitted by many within the APF, this has severely weakened the movement over the years as the APF has lost many supporters out of fear or arrest. In his words:

the APF is a peaceful organization operating within a democratic country, so when people start getting arrested and getting beat up ordinary people get frightened and they start to think either it is not safe to support the APF and its campaigns or there is something wrong in what they are doing (Interview, Ngwane 2009).

State efforts to suppress civic action and political dissent were echoed in interviews with labour activist Pat Horn and gender activist Teboho Mashota. While detrimental to the movements, it is doubtful that such a state strategy will completely dissolve such antagonistic civic actions. During apartheid rule the government began a campaign to suppress freedom of expression and dissent to the point that 'internally, it became almost impossible to organise politically, as the government murdered or imprisoned activists, or forced them into exile' (Handmaker 2009: 76). Such repressive efforts however, only served to ignite new, creative forms of civic expression aimed at challenging the legitimacy of the government (Handmaker 2009: 77). While the state repression experienced today is vastly different than that of the apartheid state system, the point worth mentioning is the history of an unwillingness to concede under such confrontation. Rather, civic actors have continued to adamantly challenge them and in doing so have made strides assisting in the dissolution of apartheid rule. Therefore, previous efforts within mass protest have overcome state repression to the redefining of the political arena into a democratic structure and are now opposing similar state resistance to redefine fundamental principles such as citizenship, which underscore and guide that democratic structure.

A word of caution is towards continuing to peg actors such as the ANC as ongoing perpetrators of capitalist expansion etc. The APF seems to air on the side of caution against dialogue, as many claim this dialogue to rarely be sincere. However, growing state retaliation may be evidence of an emerging resistance on the part of the state and its partners to real dialogue and in turn of understanding the project that the APF seeks to insight. The state's emerging reactions and furthermore, the recent ruling against Phiri residents in the Phiri water case (APF 2009b) display that the movement may be at a crossroads of decisions, signifying a potential necessity for the APF to step up and initiate. Such dialogue does not only need to take place with the ANC but through continued efforts with SACP or COSATU. This in no way implies that the APF should cease its current activities rather, it is to suggest that they diversify their approach opening themselves up to an exchange of idea with

actors they contest. Responding to contextual circumstances are as much about a process of framing new ideas of citizenship as it is about repositioning yourself and your strategy to an empirical condition. Without doing so, may leave a movements conception of citizenship more of a normative argumentation rather than a practical application.

## **5.6 Conclusions**

This chapter has sought to outline some of the problems and opportunities for defining citizenship detailing methods of engagement, potential backlashes and conceptual understandings of a target population. The APF has been able to establish itself as a formidable force, digging deep into structural impediments to basic service delivery in South Africa. Not only is the APF concerned with material conditions but also about individuals as members within a political community who retain the right to question the formation of this political community. The APF has grabbed big issues such as water, engaging in multiple methods of activism with participation from various constituents to challenge how these issues are handled. However, as indicated, the APF remains weak in matching what they demand (see Appendix B) with how they demand it. Their conceptual underpinnings for socialism or a capitalist overthrow seem to heavily influence their radical methods of engagement. Considering some of their practical demands for state reform and service delivery that would seemingly require the role of the state, the APF continues to be reluctant for dialogue. Therefore, the APF's revolutionary vision may be one of their greatest opportunities but also one of their greatest pitfalls if their goals are to be realized.

In contrast, given the participation of former ANC activists and the nature of opposition within the APF, the ANC seems to be penalizing a movement that is in many ways a reflection of its former self. During the apartheid struggle movements such as those led by the ANC were sceptical of the legal system and of engaging the state. The APF is in a similar position now, with an understandable hesitance to using legal or state based mechanisms especially given the recent outcome of the Phiri water case whereby the South African



Constitutional Court ruled that pre-paid water metres are lawful (APF 2009b). While this is a disappointing, it does represent a strategy whereby the APF together with other partners, used a multipronged approach to attacking a particular issue. It is this process that social movements are engaged in towards redefining citizenship as a pluralist, active and democratic process rather than a stagnant legal position within a political realm.

## Chapter 6

### Citizenship and Social Movements: Revisited

In this paper, I have discussed the notion of citizenship as an evolving process. As new actors emerge and falter in how the state provides services and includes or excludes citizens, citizenship is not merely a state-centric concept but is increasingly related to private actors, social relations among citizens and extends beyond national boundaries to consider global scales. This paper has argued, social movements respond to perceived detrimental socio-economic, political and cultural shifts through altering the understandings of citizenship that accompany such changes. This then suggests that an alteration to the concept of citizenship is achieved through an integrated approach of collective action framing, which accounts for resource, identity and political conditions often discussed in relation to social movement activity. Overall, the purpose to the study was to answer a question about how contemporary social movements contest and define notions of citizenship.

Clearly, there is a resounding problematic surrounding how basic services and rights are to be delivered within neoliberal frameworks. As much as this paper was to understand *how* social movements construct an alternative citizenship it was to question the impacts of neoliberal practices such as privatization on a deeper level than material outcomes. Considering that neoliberal frameworks and their associated structures are contested and similarly viewed as a dilemma worldwide, the APF has been able to wage a formidable resistance with a deeper analysis to their implications. By seeking to understand how social movements oppose detrimental development models, the APF lends itself as a complex yet relevant case study. Moreover, the APF's strong language of a working class socialist ideology, makes collective action framing a useful tool for deconstructing how citizenship is utilized their mobilization efforts. Acknowledging that 'the mosaic forms of collective action is so diverse that one even doubts whether a single label can encompass them all' (Escobar and Alvarez 1992: 2), social movements such as the APF are not defining specific, stagnant concepts of citizenship; rather, they are defining

citizenship on the basis of a given situation or structural condition which they oppose. In turn social movements have become vehicles for the expression of injustices among a commonly misunderstood and underrepresented populous-South Africa's working class.

How movements define citizenship has been displayed to occur in juxtaposition with a perceived antagonist (in this case the ANC and a South African capitalist class). An antagonist actor is understood in human or systematic terms judged by working ideologies and the methods employed by this actor to achieve the rights associated with citizenship. A further example in South Africa is the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), who through their battle for anti-retroviral treatment has been credited with defining a state of 'health citizenship'. This was in direct contrast to the ANC's attitude at the time of AIDS denialism and continued ignorance of the AIDS crisis in South Africa (Robins 2004: 671). In the case of the APF, this research proposes that they are drafting a rubric for a working class citizenship. While there are many issues with this citizenship as interrogated in Chapter 5, social movements operate in cycles of change whereby this definition may be constantly evolving. However, primarily this research presents the concept of citizenship as something that is defined in more 'actor-oriented and performative terms, in effect, as practised engagement through social solidarities' (Leach and Scoones 2007: 16). The APF's structure as a forum for solidarity among similar movements and likeminded organisations has revealed the multiplicity of meanings to injustice, agency and identities that form such social solidarities.

Citizenship is at the very core of most actions surrounding participation and rights, however, how it is empirically experienced stem from fundamentally different and often-competing ideologies or interests. This battle of competing interpretations is the very battle that the APF is embroiled in with the ANC. With this we can now understand the concept of citizenship as a process, as opposed to something fixed (Eyben and Ladbury 2006: 8). Referring to the various ways in which citizenship is experienced and understood conceptually, citizenship as a process is the way in which social

movements are able to contextualize livelihoods through collective frames that antagonize how their rights are being met, ignored or even exploited.

For the APF, research suggests that the rights of South Africa's working class township residents are failing to be met and even exploited through the ANC's methods of privatization. As a result of the ANC's implementation of a neoliberal macroeconomic framework the APF seem to be constructing a notion of citizenship in opposition to the placement of citizens under a neoliberal rubric. This resonates with the concerns of Robison's (2006) notion of 'social neoliberalism', however, have also been discussed in great depth considering the 'marketization' of the citizen. The opposing definition of citizenship is by no means a set creation. As such, 'there are no inevitabilities and no teleological paths to follow, and to imagine and act otherwise would be to one again, repeat the mistakes of the past and end up in the organisational and political *cul-de-sac* of the present' (emphasis in original, McKinley and Naidoo 2004: 22).

In conclusion, while not directly speaking to the concept of citizenship, the findings of this research suggest that the APF is actively defining an alternative working class rubric to the way that citizens participate in the democratic arena and the way that they experience their rights. Participation is not from purchasing power, is not mediated by gender, nationality or class and is not achieved through the commodification of basic services. Antagonizing systemic and human constraints to a working class participation, citizenship brought through radical and working class movements such as the APF includes participation in drafting the structure of the political sphere and how it is to operate. It consists of a working class citizenry engaged in political processes, with a public realm that is independent from private enterprise and for more direct municipal control over basic resources.

## **6.1 Continuing the debate**

An area that warrants further research surrounding working class movements, in particular the APF is a gender analysis to a working class citizenship. The APF approaches the gender issue in relation to how capitalism exploits and

undermines the position of women in society, however, it is also worth interrogating how social relations of power and patriarchy exacerbate or operate in concert with this exploitation. Therefore, further analysis could be placed on a feminist working class perspective to how the APF discusses gender disparities in relation to a capitalist economy and basic service provision.

Previously stated, a limitation to this paper is my inability to explore how the APF's collective action framing resonates with those they target in the townships or beyond. A primary discussion within this text has been the binary of interests and interpretations in how South Africa's post-apartheid democracy should look. This duality of interpretations directly relates to those who live among current circumstances. An important area of further research is among those identified by the APF as target populations suffering the detrimental effects of cost-recovery strategies. This would be to discover what is not being addressed or if movements such as the APF seem to encapsulate community concerns in their advocacy efforts.

Finally, a worthy examination is the APF's pragmatic legal approach especially in light of the disappointing outcome in the Phiri water case. While the Phiri water case did not have its desired outcome, it displayed an integrated approach of civic mobilization in concert with legal advocacy. What remains to be evaluated are the concerns previously adopted by S'phiwe Segodi of: how can movements such as the APF who see the law pragmatically, support legal initiatives while advancing their overarching ideological and material goals? Undoubtedly historical apartheid resistance efforts drawing from both camps could particularly inspire such an approach and evaluation. Many movements the world over have battled with this very question, therefore it would be interesting to examine how the APF can grow from such practices as their 'struggle continues'.

## References

- Anti-Privatization Forum (APF 2001) 'About the Anti-Privatization Forum' <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article2> (accessed 18 June 2009).
- Anti-Privatization Forum (APF 2006) 'Preface to the APF's Local Government Platform', *struggle continues* (1): 1-8. Newsletter of the Anti-Privatization Forum, Available online: <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article266&lang=en> (accessed 20 July 2009).
- Anti-Privatization Forum (APF 2007a) 'The Anti-Privatization Forum (APF) and the socialist strategy'. <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article165&lang=en> (accessed 21 July 2009).
- Anti-Privatization Forum (APF 2007b) 'Narrative Report 2004-2005'. <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article147> (accessed 23 August 2009).
- Anti-Privatization Forum (APF 2007c) 'Your Rights: The Gatherings Act, Arrests and Court Processes'. <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article151&lang=en> (access 27 August 2009)
- Anti-Privatization Forum (APF 2008) 'The APF Builds the Coalition Against Xenophobia with a March Through Inner City Johannesburg' <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article285> (accessed 27 August 2009).
- Anti-Privatization Forum (APF 2009a) 'Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA) Hands Down Judgment on Phiri Water Case' <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article348&lang=en> (accessed 28 June 2009).
- Anti-Privatization Forum (APF 2009b) 'Constitutional Court Rules Against Phiri' <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article373> (accessed 4 Nov. 2009)
- Ballard, Richard et al. (2005) 'Globalization, Marginalization and Contemporary Social Movements in South Africa' *African Affairs*, 104(417): 615- 634.
- Ballard, R., A. Habib and I. Valodia (2006) 'Social Movements in South Africa: Promoting Crisis or Creating Sustainability', in V. Padayachee (ed) *The Development Decade? Economic and Social Change in South Africa, 1994-2004*, pp.395-460. Cape Town, SA: Human Sciences Research Council Press.
- Barchiesi, F. (2006) 'Class, Multitudes and the Politics of Community Movements in Post-apartheid South Africa', in N. Gibson (ed) *Challenging Hegemony: Social Movements and the Quest for a New Humanism in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, pp.211-245. Trenton, NJ: African World Press.
- Benford, R.D. and D. A. Snow (2000) 'Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26: 611-639.

- Biekart, K. and A. Fowler (2009) *Civic Driven Change: A Concise Guide to the Basics*, ISS Working Paper 5.2.
- Bond, Patrick (2006) 'Johannesburg's Resurgent Social Movements', in N. C. Gibson (ed) *Challenging Hegemony: Social Movement and the Quest for a New Humanism in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, pp. 104-128. Trenton, NJ: African World Press.
- Bond, P. (2000) *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*. London, UK: Pluto Press.
- Bond, P. and T. Ngwane (2009) 'Anti-Capitalist Community Resistance to Energy Privatization and Carbon Markets in South Africa' Paper presented to the International Conference on Ideas and Strategies in the Alterglobalisation Movement, Gyeongsang University Institute for Social Sciences (29 May 2009) Available online <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/default.asp?2,68,3,1760>.
- Buhlungu, S. (2006) 'Upstarts or Bearers of Tradition? The Anti-Privatisation Forum', in R. Ballard, A. Habib and I. Valodia (eds) *Voices of Protest: Social Movements in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, pp. 67 – 88. Scottsville, SA: University of KwaZulu Natal.
- Buhlungu, S. (2004) 'The Anti-Privatization Forum: A Profile of a Post-Apartheid Social Movement', in *Globalisation, Marginalisation and New Social Movements in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, Kwazulu-Natal: Centre for Civil Society and the School of Development Studies, pp. 1-26.
- Centre for Applied Legal Studies (2009) 'Phiri Water Case Heads to the Constitutional Court on 2 and 3 September 2009'. Johannesburg: Centre for Applied Legal Studies (press release, 26 August).
- Dagnino, E. (2008a) 'Challenges to Participation, Citizenship and Democracy: Perverse Confluence and Displacement of Meanings', in A. J. Bebbington, S. Hickey and D. C. Mitlin (eds) *Can NGO's Make a Difference: The Challenge of Development Alternatives*, pp. 55-70, London, UK: Zed Books.
- Dagnino, E. (2008b) 'Civic Driven Change and Political Projects', in K. Biekart and A. Fowler (eds) *Civic Driven Change: Citizen's Imagination in Action*, pp.27-50. The Hague: The Institute of Social Studies.
- Dagnino, E. (1998) 'Culture, Citizenship, and Democracy: Changing Discourses and Practices of the Latin American Left', in S. E. Alvarez, E. Dagnino and A. Escobar (eds) *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements*, pp. 33-63. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Dawson, M. (2006) 'The Cost of Belonging: Exploring Class and Citizenship in Soweto's Water War', pp.1-27. Johannesburg, SA: Centre for Sociological Research, University of Johannesburg.
- De Gaay Fortman, B. (2006) 'Poverty as a Failure of Entitlements: Do Rights-Based Approaches Make Sense?', in L. Williams (ed) *International Poverty Law: an Emerging Discourse*, pp.34-48. London, UK: Zed Books.

- Dwyer, P. (2004) 'The Contentious Politics of the Concerned Citizens Forum (CCF)', in *Globalisation, Marginalisation and New Social Movements in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, KwaZulu-Natal: Centre for Civil Society and the School of Development Studies, pp.1-44.
- Egan, A. and A. Wafer (2004) 'The Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee', in *Globalisation, Marginalisation and New Social Movements in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, KwaZulu – Natal: Centre for Civil Society and the School of Development Studies, pp. 1-26.
- Escobar, A. and S.E. Alvarez (1992) *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Eyben, R. and S. Ladbury (2006) 'Building Effective States: Taking a Citizen's Perspective'. Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability, Institute of Development Studies, pp.1-21. [http://www.drc-citizenship.org/docs/publications/drc\\_general/Report/drccitizensperspective.pdf](http://www.drc-citizenship.org/docs/publications/drc_general/Report/drccitizensperspective.pdf) (accessed 15 October 2009).
- Gamucio- Dagron, A. (2008) 'Six Degrees of Butterflies: Communications, Citizenship and Change', in A. Fowler and K. Bickart (eds) *Civic Driven Change: Citizen's Imagination in Action*, pp. 67- 86. The Hague: The Institute of Social Studies.
- Gamson, W. A. (1992) *Talking Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gamson, W. A. and D. S. Meyer (1996) 'Framing Political Opportunity', in Doug McAdam, J. D. McCarthy and M. N. Zald (eds) *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, pp.275-290. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gaventa, J. (2005) 'Foreword', in N. Kabeer (ed) *Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expression*, pp.x-xvii. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Gibson, N. (2006) 'Calling Everything into Question: Broken Promises, Social Movements and Emergent Intellectual Currents in Post-Apartheid South Africa', in N. C. Gibson (ed) *Challenging Hegemony: Social Movement and the Quest for a New Humanism in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, pp. 1-43. Trenton, NJ: African World Press.
- Goffman, E. (1974) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Hamilton, W. (2002) 'The Challenges Facing the Working Class in South Africa', *Khanya: A Journal for Activists*, 2.
- Handmaker, J. (2009) *Advocating for Accountability: Civic-State Interactions to Protect Refugees in South Africa*. PhD Thesis, School of Human Rights Research, Utrecht.
- Harvey, D. (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



- Hassim, S. (2005) 'Nationalism Displaced: Citizenship Discourses in the Transition', in A. Gouws (ed) *(Un)thinking Citizenship: Feminist Debates in Contemporary South Africa*, pp. 56-69. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- Heater, D. (2004) *A Brief History of Citizenship*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University.
- Hunt, S. A. and R. D. Benford (2007) 'Collective Identity, Solidarity and Commitment', in D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule and H. Kriesi (eds) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, pp.433-457. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Jayasuriya, K. (2006) 'Economic Constitutionalism, Liberalism and the New Welfare Governance', in R. Robison (ed) *The Neo-Liberal Revolution: Forging the Market State*, pp. 235-253. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kabeer, N. (2005) 'The Search for Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions in an Interconnected World', in N. Kabeer (ed) *Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions*, pp. 1-49. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Khunou, G. (2002) 'Massive Cutoffs, Cost Recovery and Electricity Service in Diepkloof, Soweto', in D. A. McDonald and J. Paper (eds) *Cost Recovery and the Crisis of Service Delivery in South Africa*, pp.61-77. Cape Town, South Africa: Human Sciences Research Council Publishers.
- Klandermans, B., M. Roefs and J. Olivier (eds) (2001) *The State of the People: Citizens, Civil Society and Governance in South Africa, 1994- 2000*, Pretoria, SA: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Leach, M. and I. Scoones (2007) 'Mobilising Citizens: Social Movements and the Politics of Knowledge', IDS Working Paper Citizenship DRC Series No. 276. Sussex, UK: IDS.
- Marshall, T.H (1950) *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University.
- McDonald, D. A. (2002) 'The Theory and Practice of Cost Recovery in South Africa', in D. A. McDonald and J. Paper (eds) *Cost Recovery and the Crisis of Service Delivery in South Africa*, pp.17-40. Cape Town, South Africa: Human Sciences Research Council Publishers.
- McKinley D. (2009) 'The APF Fully Supports the Ongoing Strike by Municipal Workers for a Decent Living Wage' <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article354>, (accessed 22 October 2009).
- McKinley, D. (2008) 'Water is Life: The Anti-Privatization Forum and the Struggle against Water Privatization', in South African Regional Poverty Network, Available online <http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0000584/index.php>, (accessed 14 June 2009).
- McKinley, D. (2006) 'APF Local Government Platform: Anti-Privatisation Forum Local Government Platform' <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article118&lang=en> (accessed 21 July 2009).

- McKinley, D. and P. Naidoo (2004) 'New Social Movements in South Africa: A Story in Creation', in D. McKinley and P. Naidoo (eds) *Mobilising for Change: The Rise of New Social Movements in South Africa*, INTERFUND *Development Update* 5(2): pp.9-22.
- Mehta, L. (2005) 'Citizenship and the Right to Water: Lessons from South Africa's Free Basic Water Policy', in N. Kabeer (ed) *Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions*, pp. 235-250. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Mokolo, B. (2007) 'Remembering the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September 1984 in 2007', *struggle continues* (4)1: 1-12. Newsletter of the Anti-Privatization Forum Available online: <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article269&lang=en> (accessed 20 July 2009).
- Mouffe, C. (1992) 'Democratic Citizenship and the Political Community', in C. Mouffe (ed) *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community*, pp. 225-239. New York, NY: Verso.
- Neocosmos, M. (2006) 'Rethinking Politics in Southern Africa Today: Elements of a Critique of Political Liberalism', in N. Gibson (ed) *Challenging Hegemony: Social Movements and the Quest for a New Humanism in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, pp.55-102. Trenton, NJ: African World Press.
- Ngwane, T. (2004) 'The Assembly' <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article63&lang=en> (accessed 7 July 2009).
- Ngwane, T. and L. Ntuli (2006) 'NGOs and the Struggle of the Working Class: a Socialist Perspective' <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article116&lang=en> (accessed 21 July 2009).
- Ngwane, T. (2006) 'ANC Cannot Deliver Because it is Serving the Capitalists' <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article125&lang=en> (accessed 21 July 2009).
- Nyamu-Musembi, C. (2005) 'Towards and Actor-Oriented Perspective on Human Rights', in N. Kabeer (ed) *Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions*, pp. 31-49. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Olesen, T. (2005) *International Zapatismo: The Construction of Solidarity in the Age of Globalization*. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Pithouse, R. (2004) 'Solidarity, Co-option and Assimilation: The Necessity, Promises and Pitfalls of Global Linkages for South African Movements', in D. McKinley and P. Naidoo (eds) *Mobilising for Change: The Rise of New Social Movements in South Africa*, INTERFUND *Development Update* 5(2): pp.169-199.
- Radebe, S. (2007) 'The Kliptown Uprising', *struggle continues* (4)1: 1-12. Newsletter of the Anti-Privatization Forum, Available online: <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article269&lang=en> (accessed 20 July 2009).
- Robins, S. L. (2008) *From Revolution to Rights in South Africa: Social Movements, NGO's and Popular Politics after Apartheid*. Scottsville, SA: University of KwaZulu-Natal.

- Robins, S. (2004) ‘ “Long Live Zackie, Long Live”: AIDS Activism, Science and Citizenship after Apartheid’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(3): 651-672.
- Robison, R. (2006) ‘Neo-liberalism and the Market State: What is the Ideal Shell?’, in R. Robison (ed) *The Neo-Liberal Revolution: Forging the Market State*, pp. 3-19. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Roche, M. (2002) ‘ Social Citizenship: Grounds of Social Change’, in Engin F. Isin and B. S. Turner (eds) *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, pp. 69-86. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Rudin, M. A. and H. Hintjens (2009) ‘ The 2007 ‘NO-CAFTA’ Movement in Costa Rica: Reflecting on Social Movements and Political Participation Rights’. ISS Working Paper General Series No. 479. The Hague, ISS.
- Sassen, S. (2003) ‘The Repositioning of Citizenship: Emergent Subjects and Spaces for Politics’ *The New Centennial Review*, 3(2): 41-66.
- Segodi, S. (2007) ‘Legal Representation and the Struggle of the APF’, *struggle continues* (1):1-8. Newsletter of the Anti-Privatization Forum, Available online: <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article268&lang=en> (accessed 20 July 2009).
- Shukla, S. (2006) ‘Citizen Action and Governance’, in R. Mohanty and R. Tandon (eds) *Participatory Citizenship: Identity, Exclusion and Inclusion*, pp. 92-106. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- South Africa State Presidents Office (1994) ‘Regulation of the Gatherings Act’, No. 205. [www.info.gov.za/acts/1993/a205-93.pdf](http://www.info.gov.za/acts/1993/a205-93.pdf) (accessed 25 Aug. 2009).
- Snow, D. A. (2007) ‘Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fields’, in D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule and H. Kriesi (eds) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, pp. 380-412. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Thompson, L. and C. Tapscott (forthcoming Jan. 2010) ‘Mobilisation and Social Movements in the South: The Struggle for Rights and Substantive Citizenship’, in L. Thompson and C. Tapscott (eds) *Citizenship and Social Movements: Perspectives from the Global South*, DRAFT, pp. 1-36. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Turner, B. S. (1993) ‘Contemporary Problems in The Theory of Citizenship’, in B. S. Turner (ed) *Citizenship and Social Theory*, pp. 1-18. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Von Lieres, B. (2007) ‘Citizen Participation in South Africa: Land Struggles and HIV/AIDS Activism’, in A. Cornwall and V. Schattan Coelho (eds) *Spaces for Change? The Politics of Citizens Participation in New Democratic Arenas*, pp.226-239. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Von Schnitzler, A. (2008) ‘Citizenship Prepaid: Water, Calculability, and Techno-Politics in South Africa’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(4): 899-917.
- Zald, M. N. (1996) ‘Culture, Ideology, and Strategic Framing’, in Doug McAdam, J. D. McCarthy and M. N. Zald (eds) *Comparative Perspectives*

*on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, pp.261-275. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> People –driven or people-centred development became key phrases employed by the ANC during the creation and subsequent implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in January of 1994. Following the April 1994 ANC electoral victory, the RDP was referred to as the basis for their success and therefore was going to be the cornerstone of the new governments economic strategies (Bond 2000: 90).

<sup>2</sup> This is an unpublished draft manuscript for a chapter in a forthcoming book entitled *Citizenship and Social Movements: Perspectives from the Global South*. The text was provided through the book editor at the Development Research Centre at the Institute for Development Studies. Further information about the book can be found at: <http://www.zedbooks.co.uk/books.asp?catid=287>.

<sup>3</sup> The concept of “new” social movements is used throughout social movement theory to refer to the 1960’s and 1970’s rise of social movements with unique forms of organization emphasizing identity and agency. The academic discussion of movement activity within this time shifted in focus from participation and discussion to an emphasis on equality and dialogue (Gibson 2006: 16).

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Interviews Conducted

| <b>Name</b>     | <b>Function</b>  | <b>Date and Place of Interview</b> | <b>Method of Communication</b> |
|-----------------|--|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Horn, Pat       | Coordinator for StreetNet International, former member of apartheid Labour Movement  | 15 August 2009                     | Phone                          |
| Mashota, Teboho | Paralegal Administrator at The Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre to End Violence Against Women, Chair Remoho Women's Forum | 3 September 2009                   | Phone                          |
| McKinley, Dale  | Treasurer and Co-Founder   | 5 August 2009                      | Phone, Email                   |
| Ngwane, Trevor  | Co-Founder   | 10 August 2009                     | Phone, Email                   |
| Segodi, S'phiwe | Former APF Legal Advisor, Freedom of Expression Institute  | 27 August 2009                     | Phone                          |

## **Appendix B: The Demands and Structure of the Anti-Privatisation Forum**

The Anti-Privatisation Forum is governed by a council, which consists of representatives from member organisations. A Co-ordinating Committee is made up of one delegate from each organisation and meets on a weekly basis to provide strategy direction between Council Meetings. Activist forums are called on an ad hoc basis to mobilize individuals and communities opposed to privatisation. This in turn is intended to effect the decisions of the APF Council and Co-ordinating Committee.

By and large the activities of the APF revolve around the following demands and platform for action:

- End to all privatization programs and the return of all privatized services and assets to the public sector
- An immediate end and reversal of retrenchments that are a result of privatization
- Elect local government candidates who stand on anti-privatization platforms
- Free supply of 50litres of water per person, per day
- Free supply of minimum amount of electricity needed for purposes of health, hygiene, cooking and heating
- Introduce a progressive block tariff system that ensures free lifeline services cross-subsidized from the rich to the poor, from high-end users to the low end users
- No more arrears of the poor
- End rent evictions
- End water and electricity cut-offs
- Increase in subsidy from national governments to local government
- Repudiation of Apartheid debt (Anti-Privatisation Forum, 2001)

For more information about the APF their website is: <http://apf.org.za/>

## Appendix C: 'struggle continues' –APF Newsletter

The following newsletter is the most recent publication of the APF's newsletter entitled 'struggle continues'. There is no particular author of this newsletter rather it is a compilation of texts, opinion pieces, and information about current events that is distributed among APF followers and posted on their website for external viewers. A complete list of all past newsletters can be found at: <http://apf.org.za/spip.php?page=recherche&recherche=newsletter>.

**struggle continues**

Newsletter of the Anti Privatisation Forum vol.5 #2 November 2008

### The Current Political Situation and the Tasks of Movements

by John Appolis

We are now in a world radically different from what it was a mere four months ago. The world economy is collapsing, torn apart by an economic recession. Thousands of workers are being thrown out of work; millions find themselves hungry in the midst of plenty of food; millions are homeless in the midst of houses being repossessed and standing empty. Cement and brick factories are standing idle when millions require shelter. Neo-liberal capitalism has over the past thirty years inflicted untold misery onto the world's

poor whilst simultaneously making a very small minority filthy rich. Capitalism has no right to rule society and organize production. It has no more legitimacy as a workable economic system.

We have been told that humanity and capitalism is inseparable, without capitalism society cannot move forward. The apologists for the system said there was no alternative, that socialism is dead. But today we find that capitalism is at its own deathbed.

However, when capitalism is faced with its own death, it somehow finds a new lease on life. Capitalism faced death during the 1920/30s during the Great Depression. The working class with its strong left or communist parties and trade unions resisted the attempts of the ruling class to get them to carry the burden of the depression. It took the capitalist class over two decades

through the use of fascism and a Second World War to break the back of the working class in order to set the system back on the track of recovery. But it had to offer the working class something in return and that was social democracy. Only with this class compromise could the capitalist class embark upon a 25-year period of economic growth. This economic growth broke down in the 1970s.

30 years of neo-liberalism have not solved the crisis of the 1970s. Now in 2008 capitalism is faced with another world crisis more severe than the Great Depression and the crisis of the 1970s.

*continued on page 2*



**In this issue**

**FEATURE housing**  
 Evictions and the housing crisis in Tshwane.....p3-4  
 Joe Slovo residents appeal to Constitutional Court against mass eviction.....p5

**FEATURE xenophobia**  
 Shut down Lindela! South Africa's symbol of shame!.....p6  
 March Against Xenophobia through inner city Johannesburg.....p7  
 Students Attack Immigrants in Bophelong.....p8  
 Xenophobia in Evaton and Jeppeshtown.....p9

**REPORTS cawp**  
 Thousand of Gauteng residents return pre-pays to Mayor Masondo.....p10  
 A People's Inspection at Kwa-Masiza Hostel.....p11





from page 1

### The Current Political Situation and the Tasks of Movements

One of the things the ruling class is going to try to do is convince us to take joint responsibility for the crisis. They are going to sell the idea that we are all in this together and that we are all responsible for the mess, and that we must all try to find solutions for it. But in reality, the way out for them is to try and get the working class and the poor to carry the cost of this crisis. We must accept greater impoverishment, greater unemployment, and allow houses and cars to be repossessed. And in the end the gap between the poor and rich will grow ever wider.

We must tell them this economic crisis is their mess. We are not going to take responsibility for it. Rather we must expose to everyone, that to take responsibility for this crisis is to accept starvation.

#### We are faced with a choice: Organise or starve!!

Over the past eight years our movements have been digging local trenches of resistance to the neo-liberal onslaught. We have resisted evictions, water and elec-

tricity cut-offs, prepaid meters, lack of service delivery and housing. However, this crisis is breaking out at a time when our movements have been ebbing. Whilst having a lot in common we are still not united around a common political platform.

Faced with the coming tsunami of destruction of the capitalist class we have to intensify our local struggles, build our movements and unite. As separate and isolated movements, the capitalist class will defeat us, will push us aside. But as a united national force it will find in us a formidable opponent. Our local struggles and demands must be linked to the question of power, to national macro-economic policy. We must decide how the wealth is produced, how it is distributed and consumed. For instance, we must demand that the delivery of houses must take place through the nationalization of the big cement and bricks factories and placed under working class control. As a defense against starvation, we must also demand that the government legislate a national unemployment living benefit for all the unemployed irrespective of work experience.

The political space is there for us to intervene. Not only can the capitalists no longer tell us there is no

alternative - that neo-liberalism is the answer to everything - but the ruling party is also finding itself in the midst of a crisis. It is being torn apart by internal contestation over who is entitled to the spoils of Black Economic Empowerment. Those who have been excluded under the Regime of Thabo Mbeki want to be first in line to BEE under the Zuma ANC and they are prepared to leave no stone unturned in their quest.

Only by uniting around a common platform of demands and action can we build a movement with a national presence, one that presents to the masses an alternative pole of explanation and resistance. Our movements have a lot in common: in essence, we are anti-capitalist, anti-neoliberalism and opposed to the ANC government. What we need to do now is to agree on a common set of national demands and a unifying campaign around these demands.

All movements have the responsibility of bringing about this unity. Our differences in most instances are of a tactical nature. These extra-ordinary times we are living in today, demand of us that we build this national united front. History will judge us severely if we don't.

