The Relationship between the Participants of Social Movements and
Movement Intellectuals: A Case Study on the Westcliff Flats Residents Association
(WFRA)

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of
Development Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences,
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August, 2008
Durban

Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between the participants of a social movement and movement intellectuals. A case-study focus on the Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA) was taken to provide a contextual and "holistic" understanding thereof. At the centre of the study is an intellectual puzzle concerned with investigating the dynamics and processes that constitute this relationship. The approach is one of qualitative inquiry, relying on the perspectives of participants within the movement to develop a grounded theory with respect to the primary intellectual puzzle and research questions. In this way, the emergent conclusions are non-categorical and provide an argued perspective on the interactive processes between movement intellectuals and the WFRA. A typology of possible relationships between movement intellectuals and social movements is developed and constitutes the primary findings of the study.
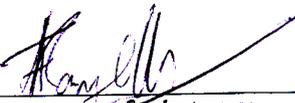
Acknowledgements

Many thanks go to committee members in the Westcliff Flats Residents Association, whose kind generosities and honest will facilitated the study in fundamental ways. To Orlean and Pinky, who demonstrate levels of competency, commitment and faith that surpass any paid councillor's best attempts. To Vanessa and Gladys, Sawathree and Roy, Mamoo and Christina for their time and guidance, patience and insight.

To my supervisor, Richard Ballard, I extend a great deal of gratitude. Richard's continuous advice and critical reviews, guidance and "quality control" have been a vital force in the development of this thesis.

To my parents, thank you especially.

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment / partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of .....MDEV....STUDIES..... , in the Graduate Programme in .....DEVELOPMENT...ST.., University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of .....DEVELOPMENT.....STUDIES.......... in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Good narratives typically approach the complexities and contradictions of real life. Accordingly, such narratives may be difficult or impossible to summarise in neat scientific formulae, general propositions, and theories. This tends to be seen as a drawback by critics of the case study. To the researcher practicing *phronesis*[1], however, a particularly "thick" and hard-to-summarise narrative is not necessarily a problem. Rather, it may be a sign that the study has uncovered a particularly rich problematic. The question, therefore, is whether the summarizing and generalization, which the critics see as an ideal, is always desirable. Nietzsche is clear in his answer to this question. "Above all," he says about doing science, "one should not wish to divest existence of its *rich ambiguity*" (emphasis in original) (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 84).

A context for the present study relates to a personal commitment to demonstrate a competency in the practice of social science research. As a registered student submitting the present document for the purposes of degree certification from a university, there is a very real basis on which the imagination of an academic community "out there" exists, a community with which I intend to dialogue in the contents of this thesis. These personal commitments are not uncommon; in fact, spurred on by a wide range of goals the academic community offers to the enthusiastic student. Not unlike a vast, global "class" of academics and researchers, my fundamental rationales and motivation for conducting the research are based on the generally lucrative rewards the "knowledge industries" offer: recognition by other academics in the "tools of the trade", qualifications tied to personal worth and competencies, the accumulation of publication points, perhaps an explanatory and predictive understanding on social life and, certainly more often sought,

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[1] Defined as the intellectual virtue of deliberating on values and ethics with reference to praxis; a social scientific approach that is pragmatic, variable and context-dependent (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 57).

secure, professional employment in that same industry. Of course, this is what it means to be a scholar.

As most guidebooks on the practice of social science research indicate, a good starting point for the development of a research idea is delving into one's personal interests. With the benefit of several years in undergraduate study with the same university and the opportunity in having met and interacted with a range of seriously committed lecturers and established academics, the motivation to conduct a study on some aspect of human and social life was present. I recalled some of my earlier lecture notes and considered the subject of social change, enlivened by various bodies of theoretical knowledge on the subject. Marx's ideas of historical materialism, premised as they are on the characteristic processes of change and disequilibrium were particularly interesting to review. I considered more closely the Marxist assumption that change in social reality and human life is not random but orderly in the sense that uniformities and regularities can be observed and thus scientific findings be made; if a science was to be conducted, what better place to start than with Marxism.

The attraction of Marxist theory was heightened by my participation in various student political organisations during my undergraduate years. Marxist theory (and its variants) is immediately accessible and in the context of political action, easily available. I reflected on my earlier roles in the Students' Representative Council at the university and the play of ideas that informed so much of our earlier take on things. From questions of student fees, to admission policy, to dismissal hearings, the narrative of Marxism could easily "fit" into the exigencies of the moment, providing a tight explanation and program of action on the subject. Of course, I was no hardliner, nor for that matter, could easily designate myself under the banner of being "a Marxist" in any absolute sense; the point is that my point of departure for the conduct of the present study was an attempt to excavate the empirical basis of some grand all-encapsulating framework and to show how the two interrelated; in some way, "fitting" both my reading of theory and "that reality" together. The objective was that having done so, the standards of proper social science would have been met and some real contribution to the academic community made.

A circuitous method of reading arrived at Touraine (1971; 1981; 1988) whose ideas on social change and the agency of social movements therein proved immensely invigorating. Touraine espoused the view that society produces itself and that the goal of social action *is* social action. The priority of "spontaneous protest", which has the potential to evolve into organised movements, was presented as a key to understanding other kinds of structures in social life. In Touraine's words,

> Men make their own history: social life is produced by cultural achievements and social conflicts, and at the heart of society burns the fire of social movements (1981: 1) ... The analysis of societies must bring out of hiding the antagonistic social movements and whatever they have culturally at stake behind the false positivity of order, behind the categories of social practice, and behind the ideologies. It happens at times that social movements are weak or disorganised, but in the historical societies it never occurs that one cannot recognise the place of these movements at the center of social life (1981: 26).

Reading Touraine developed the preliminary and inchoate ideas of the present study to identify social movements as the intended "unit of analysis"; but, it has to be said, without an understanding of the precise paradigmatic approach – theoretical and methodological – Touraine espoused. It was simply the decision that the study be conducted on social movements that was taken at the time. I found that the phenomenon of social movements in post-apartheid South Africa was well-articulated in academic circles across the country: preliminary readings covered two edited text treatments of the subject by Ballard, Habib and Valodia, (2006) and Gibson (2006) ; one "insider perspective" text by Desai (2002); several chapters in books by Bond (2002; 2004b), Kingsnorth (2003), Klein (2002); a section devoted to it in a text edited by Padayachee (2006); a series of research reports by Barchiesi (2004); Bond (2004a); Dwyer (2004); Friedman and Mottiar (2006); Greenstein (2003); McKinley (2004); Pithouse (2004); and several journal articles on the subject by Davies (2006); Desai (2003) and Ngwane (2003, 2007). Forays into the popular North American journals of the *American Sociological*

Review, the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Problems*, and *Mobilization* revealed a vast scope and volume of publications confirming that indeed, a very tangible field of international social movement research was "out there" at my disposal. It was with a growing sense of security and control I pored over the interstitial articles and began to take refuge in the explanatory force of a "good theory". While Marxist analyses were often latent in many works both theoretically and empirically relevant to social movements locally and abroad, it was not necessarily the framework with which I would have to conduct the present study.

The resource mobilization approach (Gamson, 1975; McCarthy and Zald, 1973; 1977; Oberschall, 1973) was particularly attractive as it held dominance in the theoretical field of American social movement research for over three decades, later exporting to Britain and other Western countries. I considered how the application of key concepts in the resource mobilization approach could explain, perhaps predict, the strategic dimensions of social movement activity in any local context. A focus that emerged at the time included a descriptive study on the importance of resources in inter-organisational contexts. I was particularly interested in the dynamics of social change evident in the ethos of social movements (*pace* Touraine) in their capacity to build alliances and networks to achieve collective demands; it occurred to me that if social movements were entities explicitly committed to generating support for collective aims, a wide mix of multiple organisational actors, marked by reciprocal flows of resources should be identified in any given context where social movements are found.

These preliminary ideas then shifted to settle on the "intellectual puzzle"[2] of its present form for primarily two reasons: the first included a greater deliberation on the (basic) epistemological and ontological dimensions that the study was to rest on, resulting from a more concise reading of Touraine and learning of other thinkers in the "new social movements approach". The second reason related to a direct engagement with the then potential participants of the study, learning of their views and opinions in casual

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[2] Defined as the *essence* of a research enquiry achieved and expressed by moving from a broad or general research interest to a set of research questions on which an effective research design may be developed (Mason, 2002: 13).

conversation, participation in social movement life and, eventually, a clearer sense of the state of the field. With regards to the former, I found that Touraine's work included a prescription on the role of the sociologist or researcher in the active process of studying social movements. Contiguous with his theoretical approach, Touraine relates,

> If the change society is undergoing calls for a wholly social, i.e. sociological analysis, the role of the sociologist is also to bring about the central social conflicts of the new society and to indicate what is at stake by going beyond the awareness of crisis, the doubt, and the resistance to change or rejection of it (1981: 2).

Here and in other passages, Touraine advocates the explicit *reflexivity* of the sociologist in the world of social movements. For Touraine, there is a responsibility involved in the role of the researcher or theorist of social movements and the struggles a movement is ineluctably engaged in; the notion of the researcher as sociologist *as activist* is central to Touraine's work. This idea of reflexivity challenged the developing study and its preconceptions of value-neutrality and objectivity in the conduct of "science". As it was later found, Touraine's position drew on and constituted a larger paradigmatic approach to social movements, emerging out of the "cultural turn" of late 1960s[3], known as the "new social movements approach" similarly evident in the works of Cohen (1985), Laclau (1985), Laclau and Mouffe (1985, 1987), Melucci, (1980, 1985, 1988) and Zurcher and Snow (1981).

The reflexivity of the researcher as a social actor markedly involved in social movement activity is one of several dimensions expressed in the new social movements approach and relates to the basic epistemology of knowledge on social life propounded by some of its thinkers (a fuller discussion is provided in chapter 2); the ontological dimensions of the new social movements approach similarly accords priority to peoples' own self-

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[3] While it is certainly the case that these events, including the student revolts of May 1968 in France and several protests across the United States, Italy and Germany during more or less the same period, were primarily Northern developments and expressions of Western discontent, the term itself is useful to describe what are specifically the salient features of both the shifting context, writ large, and minute expressions of social life evident across the globe since.

understandings and how their actions are shaped primarily by these self-understandings. The approach prioritises the *subjective-dimensions* to social movement life and the active construction of meanings before the imposition of theoretical and structural frameworks. As the prominent Latin American social movement scholar, Escobar (1992: 63) notes,

> Theory thus must start with people's self-understanding, with giving an account of people as agents whose practices are shaped by their self-understanding. It is only by getting as clear a picture as possible of this self-understanding that we can hope to identify what should be relevant for theory in the first place. This requires a close engagement with agents – a mutual exchange between the "subjects" that are written about and the critics who write about them. Conventional social science is, of course, inimical to this approach. By emulating the model of the natural sciences, social theory almost inevitably bypasses the domain of people's self-description. ... An interpretive approach grounded on how people understand themselves as creators and practitioners of their own world is increasingly recognised as necessary.

Understanding the necessarily reflexive position of the researcher / activist in social movement life as well as the importance assigned to the subjective dimensions to movement life radically shifted the content and direction of the developing study. Resource mobilization theory seemed ill-equipped to uncover the latent and manifest subjectivities of social movement phenomena, especially insofar as the paradigm developed largely in "rebellion" with ideas of "identity", "emotion" and other micro-level concepts in social movement studies (Morris and Herring, 1987). While there have been advancements made within resource mobilization theory to syncretise with the new social movements approach, I decided to abandon the former to focus on the "actor's truth", so to speak, of social movement life here in Durban.

The second reason for the shift in focus resulted from an actual engagement with conversational partners and actors in the field of social movement activity in Durban. Preliminary conversations and groundwork with various intellectuals associated with

movements in and around Durban, talks with community activists, leaders, and organisers and general participants revealed a complex though often contradictory wealth of insight and position on social movement activity. I had participated in Durban's mass-marches of 2001 and 2002 at the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) respectively, and drew some interesting experiences thereof; I had met some of the (in)famous personalities of "the Left" and gained their trust and listened on their views, and had participated in a number of smaller campaigns in locations around Durban. Generally, the field of social movement activity was a diverse one populated by a mix of non-affiliated intellectuals, university-bound researchers and academics, political party-officials, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), state agency-personnel and, of course, the movement constituencies themselves.

But moreover, and perhaps this is where the study entered precarious grounds, in all my encounters with those comprising and playing their roles in the field of social movement activity in Durban, a defensive affect loomed. The boundaries between movement constituencies, intellectuals and other social actors with a "putative" interest in movement activity were highly guarded and charged with interpersonal friction. Conversational partners spoke of "outsiders'" Machiavellian interests in exploiting and manipulating communities for their own selfish gains. NGOs and other development agencies were castigated as ignorant of the true interests of impoverished communities whence social movements often emerged, and injuriously misrepresenting them. Academics and researchers, in particular, were seen to be inimical to social movement activities and, in the identification of specific individuals and organisations, ostracised from further participation. In effect, all of this seemed to suggest that "participants of social movements" were often members of geographically- and socially-distinct communities – discrete social groups whereupon "outsiders" chose to participate for various reasons. At the same time, relations between activists and activist-intellectuals were filled with tension, often reduced to what seemed to be personality clashes and a gauntlet of competitions over each other's claims to authority and legitimacy when studying a social movement.

I found in these dynamics the existence of a small but highly contextual body of publications on the subject. A fourth issue of the 2004 *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, edited by Gibson, revealed the existence of an acute line of questioning and criticism on the project of scientific inquiry on new social movements in South Africa; it was confirmed: where social movements were seen to be operating on an already precarious terrain with few allies, the intellectual work of researchers and academics were doubly suspicious. Specific social movements and contexts were brought out, particularly in an article dialogue between Pointer (2004) and Desai and Pithouse (2004) in the same journal issue, refracting critical questions of political and ethical responsibility in intellectual work on social movements in South Africa. Later publications by Desai (2006) and Walsh (2007), excavating further empirical manifestations of the conflicts and tensions between social movements and "outside" intellectual actors revealed the endurance of these issues. A cursory reading of similar texts from other locales, both local and global suggested that the term "popular-", "movement-" or "activist-intellectual" were appropriate when referring to an academic's or researcher's engagement with a social movement (discussed further in the following chapter). The benefit of earlier reading in dialogue with multiple conversational partners and observations on the state of the field helped to congeal what became the primary intellectual puzzle underpinning the present study, as: *What are the dynamics and processes between movement intellectuals and movement constituencies? How are these processes understood and constructed by participants of a social movement?*

Entry into this specific area of research interest was driven by a personal query as much as it was one of theoretical or empirical interest. As given before, I was (and remain) driven and informed by an academic community of social scientists and seek to illustrate some competency in the standard etiquette of proper research practice. But challenging this context were critical questions of political and ethical responsibilities in the practice of research being raised in another community of which I was ineluctably made a part of, having been led to the decision to study social movements. In my adopted research-oriented relationship to social movements, I began to think more honestly and self-critically on the impact all movement intellectuals play on poor people's movements,

characteristic as they are across South African society. It was in an attempt to reconcile the logic of my intellectual inquiry with the serious questions and prescriptions raised by the "indigenous participants" of movements that the study proceeded. Perhaps there was more to what a "scholar" meant in post-apartheid South Africa.

These two encounters – the first with a closer reading of new social movement scholarship and the second in dialogue with the contextual realities of social movement life in Durban – drew together to reformulate the theoretical and methodological frameworks of the present study. New social movement thinkers' suggestions on prioritizing the importance of subjectivities and participants' meaning-oriented dimensions in social movement life began to make more sense as the study consciously moved away from presuming objectivity or value-neutrality – scientific preferences that often lay behind the accusations of malicious intent between local intellectuals and social movements. It was the role of the sociologist or social theorist to adequately understand his / her role in the entire research process as well as relationships to those studied, prioritizing the views of movement participants before the imposition of total(ising) frameworks. Drawing on the publications and widespread sentiments of Durban's social movement life, the study was similarly driven to "correct" the research approach and develop an appropriately contextualised [later, understood as a "grounded theory" (Glaser, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1994)] approach to social movements in any given context. The methodological approach assumed is more fully explained in Chapter 3.

Encountering Eyerman and Jamison's (1991) "cognitive praxis approach" proved especially helpful and presently guides the theoretical and to a lesser extent, methodological "components" of the study. For these authors, social movements were "processes in formation", activities in which social actors continually create their own identities and forms of praxis. By using the term "cognitive praxis", the authors emphasise the creative role of consciousness and cognition in all human action, both individual and collective (2-3). The authors' thesis and relevance to the present study's dimensions are discussed more fully in passages within subsequent chapters, especially

their concept of the "movement intellectual" as a critical actor in the development and maintenance of a movement's cognitive praxis.

Speaking to a few well-renowned movement leaders and intellectuals helped to congeal what was to become the case-focus of the present study. The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA), located in Westcliff, Chatsworth, has roots in some of the earliest social movement activity in South Africa during the late 1990s. But its sustainability is not entirely in terms of a movement organisation so much as a residents association, organised around a commitment to represent the residents of Westcliff in housing, infrastructural and service-related needs to the e-Thekwini Durban City Council. The dual character of conducting daily operations in service of residents across Westcliff as well as the capacity to act episodically and publicly toward political authorities is a definitive feature of the WFRA, characteristic of many recently politicised community-based organizations (CBOs) in post-apartheid South Africa.

I began attending weekly meetings while periodically referring to a few pieces of research on the organization and its orientations toward social justice. In 1999 the Concerned Citizen's Group (CCG) conducted a survey of 504 families in both Westcliff and in the neighbouring area of Bayview, Unit 3. It revealed that 75 per cent lived below the poverty line while 58 per cent were unemployed and 42 per cent dependent on welfare grants (Dwyer, 2004: 9-10). It was apparent that in this climate of impoverishment and social hardship, the "daily operations" of the WFRA necessarily came to include questions of human rights and resistance against periodic water and electricity cut-offs, housing evictions and demands by the Council on outstanding rent arrears. Another finding of the survey was a pervasive reluctance to vote for the African National Congress (ANC)-led government in the then upcoming general elections as the ruling party was being increasingly identified as responsible for the actual socio-economic problems faced by residents in both communities.

In many ways, the formation and development of the WFRA was influenced by the parallel development of the CCG which was at the time, a loose alliance of well-known

members of Durban's Indian community along with several prominent intellectuals including the now retired sociologist and anti-apartheid activist, Professor Fatima Meer. As Dwyer (2004: 10) and Desai (2000: 10) have noted, the formation of the CCG certainly helped to inspire and revive flat-dwellers' associations across Chatsworth as a growing number of intellectuals, activists and representatives of various interested parties sought to find some relationship and terms of participation in the burgeoning community politics. Of course, it is the central interest of the present study to problematise exactly these relationships by conscious and informed study; hence, the primary intellectual puzzle encountered earlier may be brought to bear on the WFRA as a case study by asking, more contextually and holistically: What are the dynamics and processes between movement intellectuals and the WFRA? And how do WFRA participants understand and construct this relationship? The topic for the research came to rest at: *The Relationship between the Participants of Social Movements and Movement Intellectuals: A Case Study on the Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA).*

The Research Questions

Drawing on the new social movements approach, of which Eyerman and Jamison's (1991) work is a part of, the study seeks to develop an appropriate conceptualization of the development of the movement organisation to begin with. Prioritizing subjective dimensions and the importance of movement participants in such a construction, the first research question asks,

> How do WFRA participants conceive of the development of the movement organisation as a collective process of "meaning construction"?

Some of the primary findings (discussed in chapters 4 and 5) with respect to the above do indicate a general tendency of WFRA participants to relate the importance of "meanings" in the development of the organization. "Frames of reference" emerged as WFRA

participants began to assign specific meanings to and interpretations on their immediate environments. Another "process of formation" included the development of a collective identity as individual discontent was meaningfully articulated on a broader, collective platform thus bringing participants together in self-conscious group interests. Social learning was identified in the emergent WFRA, alongside several other internal and external processes.

Having established the dynamics and processes behind social movement conceptualization and development, the study is moreover concerned with the role/s of popular or movement intellectuals therein,

> How do WFRA participants construct the story of the movement organisation's development as constitutive of interactions with movement intellectuals?

Here, central findings indicate a selective identification by WFRA participants of who or what a "movement intellectual" is. The very identity of a movement intellectual was thus determined by the WFRA and its constituency and only in the context of that individual's engagement with the development of the community's politics. "Authority", "legitimacy" and "authenticity" were found to be crucial characteristics in any movement intellectual's relationship with the WFRA and were said to relate to the basic *ethical* comportment of participation in the movement. No movement intellectuals were identified in the WFRA committee or as indigenous to the WFRA and relate to broader participant-understandings on questions of leadership and organization. The construction of an "other" with which the WFRA was to engage with was found to be an important issue in the relationships between movement intellectuals and WFRA constituency.

The first two research questions problematise the intellectual puzzle in that they provide a developmental and process-oriented approach to the construction of the WFRA; secondly, allow for individual participants to provide "data" that meet the ontological and epistemological premises of the study. The questions are linked to each other as the first

deals with the development of the movement organisation as a "collective process of meaning construction" while the second deals with the role/s, if any, movement intellectuals play in that development. The third and final research question is a prescriptive one following from the first two, investigating how WFRA participants identify "lessons" and "warnings" for any general relationship between movement intellectuals and movement organisations,

> What lessons and warnings do WFRA participants provide for any general relationship between movement intellectuals and movement organisations?

WFRA participants reflected a wealth of prescriptive understandings on the latent and manifest conflicts in any relationship with outside social actors, including movement intellectuals. Both positive and negative terms of engagement were related by participants and correspond to lessons and warnings for future possible engagements and / or relationships in other settings. Negative engagements were found to occur both intentionally and unintentionally while positive engagements were revealed to be more ideals than actual, enduring realities.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter 2 provides a discussion on the salient theoretical paradigms in the study of social movements before taking on guidelines in the cognitive praxis approach of Eyerman and Jamison (1991). Movement intellectuals and social movements are given especial consideration in the discussion before restating the primary intellectual puzzle and central research questions.

Chapter 3 is in direct extension to the previous in that it focuses on several case-study reviews encountered during the scholarship review. The purpose of the chapter is to

provide a rich and detailed understanding of all relevant issues and to develop important themes to assist in the operationalization of the study in subsequent stages.

Chapter 4 presents a detailed explanation of the precise methodological approach assumed. Moving from a general concern with the project of qualitative-sociological research to the pragmatic, the chapter is concerned with illustrating how the study was conducted and its reasons for undertaking such an approach. The "grounded theory" approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, Strauss and Corbin, 1994) is explained as having developed the design and driven operationalization, discussed in various subsections including data sources, data generation methods, sampling design and data analysis.

Chapter 5 re-presents the data generated and is organised into a series of non-categorical, explanations and arguments relevant to the central research questions. The overall intention of the chapter is to emphasise the "findings" of the study with as much priority assigned to movement participants balanced with the more general interpretations of the author.

Chapter 6 attempts to combine the "smaller" arguments reached in the previous chapter to conclude on the study's primary intellectual puzzle. A diagram illustrating the positive and negative engagements between intellectuals and social movements is provided intersecting with epistemological and ontological dimensions; the discussions that follow pertain to the overall interest of the study.

Chapter 2
The Scholarship Discourse

Forms of life, like whirls, stay alive precisely because they are flexible, permanently in flux and able to absorb new material and discard that which is no longer thought to be useful. This means, however, that forms of life would die were they ever to become closed, static and repellent to change. They would not survive final codification and that precision which prompts the attempts at codification. To put it differently, languages and knowledge in the general need ambivalence as an obstacle to their aims. They tend to freeze the whirl, to bar all unwelcome input into the knowledge they control and attempt to seal from the "form of life" over which they wish to secure monopoly (Bauman and May, 2001: 178-9).

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview and discussion on the salient theoretical approaches to understanding social movements; including, the collective behavior tradition, resource mobilization theory, and the new social movements approach. Each theoretical approach is discussed with reference to leading works including key concepts developed by theorists working within the paradigm in question. The discussion is further concerned with expressing the primary political and sociological rationales underpinning the scholarship to evince the historically dynamic and contested relationship between "theory and reality" in the study of social movements.

The approach of the new social movements studies is given especial attention as it is within this discourse of scholarship the present study proceeds. The discussion extends to illustrate what are the unique dimensions to new social movements studies, especially

with respect to issues of reflexivity and constructivism. In keeping with the view that all theory develops in specific political and social contexts, it is shown how the new social movements approach offers novel means to generate valuable (and value-oriented) understanding on social movements.

Eyerman and Jamison's (1991) cognitive praxis approach is then considered and appropriated by the present study for its "theoretical guidelines". The salient concepts and general theoretical mode of inquiry as developed by Eyerman and Jamison (1991) are selectively reproduced for the purposes of deepening the present study's primary intellectual puzzle and central research questions. In particular, two dimensions are discussed: the notion of social movements as "processes in formation"; and, the dynamic and contested nature of "movement intellectuals" in those processes.

Having provided the reader with an appropriate introduction to the cognitive praxis approach, the study proceeds to discuss the relationships between movement intellectuals and social movements more closely. The roles and positions of intellectuals in social movements are briefly explored along with several definitions of movement intellectuals to provide a conceptual depth and detail; the discussion then moves to consider the "contentious" nature of the relationships between movement intellectuals and social movements.

Collective Behavior Theory

Early theorization on social movements concentrated on the importance of ideological factors and the threat they were seen to represent for the so-understood democratic political systems of the world, specifically the United States and other European countries. Social movements were conceptualised as non-institutional forms of collective behavior with potentially dangerous consequences for the security of established social life. The pursuit of theorization, drawing on the evidence of fascist movements

burgeoning in certain parts of the West during the late 1920s and 1930s, was to provide a rationalist account of their emergence, forms and function – more importantly, for the purposes of defending social consensus and order in modern (Western) societies.

Blumer's (1951) classification of crowd behavior in the political context of the rise of European fascism connected the phenomenon of social movements to other forms of collective behavior and thus introduced the subject as a subset of sociology[4]. For Blumer, the spontaneity of collective behavior was emphasised as disruptions in the standard routines of social life initiating further reactions across the polity; it was this collective behavior as "social unrest" or "disequilibrium" which included social movements as a subtype along with panics, crazes, riots and rumors. Turner and Killian (1957) developed Blumer's approach to collective behavior to include an account on the emergent norms and forms of order that may arise out of the creative destruction of routine forms of institutionalised life (Buechler, 2004: 49; Everyman and Jamison, 1991: 11). However, Blumer's concept of "symbolic interaction" did hold that the potential for creativity and learning was evident in social movements.

Smelser (1962), drawing on the structural-functionalist positions of the time (particularly Durkheim and Parsons), located the emergence of collective behavior in spontaneous responses to structural pressures in broader society. The structural account developed a concern with the political context in which collective behavior manifested. Smelser's concept of "structural conduciveness" was central to the explanation and rationalization of collective behavior in modern societies wherein he proposed several "precipitating factors" for an "outburst" in collective behavior. In all respects, collective behavior was said to emerge out of "structural strain", identified as the "deprivations", "conflicts", "discrepancies" as well as the "ambiguities" and "uncertainties" of the social structure. The generalised beliefs that accompany these forms of behavior were said to be

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[4] Early European theorists of crowd behavior, before the introduction of social movement phenomena into the collective behavior tradition, maintained that "[t]he cause of civil violence ... was the breakdown of rational control over human behavior through the spread of what one might call 'crowd mentality'" [(Rule, 1988: 83) in Buechler, 2004: 40]. This "mentality" of extreme emotional state and contagion as a violent danger to all rational and orderly life was carried forward into subsequent theorization on social movements.

inherently irrational "knee-jerk" reactions – hence the need for social controls to prevent their emergence and development.

Also within the structural-functionalist approach to collective behavior was "mass society theory" (Kornhauser, 1959) in which modern society was characterised by "isolation", "depersonalization", and "alienation" or "anomie". Here too, the social strain or breakdown in normal social life was said to explain the cause of psychological discontent, irrational ideas and the emergence of deviant behavior. Another variant within the collective behavior tradition included theories of "relative deprivation" (Gurr, 1970) in which the strain precipitating collective behavior was found primarily at the individual level where "frustration-aggression mechanisms" explained people's "compulsions" to engage in collective behavior.

Social movements under the collective behavior tradition, differentiated from other forms of collective action in varying degrees, were thus conceptualised as theoretically constituted (hence absolutised) objects in which *political judgment* played a central role. These value-based judgments were founded, in large part, on an inherent fear of social movement activity as a distinct challenge to the putative order, normality and equilibrium of modern societies, goal-oriented as they were toward building (self-declared) bourgeois utopias. Favored over collective behavior and social movement activity was the "mature" and "civilised" politics of organised labour and representation by political parties as distinct types of codified, rational, organised (hence acceptable) socio-political relations. In this way, the assumptions, perspectives and questions offered on social movement activity were as a direct result of a particular historical usage of the subject.

For Eyerman and Jamison (1991: 14), Cohen's (1985: 671-2) succinct summarization of the core assumptions of the collective behavior paradigm is appropriate: There are two distinct kinds of action: institutionalised-conventional and noninstitutional-collective behaviour; Non-institutional collective behaviour is action that is not guided by existing social norms but is formed to meet undefined or unstructured situations; These situations are understood in terms of a breakdown either in the organs of social control or in the

adequacy of normative integration, due to structural changes; The resulting strains, discontent, frustration, and aggression lead the individual to participate in collective behaviour; Noninstitutional-collective behaviour follows a "life-cycle", open to causal analysis, which moves from spontaneous crowd action to the formation of publics and social movements; And, the emergence and growth of movements within this cycle occurs through crude processes of communication: contagion, rumour, circular reaction, diffusion, etc.

Resource Mobilization Theory

As Kuhn (1962) noted, theoretical change has less to do with accurate (scientifically sustainable) descriptions of an object moving through time than with paradigmatic shifts in the core assumptions, perspectives and questions posed therein. As the dominant tradition "normalises" to exclude various contradictions and anomalies emerging out of changing socio-historical conditions, so too does it encounter a "crisis" of predictive and explanatory content. These "contradictions" and "anomalies" are then pursued by new thinkers interested in accounting for their development, thus undermining the previous paradigm and assisting the "evolution" of a new paradigm of theoretical interest.

The emergence and development of resource mobilization theory can be explained as a paradigmatic shift in the study of social movements based on an evolving critique of the collective behavior tradition. The latter's concern with social consensus and integration fell under the critiques raised by the disruptive, revolutionary and anti-authoritarian contexts of socio-political change occurring from the 1960s and, eventually, gave way to resource mobilization theorists' emphasis on system-wide conflict, domination and resistance. New questions were posed on the "reality" of social movements in these altered contexts; in fact, deepening the constitution of social movements as an object of clarity and "proper" analysis.

Activists and sociologists with protest experience gained during the 1960s disconfirmed the basic assumptions of the collective behavior tradition such as "breakdown" or "structural strain" as adequate explanatory or descriptive concepts on the subject of social movements. Evidence of new forms of protest challenged earlier distinctions between "orderly" and "disorderly" politics, disconfirming hypotheses and the core assumptions of the earlier paradigm. Analytically, resource mobilization theories displaced the primacy of individual discontent and structural strain with "intermediary" analyses concerning the role of organization and resources in the processes of mobilization as well as the "structure of opportunities" in the rise and decline of movement activity[5].

In a seminal work within the resource mobilization perspective, McCarthy and Zald (1976) illustrated the paradigm's growing opposition to the collective behavior tradition thus:

> We are willing to assume (Turner and Killian [1972] call the assumption extreme) "...that there is always enough discontent in any society to supply the grass-roots support for a movement if the movement is effectively organised and has at its disposal the power and resources of some established elite group" (251). For some purposes we go even further: grievances and discontent may be defined, created, and manipulated by issue entrepreneurs and organizations.

In other words, it was to become a characteristic feature of the resource mobilization approach that "grievances and disaffection are a fairly permanent and recurring feature of the historical landscape" (1978: 298). Furthermore, it was shown that those who engage in protest are often less deprived and better integrated than those who do not and that different sites of protest are often connected (or become connected) by close social networks as opposed to random contagion or rumours (Oberschall, 1973; Useem, 1980).

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[5] Assumptions on the legitimacy and rationality of social protest energised activists who could pursue their objectives without the stigmatization and vilification that often accompanied participation in "collective behavior protests". No longer were activists pigeonholed as those susceptible to "emotionality", desperate for belonging (Hoffer, 1951), alienated to the point of personal problems (Klapp, 1969), or struggling against unresolved Oedipal issues (Smelser, 1962).

For Buechler (2004: 51-2), the resource mobilization perspective challenged the assumptions of the collective behavior tradition in four ways: It rejected the inclusion of social movements as another type of collective action, suggesting that they were sufficiently unique to require their own mode of analysis; Social movements were seen to be enduring, patterned and institutionalised, thereby resisting its classification into noninstitutionalised forms of behavior; The participant of social movement activity was reconceptualised as a rational actor, calculating costs and benefits in undertaking various tasks; And, the political dimensions of social movements were emphasised as they were now considered to be the legitimate expression of group interests, thus displacing the psychological explanations of the earlier collective behavior tradition.

By the early 1970s, the resource mobilization paradigm had brought new energy to social movement research, showing a notable "vitality" (Zald, 1991); as Morris and Herring (1987) demonstrated in a content analysis of journal articles, by 1980, resource mobilization theory approaches constituted 71% of articles devoted to social movements in four major international social science journals.

Olson (1965) introduced the rational actor to the study of social movements; Leites and Wolfe (1970) whose application of rational choice theory to peasant involvement in guerilla warfare extended this conceptual innovation on the role of the actor in social movement life. Lipsky (1968) illustrated both the direct and indirect effects violence and protest had on authorities, while Gamson's (1968) thesis emphasised the differential distribution of political access and resources for strategies of influence. Oberschall (1973) focused on risk / reward dynamics and mobilization issues in group and organizational contexts. For McCarthy and Zald (1973, 1977), the point of departure was that of the social movement organization (SMO) and the "movement entrepreneur" looking outward for resources and developing strategies and tactics to achieve collective goals. Characteristic of the resource mobilization approach's interest in strategic issues, Gamson's (1975) publication considered the role of tactics and organization in the outcomes of collective movements.

An increasingly prominent variant of the resource mobilization approach (often debated to be paradigmatic in its own right) focused on "political opportunities" and the relationship between social movements and the state (Eisinger, 1973; Jenkins and Perrow, 1977; McAdam, 1982; Perrow, 1979). A key theorists herein, Tilly (1964, 1969, 1978, 1984), held that collective action is always-already linked to the state as state action often encroaches upon local contexts, generating resistance and spurring "repertoires of contention" that are either then legitimated or de-legitimated by the state. A key concept within this variant is "political opportunity structure" which is said to "influence the choice of protest strategies and the impact of social movements on their environment" [Kitschelt, 1986: 58; similar to Skocpol's (1979) text on the relationship between states and social revolutions].

For Zald (1992: 332), the core assumptions of the resource mobilization perspective can be argued to include the following: Behavior entails costs; therefore grievances or deprivation do not automatically or easily translate into social movement activity, especially high-risk social movement activity. The weighing of costs and benefits, no matter how primitive, implies choice and rationality at some level; Mobilization of resources may occur from within the aggrieved group but also from many other sources; Resources are mobilised and organised; thus organizing activity is critical; The costs of participating may be raised or lowered by state and societal supports or repression; and, just as mobilization is a large problematic, so too are movement outcomes. There is no direct or one-to-one correspondence between amount of mobilization and movement success (332-333).

It has to be noted that the emergence and growth of resource mobilization theory was based on experiences immediately relevant to North American and, to a lesser extent European socio-political changes, such as the civil rights movement in the United States (McAdam, 1982). Like the earlier collective behavior tradition, the "typical" society referred to in resource mobilization theory excluded the vast heterogeneity of social, political and cultural forms of life evident in post-colonial, faith-based, communal, or quasi-socialist societies, for example. "Based on a particular conception of power in

America" (McAdam, 1982: 36) and countries like it, the resource mobilization approach was subsequently criticised for its insensitivity to wider contexts and configurations. Analysts such as Kerbo (1982), Kitchelt (1991), Perrow (1979), Snyder and Kelly (1979) and Turner (1981) challenged the context-dependent empirical grounds of resource mobilization theory's context-independent claims. New "anomalies" and "contradictions" were then expressed, albeit assimilated back into the framework to enhance the explanatory and predictive content[6].

The enduring and "exceptional vitality" of resource mobilization theory can be attributed to the sustained incorporation of challenge and critique from other theoretical and empirical grounds (Buechler, 2004: 52-3; Clemens and Minkoff, 2004: 156; Cress and Snow, 1996: 1089). Unlike the determinism of the collective behavior approach underpinned by highly conservative political values that was to inevitably clash in incongruity with socio-historical forces, resource mobilization theory's attempts to resist the foreclosure of questions outside of its initial form and function is evident in a wide and ongoing range of studies across multiple locales.

However, recent structural transformations and long-range political and cultural changes that have undoubtedly created new sources of conflict and new collective identities, have altogether displaced resource mobilization theory's *ontological* position in explaining social movements with any inviolable advantage. Dominant theorists within what has been referred to as the "new social movements approach" have expressed the profound crisis in all social life, occurring across the North and South (more particularly and pronounced in western Europe and Latin America), accompanied by a reorientation of theory and its relation to the social world(s). Unlike Kuhn's (1962) evolution of paradigm from one to the next building toward some cumulative worth, the very stability of the social sciences have been challenged by novel attempts to grasp the immanent *in*stability

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[6] According to Kerbo (1982), different socio-economic contexts produce different types of movements: "movements of crisis" refer to "collective action brought about by life-disrupting situations" (653) while "movements of affluence", on the other hand, refer to "collective action in which the major participants are not motivated by immediate life-threatening situations of political or economic crisis" (654). The resource mobilization approach, in its explicit neglect of factors of deprivation, "leads to an adequate explanation of only one type of movement, ... movements of affluence" (652).

and *un*predictability of contemporary life, characterised by an increasing attention paid to issues of subjectivity, semiotics and the hermeneutic sciences. Thus, one cannot speak of resource mobilization theory's successor in the ordinary sense; what is new to the "new social movements approach" discussed below is a qualitatively different, *ahistorical* concern with generating understandings on social movements based on peoples' own accounts of their social and psychological worlds and recognizing the multiple meanings, experiences and subjectivities therein.

New Social Movement Studies

It is certainly the case that much within collective behavior theory conveyed all that was said to be maladaptive, dangerous and pathological of social movement activity, often undifferentiated from a mass of forms of "people going crazy together" (Martin, 1920). But as social movement theory, under the dominance of the resource mobilization paradigm, began to encounter the characteristic movements of the late 1970s and 1980s, new questions on the social psychology of social protest were raised. By the mid-1980s, Klandermans had suggested that "resource mobilization had gone too far in nearly abandoning the social-psychological analysis of social movements" (1984: 583 -84); similarly, Cohen (1985: 688) had asked: "Hasn't the critique of the collective behavior tradition thrown the baby with the bathwater by excluding the analysis of values, norms, ideologies, projects, culture, and identity in other than instrumental terms?"

Criticisms emerged on the blind-spots, under-emphases and errors of resource mobilization theory's conscious and deliberate "rebellion" against earlier collective behavior studies (Morris and Herring, 1987), even by those self-described as resource mobilization theorists (including, Ferree and Miller, 1985; Fireman and Gamson, 1979; Klandermans, 1988; Snow *et al*, 1986). As mentioned earlier, the rebuttal of early collective behavior theory's premise on the irrationality of collective behavior and the derogatory views that were implied spurred resource mobilization theorists to establish

models that could re-instill rationality to the actors and actions of social movements. But, as Turner and Killian (1987) note, this came at the cost of separating emotion from reason where the two are not irreconcilable opposites: "To attempt to divide the actions of individuals into 'rational' versus 'emotional', or 'irrational' types is to deny the complexity of human behavior" (14).

Similarly distasteful of spontaneous forms of social protest, and with a tendency to associate all forms of organization with the formal-bureaucratic type, resource mobilization theory tended to exhibit what Rosenthal and Schwartz (1989) described as "hyperrational" accounts, ignoring, for example, the energy released from enthusiasm, feelings of solidarity and communal sharing evident in much movement activity. And by prioritizing the political over the psychological, in fact, maintaining the discipline of boundaries between the two as separate levels of analysis, resource mobilization sought to escape the subjective experiences of social movement activity to legitimate its own developing interests. As Ferree and Miller (1985: 39) noted,

> Costs and benefits play a role in generating movement support, but the translation of objective social relationships into subjectively experienced group interests is also critical in building movements, as in political activity generally.

For Mueller (1992: 6) a resurgent social psychology of social movements drawing on the resource mobilization paradigm hinged on three central elements: A reconceptualization of the actor now seen to be socially located or "embedded" in terms of group identities and rooted in social networks. In contrast to the resource mobilization approach which based its analyses on the rational actor model, social psychological explanations called attention to the subjective perceptions attached to social location and questioned the premise of "a single objective reality at the core of rational choice models" (Mueller, 1992: 7); An appreciation of the various contexts in which face-to-face interaction is the social setting from which multiple meanings critical to the interpretation of collective identities, resources, grievances, opportunities and risks are created, interpreted, and transformed; And, a specification on the socio-political culture of which meanings and

symbols on collective identity are developed and shared in "collective action frames"[7].
By discounting grievances and other ideas and beliefs as given, resource mobilization
theory had ignored the wider cultural configurations in which mobilization occurred.

By the late 1980s, the study of social movements and collective action had taken a
"cultural turn" drawing on the broader sociological works of Habermas (1981), Laclau
and Mouffe (1985), Offe (1985) and Touraine (1971, 1977, 1981, 1988). Issues of
meaning and identity were given special attention (Ingelhart, 1979, 1977; Melucci, 1989,
1988, 1985, 1980) as well as exhibiting an explicit interest in the cognitive and ideational
dimensions to social movement activity (Cohen, 1985; Eyerman and Jamison, 1991;
Ferree and Miller, 1985; Fireman and Gamson, 1979; Jenkins, 1983; Klandermans, 1984;
Zurcher and Snow, 1981).

McAdam's (1982) concept of "cognitive liberation" signified the transformation of
consciousness among potential participants in collective action as a change that could
occur in three ways: the loss of legitimacy in a social system; specific groups begin to
make demands for change; and, a development in that group's sense of political
effectiveness. Gamson (1989) introduced the importance of public discourse and
"ideological packages" in the mobilization of social movements by stressing the role of
the mass media and the symbolic struggles over meanings and interpretations they are
ineluctably engaged in. For Gamson, social movements contribute to a public discourse
by disseminating ideological packages at any particular moment in a given society but
because the media acts as both a terrain and actor in which various other ideological
packages circulate, competition ensues to determine the content of public discourse itself.

Klandermans (1988) distinguished between "consensus mobilization" and "consensus
formation" where the former is defined as a deliberate attempt to create consensus among
a group in a population and the latter referring to the spontaneous convergence of
meaning in social networks and subcultures. For Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford
(1986), the "cognitive frame" of individual participants were described in an alignment

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[7] Discussed below

with the "ideological frame" of a particular movement organization. The capacity of social movements to "frame"[8] relevant conditions and events were given priority in understanding the mobilization of potential adherents and constituents, bystander support and as a strategy against opponents. Snow and Benford (1988) developed this further to arrive at the concept of "frame alignment" as a key factor in the success of a movement's framing initiatives. They suggested that the two key determinants of effective framing include: the nature of the belief system held by potential participants; and, the extent to which framing initiatives accord with the "life world" of potential participants.

The central concept of "historicity" in Touraine's sociology of action is understood as the capacity of what he referred to as "post-industrial society" to "act upon itself", or to reshape the cultural models that guide social life. Touraine defined historicity as,

> the set of cultural, cognitive, economic, and ethical models by means of which a collectivity sets up relations with its environment; in other words, produces … a culture (1988: 40).

For Touraine, culture is more than an abstract structure for social relations but the fundamental object of historical contention where social actors compete with others in order to manage and control outcomes of such a contention. In this way, culture is moreover a "stake", or a set of resources and models that is always open to claimants (1988: 8).

Touraine, perhaps more clearly than any other new social movement thinker, showed how the relationship between theory and its "take on objects of knowledge" should be displaced in favor of a constructivist and reflexive sociology of knowledge. After Touraine, social movements could no longer be theorised as the "objects" of theory, but as the products of action in a broader struggle to give "cultural orientations a social form" (1988: 42). Touraine maintained,

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[8] Drawing on Goffman's (1959) concept to entail "assigning meaning to" and "interpreting".

Most of all, the empiricist illusion must be clearly rejected: It is impossible to define an object of study called "social movements" without first selecting a general mode of analysis of social life on the basis of which a category of facts called social movements can be constituted (1988a: 63).

New social movement thinkers have beyond gone an exclusive focus on either the "theory" or "reality" of social movement life. Where collective behavior and resource mobilization paradigms sought to elicit strictly defined data and empirically-based knowledge for particular ends, many thinkers writing after the subjective turn in the study of social movements have offered comparatively radical alternatives in transcending traditional dichotomies and analytical blind-spots. As the distinguished Latin American thinker, Jelin notes:

It is the researcher who proposes the reading of a set of practices as a social movement ... Social movements are objects constructed by the researcher, which do not necessarily coincide with the empirical forms of collective action. Seen from the outside, they may present a certain degree of unity, but internally they are always heterogeneous, diverse (1986: 22).

Cardoso in the same vein, warns,

movements form a unity only when we look at them from the outside searching for similarities. If we prioritise their differences, they cease to form a uniform object, showing their fragmentation (1987: 32).

For Melucci (1989), social movements are in themselves social constructions – *processes* through which actors produce meanings, dialogue, bargain, and make decisions. Invisible or "submerged networks" in the activities of daily life resurface in contexts where collective actors encounter contestation or conflict; the central task for these emergent groups is the formation and coherence of a collective identity marked by shared views of

the social milieu as well as shared goals and attitudes on the nature and possibilities of collective action.

Similarly, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) avoid a coherent definition of "social movement"; instead, propose a complex theoretical system in which collective actions are understood as the "formation of identities". For these authors, social agents are "essentially decentered" but become fixed by "hegemonic practices" contingent upon political processes; but since hegemonic practices can never fully fix these identities (as the social is always open and fluid) the subjectivity of every subject position will always remain *provisionally* fixed (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 86-7).

Thus, assessing the literature on social protest, it was conclusively remarked by Klandermans (1989) that,

> the insight is winning ground that one's interpretation rather than reality itself, guide political actions ... Interpreting grievances and raising expectations of success are the core of the social construction of protest (121-22).

While it is certainly the case that a number of new social movement studies have been and continue to be conducted in a particular self-regard of constituting and contributing to a larger corpus of theoretical paradigm (then referred to as the "identity-centered paradigm"), Klandermans observed the difficulty in discerning much of a "system" in the literature at all (1992: 78); instead, he suggested an awareness on what were the,

> crucial characteristics of the processes of signifying, interpreting, and constructing meaning: that is, they are *social*, they take place in interaction among individuals, and thus they are conceptualised as the social construction of protest (1992: 78).

In this sense, the social construction of protest is more than the mere study of ideas out of context but is necessarily rooted in the dynamic, interactive and contingent worlds of specific social movement processes and identities (1992: 78).

It has to be reiterated that the subjective turn in the study of social movements, rooted in the socio-political and cultural changes of post- or late modern life, have not superseded resource mobilization theory in the Khunian, evolutionary sense, as if displaced by some other more accurate explanatory framework with better concepts and methods. Concepts such as "resources", "organization" or the calculations of costs and benefits, for example, continue to remain relevant to any appropriate understanding on social movement phenomena, albeit only insofar as they are brought to bear on the primary concerns raised by new social movement studies. Hence Starn's (1992) observation that in theorising social movements, we must,

> share the postmodern skepticism about model-building and master narratives without jettisoning modernist concerns for how and why ... [movement] studies need to be more sensitive to the contours of meaning. But this should accompany, not replace, the study of tactics, interests, and organization.

Similarly, Melucci's constructivist view on the processes of "structure" and "actor" do not imply a wholesale rejection of core concepts in earlier structural models of collective action but an ontological *re-appropriation* of them from one of object-reality to subjectively-produced reality; the concepts in resource mobilization theory, he suggested, should be seen to "imply the capacity of the actors to perceive, evaluate and determine the possibilities and limits afforded by the environment" (1988a: 342), a characteristic feature of the human dimension.

Guidelines in the "Cognitive Praxis Approach"

The present study attempts to draw on and develop this discourse on understanding social movements as found in dynamic environments and perpetually in process, where no final stake is claimed by any actor or group. The relationship between theory and the development of its intellectual puzzle draws on the lessons of the historical development of social movement theory to avoid an over-reliance on totalizing frameworks, encapsulating concepts, or to attempt any validation on key hypotheses. With the theoretical-methodological approach suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1994) in the grounded theory approach discussed more extensively in the following chapter, the research intends to "generate" theory as opposed to "discovering" it, let alone "proving" it. In this way, the salient concepts and theoretical modes of inquiry resulting from other empirical studies operate as guides in the present study's constructivist approach, in no way attempting to limit theory altogether,

> *Theoretical agnosticism* is a better watchword than theoretical ignorance to sum up the ways of using the literature at the early stages of the flow of work in grounded theory (Pidgeon and Henwood, 2004: 634).

To do so, the study draws primarily on the "cognitive praxis" approach developed by Eyerman and Jamison (1991) for an appropriate conceptualization of social movements and comprehension and engagement with the study's intellectual puzzle. For Eyerman and Jamison (1991), it is important to look at social movements "through the complex lens of a social theory of knowledge that is both historically and politically informed" (2). Two interrelated dimensions to their approach are discussed here: the process of social movement formation and action and the priority assigned to movement intellectuals in that process.

> We view social movements as processes in formation. We study them as forms of activity by which individuals create new kinds of social identities. All social life

can be seen as a combination of action and construction, forms of practical activity that are informed by some underlying project. Most often implicitly and even unconsciously, social action is conditioned by the actors' own "frames of reference" in constant interaction with the social environment or context. Action is neither predetermined nor completely self-willed; its meaning is derived from the context in which it is carried out and the understanding that actors bring to it and/or derive from it. By using the term cognitive praxis, we want to emphasise the creative role of consciousness and cognition in all human action, individual and collective (1991: 2-3).

Prioritizing the subjective views of social movement participants in the active creation and articulation of their own worlds, Eyerman and Jamison (1991) elaborate on an appropriate conception of social movements thus,

We conceive of social movements as forms of cognitive praxis which are shaped by both external and internal political processes. Social movements express shifts in the consciousness of actors as they are articulated in the interactions between activists and their oppositions(s) in historically situated political and cultural contexts. The content of this consciousness, what we call the cognitive praxis of a movement, is thus socially conditioned: it depends upon a conceptualization of a problem which is bound by the concerns of historically situated actors and on the reactions of their opponents. In other words, social movements are the result of an interactional process which centers around the articulation of a collective identity" (4).

The process-oriented approach to social movements conceptualised by Eyerman and Jamison is further linked to a second important concept – the movement intellectual. Where the cognitive praxis of a social movement is understood to be a "deep structure" that allows for the development of boundaries around a movement as it develops over time, movement intellectuals are those "historical actors who make visible the underlying

cognitive praxis" (44). The authors define "movement intellectuals", a distinct category of intellectuals more generally, as,

> those intellectuals who gain the status and the self-perception of being "intellectuals" in the context of their participation in political movements rather than through the institutions of the established culture (15).

Within the cognitive praxis approach, social movements are defined as the outcome of variegated and contingent processes; in contrast to earlier paradigmatic definitions of social movements as static, objective phenomena, Eyerman and Jamison (1991) express the importance of dynamics in the (ephemeral) constitution of social movements thus,

> The collective articulation of movement identity can be likened to a process of social learning in which movement organizations act as structuring forces, opening a space in which creative interaction between individuals can take place. At a certain point in time, the interaction takes on a further dimension, as different organizations together carve out an actual societal space, transforming what began as interpersonal interests into interorganizational concerns, that is, from individual to wider social terms.

The transition from a formative to an organizational phase is what Eyerman and Jamison (1991) contend to be a distinguishing feature of social movements, dissimilar to other formal, "closed" organisations or special interest groups. It is more like a cognitive territory, "a new conceptual space that is filled by a dynamic interaction between different groups and organisations" (55). Furthermore, it is through tensions between different organizations and individuals over "defining and acting in that conceptual space" that the temporary identity of a social movement is formed (55). In other words, as the authors insist, cognitive praxis does not come ready-made to a social movement; it is in the (contingent) dynamics behind the creation, articulation and formulation of new knowledge that a social movement defines itself in a society,

Not until the theme has been articulated, not until the tensions have been formulated in a new conceptual space can a social movement come into being, and this is a very uncertain process involving many contingencies. Our point here is that among those contingencies the ability of "movement intellectuals" to formulate the knowledge interests of the emergent social movement is particularly crucial (56).

Movement Intellectuals and Social Movements

Thus, within the cognitive praxis approach to understanding social movements, the importance of movement intellectuals as constitutive actors in the process of interpretation and reflection in forms of protest is maintained. Of course, it is social actors who interpret specific situations as unjust, identifying victims and perpetrators, and translate local grievances into broader claims through multiple courses of action. Movement intellectuals use these interpretations to convince potential supporters, fellow activists, and adversaries on the legitimacy of their views, in the process, defining collective identities and salient issues of contention. Benford and Snow's (2000: 611) concept of "meaning work" as "the production of mobilizing and counter-mobilizing ideas and meanings" is thus equally relevant to the importance of movement intellectuals in the articulation of protest and the constitution of a movement.

Baud and Rutten (2004: 1) employ the concept of "framing"[9] discussed earlier to explore the role of what they refer to as "popular intellectuals"[10] in the articulation of protest. More importantly, they assert that framing is the work of individuals who are instrumental in interpreting conditions and articulating demands (as opposed to the vague

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[9] To reiterate, framing refers to "the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves as legitimate and motivate collective action" (McAdam *et al*, 1996: 1 – 20)

[10] "Popular-", "Activist-", and "Movement-intellectuals" are terms used interchangeably in the present study; this is however, not to gloss over any internal differentiations. The multiple functions and identities of those "similar to" popular intellectuals are discussed below.

conception of social movements having an agency entirely of their own) (2). They define "popular intellectuals" as

> persons who – formally educated or not – aim to understand society in order to change it, with the interests of popular classes in mind. They seek to define the problems of subaltern groups, articulate their grievances, and frame their social and political demands (2).

The concept of framing is useful insofar as it provides an individual-level analysis of the relationship between specific persons and movements as well as a description on the dynamics involved at this level. It corrects the common error of reifying social movements as organizational entities devoid of multiple subjectivities; instead, insists on understanding social movements as dynamic, open and contested spaces.

A concern with the dynamic relationship between movement intellectuals and social movement life is further developed by the broader contributions of the Italian Marxist, Gramsci (1971) who notes,

> Each man … outside of his professional activity, carries on some form of intellectual activity, that is, he is a "philosopher", … he participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is, to bring into being new modes of thought (9).

However, the function of intellectuals, he maintained, are reserved for those who specialise in intellectual work – "All men are intellectuals, but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals" (9). Maintaining this separation, Gramsci distinguished between "organic" and "traditional intellectuals" where the latter perceive themselves as politically independent and autonomous but in reality defending the interests of the hegemonic classes; the former, the organic intellectuals, possess structural ties to particular, subaltern classes and demonstrate genuine political and social commitments.

Notwithstanding other levels of complexity in Gramsci's thought, he observed that as a socio-economic class becomes self-conscious, it produces its own organic intellectuals who begin to articulate the interests of that particular class.

Similarly, for Eyerman and Jamison (1991: 94), all activists in social movements are, in some sense, movement intellectuals, as activism invariably contributes to the formation of a movement's cognitive praxis. However, all activists do not participate equally in the cognitive praxis of social movements – individuals are differentially visible as organisers, spokespersons or leaders, often playing widely divergent and contradictory roles – "Paraphrasing Grasmci, we can say what while all activists are intellectuals, all activists do not have the function of intellectuals in social movements" (94).

Inspired by Eyerman and Jamison's (1991) approach, Baud and Rutten (2004) distinguish three types of intellectuals (insisting on the presence of fluid boundaries between them) who arise during specific modes in the movement's development – "innovators", "movement intellectuals" and "movement allies".

"Innovators" are defined as intellectuals who innovate languages and new interpretive frames that have the potential to articulate collective interests and identities,

> They may operate in "cultural niches" such as universities, depend on the media to get their message heard, and may retain a certain autonomy from social movements and other organizations. But their ideas are essential in inspiring social movements, which may adopt their ideas for activist use ... such intellectuals, then, may be particularly important in the initial stages of social movements (Baud and Rutten, 2004: 198)

Baud and Rutten's (2004) second type, "movement intellectuals" are directly rooted in social movements; described thus,

These intellectuals have the explicit vocation of promoting and developing a collective action frame in the service of social movements. They consist of framing specialists who play a particularly significant role in the more 'mature' stages of a movement. Again, this is a mixed lot. On the one hand, they include persons with established credentials as intellectuals, who link up to a social movement or are instrumental in its emergence ... On the other hand, they include persons with little formal education or intellectual status, who may be "schooled" into the position of intellectuals within the social movement itself (199).

"Movement allies" form the third type to include intellectuals who present their expertise and other capacities at the disposal of movements, at the time when these movements are already established and have received extensive public attention – "In the process, they link their established audiences of readers and film-viewers to the activist message" (2004: 200).

For Baud and Rutten (2004: 4-5), Gramsci's analysis is useful for the articulation of social protest in three ways: It favors a historical, dynamic analysis of the position of intellectuals. As Eyerman (1994), extending this line of analysis noted, intellectuals are "an historically emergent category, continually being reinvented" (99) and shows how social movements became new "arenas ... where 'intellectuals' can be made" (11); It invites us to analyse the diverse social and political positions of intellectuals in different societal settings. Because Gramsci's analysis was situated in and sought to comment on Italian society, the opportunity in widening the analysis to non-Western European conditions is made available; And, it asks pertinent questions on the relations between popular intellectuals and social groups to which they belong, or for which they seek to represent. While Gramsci insisted on the emergence of intellectuals from within the popular classes, in the class-relations of a given society, this is not always the case as history shows. Tensions always exist between intellectual leaders and the mass-based support, especially on issues concerning the former's legitimacy and representativity.

The last of these three points is especially important to the present study and its intellectual puzzle, raising specific questions on the representativity and legitimacy of popular intellectuals and the constituencies they seek to engage with.

On the necessity of grasping the contentious dynamics between movements themselves, Zald and McCarthy (1987) state:

> Whether we study revolutionary movements, broad or narrow social reform movements, or religious movements, we find a variety of SMOs [social movement organizations] or groups, linked to various segments of supporting constituencies (both institutional and individual), competing among themselves for resources and symbolic leadership, sharing facilities and resources at other times, developing stable and differentiated functions, occasionally merging into ad hoc coalitions, and occasionally engaging in all-out war against each other (1987: 161).

Similarly, Benford (1993: 681) notes that movements often compete with one another over instrumental resources such as money, constituents and third party support as well as over "symbolic" resources such as territory, status and prestige. For McAdam *et al* (2003), movements develop interpretations of their world in a continuous dialogue with other movements and social actors; they emphasise "the interactive construction of disputes among challengers, their opponents, elements of the state, third parties, and the media" (44) as a crucial component to framing efforts. Interpretive work is in this way an ongoing process, including the interactive processes of "talk, persuasion, arguing, contestation, interpersonal influence, subtle rhetoric posturing, outright marketing that modify – indeed, continually modify – the contents of interpretive frames" (Oliver and Johnstone, 2000: 42).

Importantly, for Baud and Rutten (2004: 8), the highly iterative and contested nature of interpretive work a movement engages in is a function of movement intellectuals

associated therewith. Thus, it is important to note that the very definition of a "popular intellectual" is premised on the dynamic nature of a movement's framing efforts,

> [Popular intellectuals] are acknowledged as producers of meaning and as representatives of collective interests by a popular group or local society. However, their legitimacy and authority is never uncontested and all the time new "intellectuals" and intellectual leaders emerge who may challenge their legitimacy, or who may express new or previously silenced interests of specific populations (for example, women, peasants, younger generations, indigenous groups).

The political position of popular intellectuals is always contested and subject to the interactive contexts in which they compete with other social actors including other popular intellectuals. The authors continue to note that to be able to act and function in a meaningful way – to engage in meaning work on a social movement – intellectuals need to be recognised and accepted by the rank-and-file. At the same time, they need to possess authority and their knowledge and suggestions must elicit some measure of respect (9). However, this "balancing act" invariably sets them apart from the rest of the political movement as intellectuals often share very little of the daily realities and world views of indigenous members of the community: "... to gain respect and authority among followers and wider audiences is not an easy task, because the nature of their work makes popular intellectuals vulnerable to accusations that they are unpractical dreamers, pedantic snobs, or simply unreliable activists" (10).

In these circumstances, note Baud and Rutten,

> Trust between (intellectual) leaders is ... not self-evident, and it may not last long. Too many politicians and intellectuals pretend to defend the interests of "the people" without really caring for or even understanding these interests. Among intellectuals, and between intellectuals and their followers, there exists a constant struggle over the content and direction of contentious politics ... Popular

intellectuals are embedded in relations of power, not only between social movements and powerholders, but also within social movements (2004: 10).

The Intellectual Puzzle and Central Research Questions

Based on the above, the present study defines its intellectual puzzle as an enquiry into the dynamics behind movement intellectuals and social movement constituencies in a specific context. Guided by Eyerman and Jamison's (1991) cognitive praxis approach, and attempting to put into practice the implicit assumptions of the new social movements approach, the puzzle is concerned with understanding how these dynamics come to constitute the movement itself – its identity, development, praxis and temporality (but as a puzzle, does not seek "solutions" but various and possible arguments in response). By placing both the movement intellectual and movement in its dialogical and reflexive contexts, the puzzle asks: *what story can gleaned from an appropriate grasp of the dynamics between movement intellectuals and the movement as re-told or constructed by the those movement participants?*

The research questions problematise the intellectual puzzle in that they provide a developmental and process-oriented approach to the construction of WFRA participants' frames; and secondly, allow for individual participants to provide "data" that meet the ontological and epistemological premises of the study. The first two research questions are linked to each other as the first deals with the development of the movement organization as a "collective process of meaning construction"; the second dealing with the role/s, if any, movement intellectuals play in that development. The third and final research question is a prescriptive one following from the first two, investigating how WFRA participants identify "lessons" and "warnings" for any general relationship between movement intellectuals and movement organizations.

Chapter 3

Social Movements and Movement Intellectuals: A Review of Case-Studies

Who or what is an intellectual? Who or what is the intellectual accountable to? ... Are we still within a world-historical conjuncture where there are the "leaders" and the "led" – a situation that necessitates the avant-gaurdism of the intellectual? Or, have we reached a stage where the very category of "the intellectual" has become historically obsolescent? And indeed, when we talk about "our" world-historical conjuncture, what particular world or worlds are we talking about: First, Second, or Third World, dominant subject positions or subaltern? ...Will not each situation produce its own kind of intellectual formation, in response to its own specific agendas and priorities? (Radhakrishnan, 1990: 61).

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of several pieces of scholarship relevant to the study at hand. Various concepts, arguments and opinions expressed in this chapter are relevant insofar as they contextualise the present study within a broader discourse of scholarship more clearly; and, provide a better, more concise understanding on core issues in the study's primary intellectual puzzle and central research questions. More importantly, the chapter's case-reviews assist with the presentation of findings and arguments made in the final chapters, albeit, by partial synthesis and contextualisation.

Bose, P. (2004). "Critics and Experts, Activists and Academics: Intellectuals in the Fight for Social and Ecological Justice in the Narmada Valley, India" in Baud, M and Rutten, R. (eds.). Popular Intellectuals and Social Movements: Framing Protest in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. *Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. Pp. 19 – 40.*

Bose (2004) examines the role of popular intellectuals in the rise of the *Narmada Bachao Andolan* (NBA) or "Save the Narmada Movement", an umbrella movement alliance opposed to the building of large dams in the Narmada Valley of Central India. The author focuses on two of the struggle's most prominent movement intellectuals, Medha Patkar and Arundhati Roy and the relationship these individuals have with the movement itself (133). The article considers both Patkar and Roy's framing efforts to publicise the NBA struggle to local, national and international audiences as well as their capacity to mobilise the actual constituents during collective actions. Particularly, Bose (2004) considers some of the challenges faced by these movement leaders not only from the proponents of the dam projects, but from other movement intellectuals and activists as well. In so doing, he raises critical questions on issues of representation and the movement's "voice" as well as questioning commonly held assumptions about "insiders" and "outsiders" and their competing claims to authenticity and legitimacy in the anti-dam movement.

Drawing on Foucault (1980: 126 – 132), Bose (2004: 135) identifies two types of intellectuals in the NBA: the "critics" and the "experts",

> The latter are a ubiquitous presence in the Narmada Valley, the legions of engineers, scientists, and administrators who have worked to plan, implement, and legitimise the Narmada Valley Development Project of an intricate series of interlinked dams. The "critics" are also numerous – including environmental activists, social workers, university students, and labour organisers, as well as spokespersons and leaders from amongst the townsfolk, villagers, marginalised groups, and landless laborers who inhabit the proposed submergence zone (135).

For Bose (2004: 135), the "critics" are best understood as the popular intellectuals of the Narmada conflict, directly assisting in developing the voice of the movement and the achievement of its objectives. With the expertise of research and other academic interventions at their disposal, critical popular intellectuals have sought to understand the complex and intertwined processes of nationalism, international development and globalization that affect life in the Valley. Activities conducted by these intellectuals include "organizing solidarity campaigns, broadening access to information, writing in scholarly journals and the popular press, making films and penning novels" as well as actively intervening in political struggles within the Narmada region (135). At the same time, popular intellectuals in the Narmada Valley have been instrumental in building alliances and coalitions with other struggles for social justice both within the subcontinent and internationally (as in the formation of the National Alliance of People's Movements in India) (135).

Patkar and Roy are good examples of the popular intellectuals Bose (2004) regards as playing a positive, developmental and transformative role within the NBA; however, in the third part of the paper, he considers some of the explicit criticisms raised as part of the dynamics the NBA has faced,

> The work of the NBA and of Patkar and Roy has had its share of criticism over the years. Proponents of the projects have reviled the leaders of the NBA as glory-seekers, and militant martyrs, leading a manipulated flock down a destructive path. They have been called uninformed "eco-romantics", "backward radicals", and "alternative society counter-culture idealogues", adamantly and irrationally opposed to any development in the Valley (Verghesem B. 1994: 1) ...Others critique Patkar and Roy for their supposed lack of insider legitimacy – they are not "from" or "of" the Valley in such a reckoning, and thereby ostensibly unqualified to express an opinion on its fate (149).

In this particular context, an American-born anthropologist, Omvedt (1999), raised questions on the poor representation of *adivasi*[11] leadership in the NBA (in Bose, 2004: 151) For Omvedt, critical issues of democratic representation were raised insofar as the leadership of the NBA was largely of the urban elite and on those grounds, considered ill-capacitated to represent the poor, rural constituencies of the movement. Omvedt referred to Roy and Patkar as "outsiders" to the movement – "illegitimate interlopers in a rural dispute" (Bose, 2004: 151). Quoting Omvedt (1999) in dialogue with Roy, Bose (2004: 151) provides,

> There is nothing wrong with going out to organise people, with throwing oneself into a cause or supporting a cause, with rallying world opinion ... You have every right to support them. But in doing so, please think about one thing: when you go as leaders to people in the valley, or when you represent people in the valley to the world outside, what are the consequences for them of the arguments you make? What does it mean when you put your own arguments, either explicitly or implicitly, in their mouths? Are you so sure your sweeping opposition to big dams is in their best interest, or that you are democratically representing their real feelings on the matter?

Bose (2004: 153) then considers the view of another intellectual and activist involved in the Narmada issue; quoting Kothari's (1999) comment,

> The question of why there is no "top-ranking adivasi leadership in the NBA", is important, and needs to be squarely addressed by the NBA itself. But it is not a question restricted to the NBA, it can be asked of most recent movements in India. Perhaps it has to do with the history of displacement of adivasi identity, perhaps something else. Perhaps it has to do with the way in which the Indian and international media singles out "heroes" they are comfortable with, or who belong to their "class". What is absolutely clear, however, is that in the decision-making

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[11] Referring to the indigenous groups of the region; as Bose (2004: 137) informs, the term has come to take on the meaning of "a political rallying point" as well as a point of contention for such groups.

process in the valley itself, both adivasis and non-adivasis are highly involved, even though Medha [Patkar] and other "middle-class" activists do often have a stronger say.

For Bose (2004: 152), the fluid and amorphous nature of the NBA, the lack of official "membership" or track-records of support and a general lack of resources, forces the NBA to rely on the support of both local inhabitants as well as "outsiders". But as the author insists, the reality of social movements across the globe is that they are not, by and large, dominated by intellectuals produced out of the same constituencies they seek to engage (155); instead, movement intellectuals are generally drawn from the upper and middle classes with various resources, not least of which is education. The capacity to write about issues, speak publicly, to negotiate, organise and act as the voice of the movement is thus inherent in the elite's relationship to a movement constituency. Bose is less convinced that this necessarily negates their contributions (155). Quoting Roy's discussion on these issues, Bose provides (2004: 155),

> You can't expect the critique to be just adivasi. You isolate them like that, and it's so easy to crush them. In many ways, people try to delegitimise the involvement of the middle-class, saying, how can you speak on behalf of these people? No one is speaking on behalf of anyone. The point is that the NBA is a fantastic example of people linking hands across caste and class. It is the biggest, finest, most magnificent resistance movement since the independence struggle [Interview with Arundhati Roy, by David Barsimian].

Bose's argument calls for a rejection of the false dichotomies between "insiders" and "outsiders" in which the relationship between movement intellectuals and social movements are often cast; in this way, the actual constituency a social movement must be seen to reflect a wide variety of backgrounds and interests. As the author argues, any position insisting on the representation of under-privileged classes only by those who belong to those classes is a misguided one. Particularly, it is apt to appreciate the lack of any fixed or homogenous identity in social movement life (156).

Bose's discussion (2004: 154) on the lessons of the Narmada experience regarding popular intellectuals and social movements, can be summarised thus: Popular intellectuals do play a pivotal role in organizing, sustaining and widening specific struggles; However, there is a contested and evolving nature of intellectual labor in the service of progressive movements; What can be discerned is a "strong – if relatively undefined" assumption on what the role of movement intellectuals in social movement activities *should* be; Movement intellectuals should support a movement without manipulation; Movement intellectuals should avoid speaking for others without their consent, as vanguardists do; And, movement intellectuals must remain connected to their mass base of support, always remembering on whose behalf they function and to what effect.

Concluding, the author relates that part of the problem faced by movement intellectuals and their susceptibility to criticisms on issues of representation, legitimacy and authenticity is that movement intellectuals must frame their struggles in often reductionist and stereotypical ways (156). The use of such essentialist rhetoric then has the danger of being turned against them, so to speak, as notions of "us" versus "them" (the indigenous group versus the World Bank, for example) translates into a fear of all outsiders. In this way, "locality" has the danger of fostering parochialism and inequality and, for Bose (2004: 156), often results in hostility toward movement intellectuals.

Becker, M. (2004). "Indigenous Communists and Urban Intellectuals in Cayambe, Ecuador (1926 – 1944)" in Baud, M and Rutten, R. (eds.). Popular Intellectuals and Social Movements: Framing Protest in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. *Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. Pp. 41 – 64.*

Becker's (2004) case study provides an example of the interactive dynamics between two contrasting cultures: a rural, indigenous, Kichua-speaking peasant culture and an urban, white, Spanish-speaking and professional culture (41). The author shows how, despite the existence of apparently divergent interests, activists from both cultures overcame their

differences to identify a common adversary in the proponents of Ecuador's agrarian capitalist economy. In contrast to the view that leftist activists do not understand indigenous struggles, Becker reveals how two struggles became intertwined.

The author begins his discussion by mention of Gualavisi, the first indigenous person to participate in Ecuador's political party congress and who helped build alliances between rural communities and urban leftist activists (43).

> Active in organizing local community organizations, while at the same time participating in the formation of a national political party, Gualavisi provided a bridge between two dramatically different worlds ... [facilitating] cross-pollination, as the local and national emerged simultaneously in a struggle for liberation (44) ... The absence of a direct voice encouraged Indians to search out for new allies who could help them articulate a shared vision of the world. Popular intellectuals subsequently assumed a key role in formulating alliances that would place indigenous peoples and their interests at the centre of debates on the shaping of Ecuador's future (45).

In his illustration of the specific context, Becker (2004: 47) notes that the emergence of the contentious issue was marked by a petition from the indigenous Kichua Indians (or *Kayambis* as they are locally known) claiming that their lands had been unfairly expropriated by the Changala[12] haciendas. The Kayambis' demands were ignored by both the state authorities and hacienda owners; consequently, the increasingly organised movement group occupied the disputed land. Repression by the state ensued, creating further cycles of protest between the indigenous group and their militarised adversaries. The repression did not end the Kayambi's readiness to fight and the following November, a newspaper reported that a group attacked the police at Changala shouting "Long Live Socialism!" (47).

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[12] The name and lineage of the hacienda in question.

For Becker, this call for socialism reflects the emergence of leaders with a knowledge of, and identification with, socialist ideologies. This then translated into collective demands that extended beyond a defense of traditional land claims into the economic realm of better salaries, easier workloads, recognition of non-paid work, and better treatment from hacienda owners.

> These demands also reflect the growth of an agrarian capitalism, as modernizing land owners broke with traditional feudal-style reciprocal relations on the haciendas to focus on maximizing their profits through increased exploitation of the labor force (47).

Originally motivated by garnering support for their new political party, socialist intellectuals from around Ecuador came to the defense of the Kayambi struggle and assisted in further nationalizing the movement's goals. It was the first time that the indigenous groups of the Kayambis enjoyed the support of urban leftists and other potential allies outside of their immediate locales (48).

> Although Paredes [a prominent socialist intellectual at the time] placed himself in a leadership position of rural struggles, these protest movements did not emerge as a paternalistic creation of urban leftist organizing efforts. Rather, both rural and urban activists found themselves confronting a similar economic situation, which led them to exchange ideological perspectives and organizational strategies. In fact, there is a certain amount of evidence that Indian uprisings in Cayambe may have strengthened the resolve of urban leftists to push forward with the creation of the PSE [Ecuadorian Socialist Party] (48).

For Becker (2004), the case-illustration of the dynamics between indigenous movements and popular intellectuals in Ecuador reveal the following lessons: Popular intellectuals are important in shaping a "counter-hegemonic discourse" in the indigenous movements of Ecuador (63); The construction of inter-ethnic alliances were as a result of framing efforts on both "sides" to link their struggles with national and even international

networks; Rural and urban activists found common ground by focusing on the common / collective struggle against exploitation and elite capitalism in their specific context (64); The urban leftists provided the rural Kayambis with "inspiration, encouragement and advice" while the peasant intellectuals, such as Gualavisi, energised the character of their urban counterparts (64).

Wiktorowicz, Q. (2004). "Framing Jihad: Intramovement Framing Contests and al-Qaeda's Struggle for Sacred Authority" In Baud, M and Rutten, R. (eds.). Popular Intellectuals and Social Movements: Framing Protest in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. Pp. 133 – 158.

Wiktorowicz's (2004) article is concerned with the credibility of popular intellectuals in framing contests. The author is interested in how a movement group asserts its authority to speak on behalf of a constituency by emphasizing "the perceived knowledge, character and logic" (161) of its popular intellectuals while attacking those of rivals. He identifies four basic framing strategies relevant to the credibility of popular intellectuals: "vilification" or demonizing competing popular intellectuals; "exaltation" or the praising of ingroup popular intellectuals; "credentializing", where emphasis is placed on the expertise of ingroup intellectuals; and "decredentializing", where questions are raised on the expertise of rivals. As a case study, Wiktorowicz focuses on the al-Qaeda's intramovement framing struggle with nonviolent Islamic fundamentalists over the use of violence. Particularly, the author finds that in an attempt to assert its right to "sacred authority", the movement portrays scholars who support its jihad[13] as "logical, religious experts" while characterizing opposing popular intellectuals are "emotional, corrupt, naïve, and ill-informed about politics" (161).

For Wiktorowicz, it is important to note that social movements are not monolithic entities and that the constitution of a movement's identity as well as other primary issues are contingent on highly conflictual and contradictory framing processes.

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[13] Referring to a holy war waged against adversaries inimical to the fundamentalist doctrines of Islam.

Intramovement conflict is particularly common in framing, so much so that William Gamson and David Meyer encourage us, "to think of framing as an internal process of contention within movements with different actors taking different positions" (1996: 283) ...These struggles are contests to influence the direction of the movement: how resources should be used, the proper construction and dissemination of symbols and discourses, acceptable alliances, etc. an intramovement framing contest is, in short, a struggle to assert authority (163).

The author maintains that credibility is a central element within such struggles: those with an explicit interest in undermining a competitor attempt to lead audiences to question the sources of argument and information a rival movement holds (163). Attacks on reputations are further evident as questions of trust and reliability may lessen the credibility of a rival movement. But as Wiktorowicz continues, the credibility of a movement group issuing these attacks must, at the same time, demonstrate its own authority and right to speak on the subject. Movement intellectuals are crucial *strategic* actors in these processes,

> Where popular intellectuals are involved (either directly or indirectly), their credibility is of particular importance since they the "experts", "thinkers", and "ideologues" of the movement (163-4).

Wiktorowicz's article is important in that it extends the scholarship concerned with framing contests between movements and countermovements to deal with those occurring within movements. Re-asserting the priority of movement intellectuals in intramovement framing strategies, the author continues,

> These strategies can generally be broken into two categories: crediting and discrediting. The former represents attempts to emphasise the legitimacy of a movement group's institutions, efforts, and popular intellectuals by highlighting knowledge proficiency, sincerity, and other positive attributes that demonstrate the right and ability of the group to speak on behalf of a cause. This is primarily

an inward-focused approach. Discrediting, on the other hand, is an outward-directed attack against the reputation of intramovement rivals and opposing popular intellectuals to undermine and weaken the authority of competitors. Movements typically use a combination of both approaches (164).

He then proceeds to outline some of the more common framing strategies relevant to issues of credibility: vilification and exaltation, credentializing and de-credentializing.

Vilification and Exaltation

The importance of a movement distinguishing itself from other movements, protagonists, antagonists and bystanders in social movement activity is central to Wiktorowicz's analysis. Especially in competitive environments where scarce symbolic and instrumental resources exist, intramovement contests where a movement attempts to assert a unique identity, relying on "strategies of polarization" accentuating in-group/out-group divisions are likely to occur (165),

> This often generates stark bifurcations between real movement activists and pretenders, the true believers and the hypocrites, the misguided and the informed, the good and evil. In extreme cases, the world is simply divided into two camps in Manichean fashion: those aligned with the movement group and those against it. Competitors are frequently lumped into a generic "other" category (165).

Strategies of vilification are central to a movement's attempt to polarise actors in its immediate environment.

> Vilification includes tactics such as name-calling – the use of labels to connect an individual or group to a negative symbol, event, or phenomenon, often in an attempt to produce visceral responses that erode the target's ability to assert credibility. Name-calling can challenge the intentions of a group, ridicule its values, and activities, or obfuscate its agenda and goals … Vilification also

includes character assassination, various forms of maligning, and the purposeful misrepresentation of a group's views and efforts through such techniques as caricatures, extreme cases, stereotypes, and guilt by association (165).

Typically accompanied by exaltation, the inward-oriented framing efforts of a movement attempts to emphasise the positive qualities of the in-group; where movement intellectuals are responsible for strategies of exaltation, they often represent themselves as serving in the better interests of the constituency through independent hard work, sacrifice and effort (165) – as credible and authoritative themselves.

Wiktorowicz adds that the involvement of popular intellectuals in framing contests often results in specific individuals being targeted as objects of vilification and exaltation (166). However, the complexity of movement intellectuals' positioning in these framing contests are certainly evident; movement intellectuals may pretend to be uninvolved in frame disputes to protect their "objectivity" yet remain wholly responsible for both vilification and self-exaltation. Even those not necessarily engaged in framing competition are embroiled in the dynamics by virtue of another's efforts.

Credentializing and Decredentializing

> In addition to issues of character and trustworthiness, there is also a question of whether the popular intellectuals have credible expertise … those who speak on behalf of the movement should be seen as though they know what they are talking about. Framing efforts that focus on establishing and adverstising expertise can be thought of as a strategy of credentializing, which is frequently accompanied by attacks on the expertise of competitor or decredentializing (166-7).

It is important to note, following Wiktorowicz, that a movement may incorporate the credibility of a movement intellectual into its frame even though the movement intellectual is not directly associated thereof (167). Here, a movement "adopts" a popular

intellectual's frame (or a number of them) as its own thus utilizing movement intellectuals across time and space.

Wiktorowicz is moreover concerned with illustrating how the al-Qaeda used framing strategies to address specifically issues of "knowledge", "character" and "logic" over rival movement groups. He notes that the movement competed over sacred authority to assert its hegemony by building on these "criteria of credibility" with its own religious scholars while debunking other clerical popular intellectuals within the broader *salafi*[14] community.

Pointer, R. (2004). "Questioning the Representation of South Africa's 'New Social Movements': A Case Study of the Mandela Park Anti-Eviction Campaign" In Gibson, N. (ed.). Journal of Asian and African Studies. Vol. 39 (4). Pp. 271 – 294.

Pointer's (2004) research article, drawing on the experiences of the author as an activist associated with the Mandela Park Anti-Eviction Campaign (MPAEC)[15], considers the way in which the representation of a social movement serves as a contested space of power. Six aspects of the operation of the MPAEC are examined to highlight how power operates through the representation of these terrains; these include: gender roles, structure, the question of insiders and outsiders, the question of spies within the movement, the use of money, and individual agendas.

Pointer begins by taking issue with another piece of scholarly research conducted on the MPAEC by Desai and Pithouse (2004a) in which the authors attempt to report on, and critically support, social movement activity in Mandela Park. For Pointer, these authors provide comment on the movement in the an "optimistic and glorifying" way, devoid of any deep and meaningful critique of whether or not that self-description matches reality (271).

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[14] A dense network or community of Islamic fundamentalists.
[15] Mandela Park is located on the edge of Khayelitsha, a massive township on the plains of the Cape Flats, Cape Town. The Mandela Park Anti-Eviction Campaign (MPAEC) was formed by community members who resolved to resist repression by the state since the late 1990s, including forced evictions and basic service disconnections.

Pointer's critique extends to some of the earlier arguments raised on issues of representation, and legitimacy in academic interventions in social movement life,

> Poeticism has filled much of the writings on "new social movements" ... romantic words [as a] representation from the "activist intellectuals" ... but also from the geographic "community" searching for such a representation to confirm that they are indeed doing something different to open up new possibilities. This emphasis on what is new masks the underlying reality of a movement which is, at times, brutal and ugly, and often still relies on the old methods, old forms of organization, mass struggle, the representation of charismatic leaders and speakers, and so on (272).

In this way, for Pointer, the reality of social movements should not be excused in favor of the representations of activist intellectuals seeking to justify their own existence and points of view. Referring to the emergence of "new social movements" in South Africa especially, Pointer is in favor of grasping first the power relations that exist within social movements, exposing how democratic spaces are closed down, organisation becomes centralised and unjust hierarchies develop,

> current writing is concerned with what the "new social movements" look like to "the world out there", with what the most visible and articulate activists say – which often sounds like what we want to hear, but does not unpack what it is like for those many invisible and silent people within. Therefore, the "activist intellectuals" have served as publicists for the movements, but have not sought to critique and challenge the shape of these existing forms of insurgency (273).

In any "outsider" representation of a social movement, understanding the often insidious methods of "silencing and promoting particular voices" (273) are paramount. With no explicit interest in finding the "truth" behind these representations, Pointer is moreover concerned with showing how current representations on the MPAEC reinforces existing

movement drew its constituent base and were thus said to be unable to grasp the nuances of struggle. Hence, the only space available for those designated as outsiders in Mandela Park contracted to include the provision of funding and various specialised, technical tasks such as litigation and education; "outsiders" were unable to criticise the movement in any concrete way (283).

In this sense, Pointer is making the distinction that not all activist intellectuals are responsible for arbitrary divisions within the MPAEC and seek to gain from any "outsider" status; in some instances, prominent activists within the constituency or geographic community of a movement will attempt to ostracise activist intellectuals by regarding them as "outsiders". For Pointer, the basic denominator is a distrust of any voice that is not all-embracing or celebratory of a movement (286). It is founded on the outmoded idea that only those who are the worst victims of attacks by the state have any legitimacy and authority to deal with those attacks; consequently, the practical experiences of activists and activist intellectuals from other locales are not particularly valorised, with a range of tactical and strategic considerations becoming cut-off (286).

The notion of "gate-keeping" is then introduced by Pointer as an example of how power is exercised in the differentiation between "insiders" and "outsiders" and the defensiveness a movement can exhibit. The author cites an example of how a researcher was excluded from participation in an MPAEC meeting – excluded as an "outsider" who would "steal" the knowledge of the MPAEC members and contribute nothing in return (286).

Concluding her discussion, Pointer relates,

> I believe that maintaining a façade that all is well, representing a "pure" face of struggle is, in the end, more damaging: unless we are free to confront our troubles, our internal divisions, our complex social and power relations, these difficulties will continue to tear our struggle organizations and campaigns apart.

Desai, A and Pithouse, R.. (2004). "Sanction all Revolts: A Reply to Rebecca Pointer" In Gibson, N. (ed.). Journal of Asian and African Studies. *Vol. 39 (4). Pp. 295 – 314.*

Desai and Pithouse (2004b: 301), in response to the above article, remark on the stage of development of radical thought, Pointer's (2004) article embodies. As a piece committed to the sober critique of social movements in post-apartheid South Africa, Pointer's article ushers a "maturing moment of dialogical self-reflection" in local academic spheres and in that sense should be commended (301).

The authors, two prominent academics and at the time, research fellows at the university-based Centre for Civil Society (CCS), then proceed to confirm and defend what Pointer regards as "romantic" in their treatment of the MPAEC pointing out that "to discern courage and hope in the peculiar intensity" of a movement … "is not to claim or imply that the event heralds some sort of rosy dawn in which all domination is called into question" (301),

> We are militantly against the dangerous tendency among elements of the post-apartheid left to reify certain personalities and struggle as permanently progressive and to continue to indulge in this fetish long after the struggles in question have been emptied out of any progressive content … the most obvious dangers of the tendency towards reification include the deliberate marginalization of non-fetishised struggles and the development of relations of patronage between individuals providing credibility and individuals providing resources in exchange for political credibility (302).

Of particular importance is Desai and Pithouse's description of the original intent behind their first article (2004a) on the MPAEC. They make no bones, so to speak, on the article being an "academic intervention" for the purposes of generating and participating in the internal dialogue of a movement, unlike, the authors insist, a participatory workshop or popular education initiative (302). While they do not intend to create boundaries between academic and movement interventions, the authors insist on the existence of different

"spheres of intellectual engagement" in which the realities of social movement life are confronted; in this sense, Desai and Pithouse's original article was thus incapable of allowing the movement "to speak to itself", a criticism leveled by Pointer against it; instead, its explicit purpose was to confront the failure of elite publics to develop an appropriate understanding of the MPAEC and to legitimate its struggles in general (302).

Desai and Pithouse's (2004b) notion of multiple "spheres of intellectual engagement" is important in that it accords the existence and function of movement intellectuals, as not necessarily internal to the activities and life of a social movement but who may find routes toward participation. The authors then proceed to discuss these issues, largely in counter-critique to what they regards as the "autonomist strands" evident in Pointer's position, providing further comment and discussion on the dynamics between movement intellectuals and social movements.

For Desai and Pithouse, the "errors" of autonomism evident in Pointer's position on the relationship between movement intellectuals and social movements is of particular importance,

> we need to make it clear that we are not suggesting that the task of the "outsider" intellectual is simply to, as some suggest invoking a new fetish, obey "the community" or "the struggle". For Fanon, the alliance between revolutionary intellectuals and grassroots militants can be explosive. It produces "critical dialogue between avatars of the differing life-worlds which inhabit the hybrid body of the nascent society" (Sekyi-Out, 1996: 172) that enables the formation of links between different struggles, better organization, better reflection on strategy and tactics and the fashioning of "what Cesaire called 'common sense' out of different languages of existence" (177)

A defense of the activist intellectual's position and his/her engagement with movement life is clear in Desai and Pithouse's article. For these authors, Pointer's (implicit) calls for a go-it-alone politics of social movement development and praxis are incapable of

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achieving the content of collective demands and fail to take into account the full advantages to academic / intellectual interventions. The authors accept the complexity of positioning activist intellectuals have in the often variegated life of social movements, but maintain the existence and permissibility of a space in which these critical individuals may operate,

> Fanon makes a crucial point about open-ended and unstable social space, in which liberatory praxis must occur. The first is that the intellectual must begin from an appreciation of his/her estrangement. This caution does not mean that radical intellectuals or middle-class militants are unwelcome interlopers in movements. On the contrary, they often bring valuable capacities with regard to knowledge, resources, networking and advocacy for movements in elite publics. This is not necessarily co-opting or predatory.

In this way, the involvement of intellectuals in social movement life can be an essential part of liberatory politics insofar as these capacities are to deployed "within, and in constant dialogue with, the movements that nourish the insurgence of subaltern agency" (304). This dialogical relationship is an important point that Fanon makes in his writing on the subject; as the authors provide, insisting "that the intellectual must neither legislate for the people, nor in response to that error, commit another and become a 'yes-man' for the people" (304).

For Desai and Pithouse (2004b), Pointer's error is in presuming that movement intellectuals are responsible for creating new subjectivities in the context of a struggle which then explains her persistent problem of insider / outsider distinctions in movement life. Instead, argue the authors, *pace* Fanon, subjectivities emerge in the practice of struggle and dialogical reflection on struggle (305). This dialogical reflection occurs between a variety of subjects in a given society – including intellectuals, militants and the broader base of social movements (306). Liberatory ideology is facilitated from experience and reflection to thinking and action only by this interactive environment and participation by all actors,

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As Gibson notes in the editor's introduction to the journal in which Desai and Pithouse (2004a; 2004b) and Pointer's (2004) articles appeared, the articles and dialogue spurs a broader query on political self-organization in post-apartheid South Africa (2004: 234). Gibson expresses a concern on the possibility of self-criticism in a context where social movements occur under severe repression and pressure to defend the bare means of life; he asks of whether social movements in post-apartheid South Africa, given the extent to the need for basic services and entitlements, must always demand an "uncritical front" that necessarily puts of further discussions (234).

> Can the "community" which comes together in reaction against eviction, for example, also be constituted a democratic space? ... can these new mass-based organizations constitute counter-hegemonic movements that are capable of articulating their own content and developing alternative social, political and economic programs? And if so, what role is played by "outsiders" (both intellectuals and activists)? (243 – 235).

For Gibson, perhaps providing an inkling of his position on the debates and puzzles this study is concerned with, remarks that the discussion between Desai and Pithouse (2004b) and Pointer (2004) indicate that the responsibility of working out the above questions is not only the local organization's but also movement intellectuals', similarly committed to the collective struggles constituting social movements (235).

Walsh, S. (2007). "Uncomfortable Collaborations: Contesting Constructions of the Poor in South Africa". CCS Published Reports; also, Paper presented to the SANPAD Poverty Conference, Durban.

Walsh (2007) is concerned with understanding the dynamics behind the "uncomfortable collaborations" that mark relationships between left academics / activists and community movements and their efforts to "insert understandings of power into research and praxis to contest stereotypes that increasingly bind us to a dialectical 'us *versus* them'" (2). The

second part of the paper is especially important as it deals with this question in more detail to broaden an understating of these dynamics as "uncomfortable collaborations",

> These collaborations are not mini-utopias, but sites of friction in which diverse power struggles and contestation at the local, everyday level arise. I borrow from Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing's definition of *friction* as a state in which "heterogeneous and unequal encounters can lead to new arrangements of culture and power" (Tsing 2005:5) ... At the same time I am arguing for a departure from essentialised identities in order to reveal deeper alliances than *middle-class-activist* meets poor *black-revolutionary-subject* meets *Northern-feminist*, and instead signaling lines of flight, new ways of seeing, and collaborations towards a "liberation of political desire" (Barchiesi, *et al* 2006:5) (2).

For Walsh (2007), uncomfortable collaborations are not only theoretical but rooted in concrete situations. The author then considers an empirical incident in which these dynamics came to play. Citing the example of the Abahlali BaseMjondolo (ABM)[16] and the movement's recent spate of criticisms on what they regarded as the co-optation of their struggle by "outside" NGOs and academics, Walsh is moreover concerned with providing an actor-oriented view and analysis of the emergence and development of frictions between the movement and outside social actors (9).

The author's remarks on the nature of the relationships between ABM and NGOs are more critical of the movement's framing efforts on these issues,

> Recently ABM have been vocally critical of what they see as the co-option of their struggle by NGOs, though simultaneously working with other NGOs they see as being in solidarity with their cause ... Some activists publicly wonder if

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[16] The Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM) or 'shack-dwellers movement' is one of the more recent movements in South Africa which was inspired by the large number of protests from Durban's Kennedy Road settlement. The movement emerged from the shared frustrations over what they regarded as the 'broken promises' of the Durban local government.

Abahlali's critique of NGOs "is dependent on the contingent value of NGOs to the specific interests of the ABM" (Naidoo 2006).

Similarly, the relationship between activist intellectuals and the ABM is said to be as a result of particular framing efforts devised by the movement to suit its own interests. The author raises an objection to the fact that the majority of those intellectuals "from the activist / academic class" who relate to the movement do not appear in any of the writings on the movement (12); for the author, this constitutes a kind of "storytelling" with invisible narrators and influences.

Despite the presence of activist intellectuals already associated with the ABM in its framing strategies, the role of all activist intellectuals have been vociferously raised by the movement (12). Particularly raising questions on the alleged "firing" of academics associated with the movement from the Centre for Civil Society, the ABM created an outward-oriented view of the participation and contributions of activists and intellectuals associated with the movement. However, notes Walsh in reference to an interviewee's comments, others have identified the presence of activists within the movement as responsible for this vilification.

Arriving at the specific incident in which these tensions manifested, Walsh cites the Social Movements Indaba (SMI)[17] workshop held in Durban toward the end of 2006. Essentially, the ABM, after participating in the organizing team for a number of months leading up to the conference, boycotted a lead-up workshop by raising concerns on, amongst other things, the role of academics and NGOs in movement activity.

Friction here happened at multiple, almost mind-boggling, levels. Middle-class activists and NGOs were criticised by the ABM for writing about the movement without having a direct relationship with the ABM itself. They also criticised the

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The Social Movements Indaba (SMI) was borne of the attempt to link and build common platform for the emergence of social movements across South Africa since the mass marches of the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in 2001 and 2002 respectively.

CCS [The Centre for Civil Society] for what they saw as a wrongful dismissal of four academics who had been funneling CCS resources into the movement (12).

As parcel to these tensions, Walsh then cites a related incident where the movement became clearly confused with the purposes and content of the local SMI at a weekend workshop on housing issues (13). The ABM began to make demands meant for government officials around land and housing directly to the SMI, as if the SMI were responsible for related policy; a number of activists across the country responded to these issues surrounding the SMI, and especially, the complexity of dynamics between community struggles and other social actors. Questions of representation and "insider"/"outsider" legitimacy were once against raised. Quoting a prominent activist intellectual associated with the Anti-Privatization Forum (APF) in Johannesburg, Prishani Naidoo, Walsh provides,

> I have never presumed to "speak on behalf" of those who know the material conditions being fought better than I do, but I have not surrendered my own voice either (a voice that is itself a product of personal and collective struggle). While I have certainly listened and been directed in struggle by those directly affected, I have also shared with them my own ideas and experiences, and often disagreed with them about strategies and tactics. This I have done as an equal in a community of people in struggle, but recognising that I do not participate in this particular struggle from the same position.

For Walsh, the double-speak of the ABM's critique of certain NGOs and academics as unsympathetic while at the same time, deeply involved in other "chosen" academics and NGOs is indicative of the "black-and-white" politics of the movement (13) The message that "you are either with us or against us" is clearly emanating from the movement, but "has more to do with favoring some people over other people than an ideological fall out with institutions and organizations" (13). If there is an absence of ideological reasons behind the ABM's choice over allies and adversaries, other more personal dynamics relating to activist intellectual/s within the movement are said to play a large part.

Desai (2006). "Vans, Auto's, Kombi's and the Drivers of Social Movements". CCS Published Reports; also, Paper presented at the CCS Harold Wolpe Memorial Lecture, Durban.

Desai (2006), a prominent movement intellectual in Durban, discusses the tensions between activist intellectuals and social movements in what he refers to as a spirit of auto-critique (1). Desai notes the "infectious political diseases" activists sometimes bring to a social movement, along with the usual range of skills, perspectives and resources (2). Importantly, the author considers why these activist intellectuals and other social actors are considered "outsiders" to a movement in the first place. It is suggested that because social movements emerge and operate in contexts of material deprivation, mobilised in large part on the experiences of that deprivation, the "qualification for comradeship" is often no more than those experiences (3). While ideology is found in these struggles and develops over time, collective ideas such as non-racialism, democracy or revolution "is not the glue that sticks one comrade to another in social movements" (3).

> It is rather a commitment to a set of particular demands and a commitment to an organizational identity created to achieve them ... we lack a latter day substitute for the term 'revolutionary' to describe affinities and principles of desire and consciousness that go beyond these horizons and attach to people and groups with whom we share capacities for subversion not defined by reaction to specific government policies. Until we find such a language and such a politics, those people who are not directly affected by water cut-offs or slum-clearance for instance (or indeed *our* water cut-offs and *our* slum clearances) – are by the very constitution and imagination of social movements – necessarily, outsiders (3).

Consequently, for Desai (2006), political meanings that emerge from the experiences of struggle at the local level are often assigned by "outsider" activist intellectuals. It is this grouping designated as outsiders who spend the greatest amount of energy in contesting what particular social movements mean ideologically and technically, often amongst

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themselves; "These battles sometimes play themselves out on the bodies and campaigns of social movements as various academics try to position social movements to best achieve their vision" (3).

The author's analysis relate to the conflictual dynamics between activist intellectuals, the broader public of which they claim to represent, and each other. He expresses the often "treacherous" content of these interactions and infractions on "political morality and comradeship" evident when a researcher, for example, delivers a paper on the politics of an impoverished constituency, having given the community the idea that he is a comrade but without a reciprocal exchange of trust and sincerity (3). Further, where academics and intellectuals report on the phenomena of social movements in their own environments, notes Desai, the actual content is "often so overblown, romanticised and, in many cases, just plain made up" that one can realistically assume that they have been written up entirely for the purposes of substantiating fashionable theories and theorists (4). As a consequence, the poor are represented as "embodiments of the truth"; any criticisms thereof are rejected as "arrogant, reckless, reactionary and, even racist" (4).

Desai is similarly concerned with providing an actor-level perspective on the dynamics that create, reinforce and perpetuate these unequal and divisive power relations between movement intellectuals and social movements. More generally, the author is concerned with posing the question on the appropriate *vehicle* for social movements and other groups. The discussion on the salient pitfalls and tensions surrounding evidence of "vanguardism", "autonomism" and "populism" in "outsider" connections with social movements are, in the author's view, to be dealt with seriously. Addressing the constituencies of social movements, Desai concludes,

> Hopefully, those middle-class women and men who have troubled you so can meet the challenge of how to support social movements of the Poor without becoming gatekeepers, vanguardists, losing the ability to be critical and using movements to advance our academic careers. We also need to understand how it is that, like it or not, we are community.

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To do so, the author suggests searching for terms of engagement that foster communication and sharing between all interested parties; "We need to tell you what we are about and where we think you are located in this fight ... We need to start respecting you in your you-ness enough to be us in our us-ness. But all of this can only occur, once we start dealing candidly with each other" (11-12).

Chapter 4

The Strategies of the Research Practice

"Learning to *see* – habituating the eye to repose, to patience, to letting things come to it; learning to defer judgment, to investigate and comprehend the individual case in all its aspects. This is the *first* preliminary schooling in spirituality" (Nietzsche in Flyvbjerg, 2001: 66)

Introduction

This chapter discusses core concerns in the strategy of the present study's research practice. It begins with a contextualization of the present study as constitutive of a broader project of contemporary qualitative research and the attempt to present an appropriate sociology of knowledge on social movements. Drawing on Touraine (1981) and Eyerman and Jamison (1991), a brief discussion on the necessarily interpretive and subject-oriented methodological dimension to social movement research is given before delving into the specifics and practicalities of the approach as it was assumed.

The "grounded theory" approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1994) is explained along with the particular techniques that such an approach implies. "Subjective frames" are then explained as the precise ontological property under investigation and how these forms of data came to constitute the basic quality of knowledge generated; that is, the epistemological grounds of the study. Interviews and participant observation methods are discussed in full as the primary means by which the study generated the data before presenting a research question / design chart showing the complementarity between the central research questions, data sources and methods used in the design.

Issues in sampling design are then considered after which a sample grid is produced, outlining the specific number of respondents interviewed and those led to interviewing by the "theoretical sampling" method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1994). The chapter concludes with discussion on the data organization and analysis stage and the logic of the arguments produced in following chapters. Particularly, the non-categorical and "balanced" (that is, between the author's interpretations and the subjective frames of respondents) nature of the conclusions reached are explained as a result of the overall design.

Qualitative Research and the Sociology of Social Movements

As given in the Chapter 2, theoretical developments in the study of social movements relate to a profound shift in social science more generally. These foundational shifts, referred to in some quarters as "post-modern", "post-industrial" or "late-modern" developments, have been accompanied by similarly complex debates on the "how-to" of scientific enquiry. Denzin and Lincoln (2005:14-27) have identified several moments in the history and development of qualitative research, beginning in the early 1900s to contemporary realities. They observe a "quiet methodological revolution" in the blurring of disciplinary boundaries and approaches that have drawn together to focus on a highly interpretive, qualitative approach to contemporary research practice and theory (ix).

For Denzin and Lincoln (2005: xv-xvi), six dimensions may be identified as relevant to the field of contemporary qualitative research and the task of the generalised sociologist: The project of qualitative research has changed in tandem with the social world it seeks to confront, both within and outside of the academy; it has come to be through an "increasing sophistication" of theoretical and methodological understanding; Global and local processes have closed in on the distance between "observer" and "observed". Any ethnographic study is brought to bear on the subject-position's challenge to what has been written in the name of scientific truth; The qualitative project is gendered; no longer

are subject-positions' identities fixed by heterosexual logics; rather, "experience, discourse and self-understandings" present a "hybrid" reality which the ethnographer seeks works with; Qualitative research is a "moral, allegorical, and therapeutic" project as much as it is one of inquiry; the sociological use of ethnographic knowledge is returned to the foreground; A "shifting centre" of the project is a commitment to issues of social justice and humanitarian concern based on study of the social world from actor-oriented perspectives; And, the progressiveness of the qualitative project will be defined by the sustained implementation of the above assumptions in the ensuing future.

Methodological approaches in the sociology of social movements have not been exempt from the "quiet methodological revolution" occurring in the social sciences. Especially in new social movements studies, many thinkers have expressed the need for highly interpretive and qualitative designs and strategies in the study of social movement phenomena. For Touraine (1981), the central importance given to the concept of action in social movement analysis calls for a methodology to match; social movement research should aim to approach,

> action as directly as possible ... [as] action is inseparable from social relations, this intervention places the author in a position of interaction with social partners. ... In these conditions, the researcher cannot be a distant observer. Such "objectivity" would be contradictory to his recognition of the actor as such. Intervention requires that the researcher be an intermediary between the militant group and the social movement by which its action is conveyed ... the question to which this intervention endeavors to reply is therefore: how can action be studied without being destroyed; how can social life be analyzed without being "naturalized"? (27).

Eyerman and Jamison's (1991) conception of social movements as "cognitive praxis" discussed at length in the previous chapter, similarly entails "reading" social movements in a specific way that is opposed to the positivist view of science; against the reduction of social movement phenomena into reified entities, they contend that social movements'

"very historical significance, lies in their impermanence, disorganization, transience, in short, their motion" (59-60). Any reading of the empirical realities of social movements, then, is bound to be done so selectively as their approach is primarily concerned with what social movements represent for the development of human knowledge; that is, for both organized scientific knowledge as well as the broader aspects of political and social consciousness (60).

Secondly, they maintain a "critical" reading of social movement phenomena,

> On the one hand, we distance ourselves from the movements we study, but the sociological distance that we seek to establish is not the objectivity that so many empirical sociologists strive to achieve. It is more like a qualified subjectivity, an evaluative or reflective distance that comes out from identification with a critical theory of society, or more broadly with an interpretive or qualitative tradition of sociology ... More precisely, our critical method offers historical, contextual understanding for activist and scholar alike. We make no epistemological claims for the truth value of the reality we understand, nor do we claim any privileged insight for our interpretation. Ours is a social epistemology, by which the truth of knowledge is contingent on the social context in which it is practiced (61).

Grounded Theory and the Generation of Data

The present study was conducted within the qualitative project, concerned with developing a grounded theory in the sociological study of social movement activity. "Grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1994) refers to both a method and product of inquiry; the methods employed include a flexible set of analytic guidelines that enabled the research to focus data collection and to build contextually-based theories (Charmaz, 2005: 507). The explicit orientation between my activities as a researcher and participants was one of minimizing distance – to remain as close as

possible to the subjects' perceptions and understandings of their world and to develop an integrated set of theoretical concepts based on the primary empirical materials obtained. Techniques of data collection and analysis were conducted simultaneously and cyclically as they brought about a richer, more nuanced and contextual understanding of issues relevant to the central research questions.

Charmaz (2005) and Pigeon and Henwood (2004) share a "constructivist" grounded theory approach in an attempt to overcome a persistent dilemma in the qualitative project and early grounded theory especially. As opposed to the discovery of data and theory (implying an object-reality) and in contrast to the assumption that observers enter a context of study impartially and without an interpretive frame, constructivist grounded theorists take a reflexive position on knowing and representing social life. "That means giving close attention to empirical realities and our collective rendering of them – and locating oneself in those realities" (Charmaz, 2005: 509). This, then,

> captures more neatly [the] characteristic combination of systematic rigor in analysis with the essentially creative and dynamic character of interpretive research process ... a constructivist revision alerts the researcher to the fact that data should *guide* but certainly not *limit* theorizing (Layder, 1993). For this reason, the term *generation of theory*, rather than discovery, seems more accurately to describe both the epistemological and practical realities of the approach [(Henwood and Pigeon, 1992) Pigeon and Henwood, 2004: 628).

Generating "Subjective Frames" as Data

Data sources were identified as a result of the particular ontological and epistemological dimensions of the present study. As a qualitative practice in the constructivist grounded theory approach, the ontological "properties" under study included individual persons as the repositories of what came to be designated as their "subjective frames". By referring

to "subjective frames" as "the-thing-sought" in the present study, the study is particularly concerned with identifying an individual's perception and construction of the meanings, experiences and bases for action attached to their social world. The term derives from Goffman's (1974) concept of "framing" as "schemata of interpretation" that facilitate individuals or groups "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" social events and occurrences, endowing it with meaning, organizing experiences, and guiding further actions (21).

The identification of the data sources also derived from the epistemological grounds on which the study developed. In my earlier reviews of the relevant scholarship, it was learned that the very constitution of plausible knowledge on social movements was based on the subjective frames of people actively involved in the construction of their worlds. Not only would it be required that I enter those worlds to conduct the study, but that the grounds for any generation of theory would have to be based on such data sources.

Like most qualitative studies employing people and their subjective frames as the primary data source, there was a high degree of practicality in conducting the research. Data sources were readily available, in fair proximity, and could easily express the properties of which the interest in subjective frames sought. Ethical issues were raised in gaining access and interviewing respondents included in the study. As the study sought to inquire into the sometimes conflictual, power relationships between intellectuals and movement participants in social movement life, the apparent need to maintain confidentiality and anonymity in any re-presentation of participants' views was obvious. It was important not to "re-open old wounds" as professional and personal lives were affected by certain events tangential to the overall study. In addition, an informed consent form was signed prior to the commencement of interviews; this reassured respondents on my interests and direction of the study as well as providing guidelines in its practice.

Data Generation Methods

As Mason (1996: 51-52) points out, there is a logical relationship between data sources and data methods; the specific data sources identified would immediately imply a range of methods that can be used to *generate* such data for study. In the grounded theory approach (rather, characteristic studies conducted within the nexus of grounded theory approaches), peoples' meanings, experiences and bases for actions are similarly identified as legitimate data sources. Unlike "harder" ethnographic approaches which require a total immersion in the "natural settings" of participants to get to the data sources, a grounded theory approach can include interviews and degrees to participant observation methods. Further, it allows seeing people and their subjective frames as primary data sources, in what Blaikie (2000: 115) refers to as the "insider view". Qualitative interviews and participant observation methods were employed in the present study.

Interviews

As given above, the ontological position of the present study required the generation of peoples' subjective frames as meaningful properties of the social reality the research questions were designed to explore. Epistemologically, the interview method allowed for a legitimate way to generate such utterances as meaningful and situational.

Given the identification of the Westcliff Residents Flats Association (WFRA) as the case study focus, the semi-structured, qualitative interviews began with active members of the movement organization. These included 10 individuals with varying periods of participation and leadership in the organization. Other individuals were identified as Westcliff community members who did not hold an organizational position within the WFRA but who showed regular attendance and volunteered at weekly meetings and events. The combination of Westcliff committee members and local residents comprised the "core movement organization sample" to 18 (further sampling issues are discussed more extensively below). The specific interview script employed on the core social movement sample is reproduced in Appendix 1. A further 7 interviews were conducted

with various academics, researchers and writers identified as holding some relationship to a social movement in Durban or elsewhere. These individuals, designated broadly as "intellectuals" (with recourse to identifying nuances in such a designation), were identified via the "theoretical sampling method" and sought to develop the detail and multi-vocality of the data. No major changes were made to the interview script when speaking with respondents in the core social movement sample; no specific script was used when interviewing intellectuals; instead, relying on an unstructured, loose form of conversation to elicit views on the intellectual puzzle and research questions.

Most of the interviews were conducted from August to November 2007 (see Appendix 2 for the Interview List). All of them took place on locations around Durban, commonly at the Lotus Primary School in Westcliff and the University of Kwazulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. Their duration ranged from 15 to 30 minutes. In most cases, the interaction was between the respondent and I as no focus group interviews took place. All interviews were recorded on a digital voice recorder which was thereafter transcribed onto word documents *in vivo* during the four-month period. During the interviews, I jotted down notes on which salient and other interesting points were raised, including observational notes on the interview itself where necessary.

The interview method was suited to develop "social explanations and arguments" (Mason, 1996: 65) that could emphasise the depth, nuance and complexity of the data itself. As opposed to developing a broad survey of surface patterns in large populations, "depth" and "roundness of understanding" was sought in a smaller interview sample group.

The contact details of participants within the WFRA were gathered at the early stages of the research before arranging to meet with the chairperson of the same organization. A prominent figure in the South African left, this respondent thereafter facilitated further contact with individuals actively associated with the WFRA. Before commencing with actual interviews, face-to-face contact with potential respondents was made with the intent on establishing collegial relations and expressing my interests as a researcher and

participant where possible. These preliminary methods of data generation along with observational notes as helped to develop the interview script and shape the conduct of the study.

As it was assessed at the data analysis stage, a multiple range of perspectives were recorded as emanating from the Westcliff constituency and without any significant contradictions. This confirms that the overall depiction was more collective and representative and based on an appropriate sampling method. Further interviewees were contacted via the referrals and suggestions of WFRA respondents as well as driven by personal decisions. These theoretically sampled individuals included academics, researcher officers, administrators, visiting international scholars, post-graduate students, as well as "community liaisons officers" (often social movement participants themselves) positioned in organizational contexts. This broader and more diffuse group developed the complexity and richness of the data.

The interviews began by introducing who I was and explaining my purpose. An informed consent form was then co-signed in which the full details of the research and the respondent's participation therein was reiterated (See Appendix 3). Anonymity and confidentiality was reiterated. It was pointed out that a voice recording instrument would be used; with their consent thereof the interview commenced.

The most time-consuming part of the interview process was the work involved in transcribing and coding. While this resulted in extra work, the overall interview sample was sufficiently manageable to prevent spending several weeks on this process alone. This provided the benefit of having a written account of the interview script based on the "actual situation" and had a particular bearing on the data analysis process, affording the opportunity of making use of direct quotes in assessing conclusions.

Participant Observation

On the nature of participant observation, Marshall and Rossman (1995: 60) relate:

> The researcher may plan a role that entails varying degrees of "participantness" –
> that is, the degree of actual participation in daily life. At one extreme is the full
> participant, who goes about ordinary life in a role or set of roles constructed in the
> setting. At the other extreme is the complete observer, who engages not at all in
> social interaction and may even shun involvement in the world being studied.
> And, of course, all possible complementary mixes along the continuum are
> available to the researcher.

While participant observation methods could not access and generate the specific
ontological properties sought in the study (one cannot participate in and observe
another's subjective frames but must allow the respondent to verbalise and produce them,
more appropriately generated by interviews), the method had an important bearing on
developing my reflexivity in the research process as a matter of necessity. In line with the
"constructivist grounded theory approach" and seeking to extend the variegated
methodological approaches of new social movement studies, my position as an active and
reflexive researcher was expressed by being visible, engaged in the participants' activities
and life worlds with an interest to participate whenever possible.

Fieldwork commenced approximately two months before that of interviewing, from June
2007 to date. Participant observation in specific WFRA activities and events were often
crisscrossed with involvement in other workshops, seminars, film screenings and lecture
presentations in an around Durban, especially those held by the Centre for Civil Society
(CCS) – a UKZN-based research and training organization with explicit links to social
movements (including the WFRA) and other social justice organizations. Participant
observation notes were taken throughout this period and provided a background against
which the more focused interviews could take place.

Specific forms of participation in WFRA activities included attendance during weekly meetings, both as a committee and with the general constituency. Observations on how campaigns, resource-generating activities, workshop facilitation and collective action were made, where possible. Field notes were taken throughout this period with respect to their relevance to the purpose and direction of the study. These notes played the important role of discerning how movement activity developed in interaction with all outside social actors, including movement intellectuals. As part of the observation, broad questions were asked of movement participants to attain the gist of what conversational partners thought and felt on a topic, providing the background wherein a narrower focus by interview questioning could take place.

Research Question / Design Chart

Mason (2002: 27) suggests the development of a chart illustrating the complementarity between research questions, data sources, and methods used in a design. The following represents such an exercise with the attempt to show the consistencies between these various dimensions in research design with the added use of providing further explanation on the key research questions.

Research Questions	Data Sources and Methods	Justification
How do WFRA participants conceive of the development of the movement organization as a collective process of "meaning construction"?	Data Sources: WFRA Committee Members and Westcliff Community Residents; also, where possible, intellectuals once or presently associated with the movement organization. Data Methods: Qualitative Interviews and Participant Observation	Qualitative interviews provide respondents "subjective frames" on the emergence and early development of the movement from within their own "schemata of interpretation" (Goffman, 1974: 21). Instead of accounting for the emergence and early development of the movement in objective terms, qualitative interviewing focuses on actual movement participants, providing "subjective frames" laden with meanings and experiences on the subject. Also, the analysis of participation observation notes reveal how this "story" of movement development was constructed collectively and how such an effort continues to bind movement participants together.
How do WFRA participants construct the story of the movement organization's development as constitutive of interactions with movement intellectuals?	Data Sources: WFRA Committee Members and Westcliff Community Residents; also, intellectuals once or presently associated with the movement organization. Data Methods: Qualitative Interviews and Participant Observation	Investigating the subjective frames of movement participants' story of the movement organization's development as constituting interaction with movement intellectuals seeks to re-present how personal experiences, meanings and grounds for action come to play a role in the fabric of the relationship between the two groups. More broadly, the priority assigned to these ontological properties and this research question seeks to provide how WFRA respondents' actively construct (in their capacity to "frame") the contents of relationships with movement intellectuals.
What lessons and warnings do WFRA participants provide for any general relationship between movement intellectuals and movement organizations?	Data Sources: WFRA Committee Members and Westcliff Community Residents. Data Methods: Qualitative Interviews and Participant Observation	As this research question requires some depth and nuance in respondent's subjective frames, the quality of data provided by qualitative interviewing is appropriate. Continuing a line of interest from the previous two research questions, this question hones in on the subjectivity of WFRA participants to re-construct what they regard as possible lessons and warnings in any general relationship between movement intellectuals and movement organizations. Here, the specific experiences, accounts, and grounds for action held by WFRa participants are given priority, certainly exactable by qualitative interviewing methods.

Sampling Design

Characteristic of grounded theory approaches, "theoretical sampling" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) was employed to guide the iterative conduct of data collection, analysis and theory building. The intent to acquire "information-rich" data sources was the basic process and as further interviews were conducted, new data sources were identified. As Glaser and Strauss note,

> Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is *controlled* by the emerging theory (1967: 45).

All sampling decisions were not made entirely in advance of commencement of the project but were rather dictated by the processes of the study. The important guidelines were in asking whether the sample provided access to enough data and with the right focus to enable the research to address its key questions. The sample extended from a central focus on the WFRA committee to the larger community of residents from the area, to intellectuals affiliated to social movements around Durban until it was felt that a comprehension of the central questions of the research and preliminary arguments on the primary "intellectual puzzle" could be made. In this way, the size of the sample was determined by the imperative to have the sample large enough to make meaningful arguments in relation to the central research questions and intellectual puzzle.

The following represents a formulation of the sample grid as the interview process came to a close; 25 interviews were conducted in the total sample.

Total Sample Size: minimum 25 interviews

To include:

At least 10 interviews with participants associated with the Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA) committee. Herein known as "WFRA Committee Members";

At least 8 interviews with various Westcliff community residents who actively participate in WFRA community meetings. Herein known as "Westcliff Community Members";

At least 7 interviews with academics, researchers and other persons in intellectual positions known to have or have had some affiliation with social movement organizations in Durban or elsewhere. Herein known as "Intellectuals".

Data Analysis

The results of the data analysis process are explained in the following chapters (4 and 5) in the manner of arguments constructed as relevant to the central research questions and primary intellectual puzzle. The logic of the data analysis, which can be explained at this point, drew on the suggestions of leading analysts in the "grounded theory approach", Rubin and Rubin (1995: 226-227),

> Data analysis begins while the interviews is [sic] still underway. This preliminary analysis tells you how to redesign your questions to focus in on central themes as you continue interviewing. After the interviewing is complete, you begin a more detailed and fine-grained analysis of what your conversational partners told you.

In this formal analysis, you discover additional themes and concepts and build toward an overall explanation. To begin the final data analysis, put into one category all the material from your interviews that speaks to one theme or concept. Compare material within the categories to look for variations and nuances in meanings. Compare across the categories to discover connections within themes. The goal is to integrate the themes and concepts into a theory that offers an accurate, detailed, yet subtle interpretation of your research arena. The analysis is complete when you feel that you can share with others what your interpretation means for policymaking, for theory, and for understanding the social and political world.

What is important to note is that the "theory" in grounded theory approaches are less categorical than the term suggests; as evident in the above excerpt, the theory is accurate, detailed, though subtle and interpretive. Relying on guidelines in the cognitive praxis approach of Eyerman and Jamison (1991) the nature of the conclusions reached are more of "social explanations and arguments" (Mason, 2002: 65) and were reached by prioritizing the subjective frames of WFRA movement participants – by allowing the data "to speak for itself" as much as possible.

Pigeon and Henwood (2004: 620) identify seven core aspects relevant to analysis in the grounded theory approach; these steps were followed where relevant: Developing open-coding schemes to capture the detail, variation and complexity of observations and other material obtained; Sampling data and cases on theoretical grounds, and as analysis progresses, to extend the emergent theory ("theoretical sampling"); Constantly comparing data instances, cases and categories for conceptual similarities and differences (the method of "constant comparison"); Writing theoretical memoranda to explore emerging concepts and links to existing theory; Continuing to make comparisons and use of theoretical sampling until no new or further relevant insights are being reached ("saturation"); Engaging in more focused coding of selected core categories; Tactics to force analysis from descriptive to more theoretical levels (such as writing definitions of core categories and building conceptual models).

What is implicit in Pigeon and Henwood's approach, however, is a "categorical" form of indexing in grounded theory analysis. In contrast, the present study employed a contextual, case study and "holistic" approach to data organization in analyzing the qualitative data generated from interviews and (to a lesser extent) participant observation notes (Mason, 2002: 165-168). Essentially, this form of data organization sought to reveal the discrete parts within the larger data set of interview transcripts and participant observation notes. Documented was what individual parts meant in relation to the "whole story" of the WFRA in terms of the central research questions. It was therefore the outcome of the practice guided by the search for the particular in context rather than a search for the common or consistent.

The benefit of such an approach to data analysis revealed the distinctiveness of the WFRA and each respondent's subjective frames therein as different parts of the overall data set and an appreciation of the complex ways in which they interrelated. Furthermore, by avoiding the organization of the data around cross-sectional themes and topics, the specific and idiosyncratic qualities of the data were revealed; this allowed for an awareness of how specific dynamics and processes work in particular contexts and assisted in the development of a certain kind of explanatory logic.

Within the data whole, the data was read interpretively; that is, by making specific constructions of a version of what I thought the data meant or represented. All data is in some way constructed by the researcher, however, at the same time, such interpretations are to be balanced by the validity of the data in itself. As the data was generated "emically", with an explicit interest in respondents' subjective frames, an attempt at empirical validity was made in "letting the data speak for itself". It was this attempt at balance between presenting interviewees' own interpretations and understandings and my own representations thereon that the stage of data analysis was characterised.

Chapter 5
Interpretation of Data and Arguments

Ethnographers do not have an undisputed warrant to study others; this right has been lost. Self-reflection is no longer an option, nor can it be presumed that objective accounts of another's situation can be easily given. Truth is also always personal and subjective. An evocative and not a representational epistemology is sought [(Denzin, 1997: 265 – 266) in Mason, 2002: 177].

Introduction

The present chapter provides a re-presentation of the subjective frames of movements participants encountered during the course of the study. As given before, these accounts are balanced with the always-already process of interpretation an author is engaged in during qualitative (and, perhaps to a lesser extent, quantitative) research. The result is a textured mix of arguments that evocate the subjective frames of movements participants on the central research questions. These key questions comprised the slices or bags of data during the data organization stage and thus allow for the development of arguments along these lines.

The arguments generated rely on the selection of several concepts, ideas, and opinions reviewed in Chapter 3. The opportunity in having reviewed these sources was the development of a deeper understanding on what was particular and unique to the WFRA experience as well as what may be understood commensurably. At the same time, Eyerman and Jamison's (1991) key concepts are given explanation in the following as these concepts were in themselves crucial guides in the development of the key research questions. Where findings diverge from common expectations and concept-definitions, independent arguments are made; overall though, the arguments reached are more

specific to the central research questions. "Larger" conclusive arguments are made in the following chapter.

The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA)

The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA) is a movement organization that has its roots in some of the earliest efforts at community mobilization in South Africa. But it also a collective expression of community interests, bringing people together in activities other than "contentious politics"[18]. As its name suggests, it is a flat-dwellers association with a district defined by the e-Thekwini Durban City Council, the municipal sphere of government, and committed to providing a forum and dialogue on issues immediately relevant to residents in the Westcliff area, as you would find in any other area of similar residential needs. As one respondent outlines,

> We actually have 12 members on the organization, 5 of them are black and the rest are Indian. We work on a daily basis because there's work happening in the community everyday. There's plumbing at the moment; the electrical is just finished. If there are any complaints within the community we attend to it with the municipality. At the moment, more than a hundred people are employed on the Telkom Energy Saver Project because of the initiative of the WFRA; many unemployed people are now employed. So we work on a daily a basis. (WFRA Committee Member; 08/15/07).

Public meetings are held once a week at a local primary school attended by committee members and approximately 50 residents from around the area. These Wednesday meetings are important forums for the exchange of information between committee

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[18] Defined as "episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects when (a) at least one government is a claimant, and object of claims, or a party to the claims and (b) the claims would, if realised, affect the interests of at least one of the claimants" (McAdam *et al*, 2003: 5). For the purposes of this study, characteristic features of a social movement.

members and residents on a number of critical issues including proposals and policy direction from the Council, complaints on quality control and maintenance on flats and, assistance with letters and notices residents receive from the Council. Committee members participate on a steering committee every Tuesday with a host of other participants including Council officials from various departments (electrical, water and plumbing, housing and infrastructure), contractors assigned by Council on upgrading initiatives, and representatives from the neighbouring Bayview Flats Residents Association (BFRA), located in unit 2, Chatsworth. These meetings are more technical in nature and relate to the details of upgrading initiatives, proposed dates for commencement of contractor-work, and the specific method of implementation in new service provisions (including the pre-paid electrical and water meters). Importantly, these meetings are also points of exchange between the popular sentiments and proposals of residents from both Bayview and Westcliff in their capacity to have committee representatives interface with officials from the Council. Hence, complaints are taken directly to the Tuesday meetings as officials are brought to respond on pressing complaints and inconveniences faced by residents. The difficulty, however, is that only low-ranking officials attend the steering committee meetings, irregularly at that, and are unable to offer the critical information sought by community representatives nor affect policy decisions at higher levels in the Council.

Every second to third Sunday, larger public meetings are held, organised and publicised via pamphlets by the WFRA. These meetings are attended by approximately 100 residents from around the area and consolidate much of the content raised and developed during earlier meetings. It is perhaps during these meetings that the WFRA exhibits the character of being a "social movement" most clearly. While residents are free to raise specific issues relevant to the quality and maintenance of their flats, the discussions are positioned on a broader level that include the question of alternatives should any working relationship "break down" with the City Council. The mood is more jubilant and discussions more lively, as the daily grind of responding to individual letters and notices written by the Council, formulating complaints on one's living conditions, and attending meetings, give way to an appreciation of some shared condition and common purpose.

These Sunday meetings are important forums for the discussion of long-term strategies and provide a breathing space for residents (and committee members) who require some perspective on the logic behind their activities. It has been lamented that residents who do attend the meetings consist of only a fraction of the total population of those within the area, nevertheless, are encouraged to find some common voice and direction on the task of making broader political claims on the Council and indeed, the government.

Social mobilization and protest is often given as a distinct and viable alternative in the options for engagement with the e-Thekwini Durban City Council. Committee members regularly remind residents of recent successes and concessions from the Council made possible only after the demonstration of mass action and pressure from the community. The most recent example of this concerns the Council's proposal to install pre-paid meters in the service provision of electricity to flats in the Westcliff area. Given the negative experiences recorded by residents in Bayview and Crossmore[19] where the roll-out has already commenced, the WFRA took a decision to resist any attempt to install a pre-paid meter in the area until recommendations on existing inadequacies and errors be dealt with. Such a decision was made with a simple and clear call to physically resist the entry of contractors and technicians with intent to install the meter. This was then suggested to Council officials during one Tuesday meeting (19/02/08) and has since led to a series of internal investigations by the Council on the certification and competency of contractors used in previous electrical work done in the community. It may have taken several months before the point was appreciated, but the quality of electrical work done by previous contractors have come under the spotlight and this has only been through the persistent complaints of residents as well as threats of direct action organised by the WFRA.

The more traditional forms of social mobilization that the WFRA, alongside wider configurations of movement organization, have employed in the past are similarly a part of the organization's current repertoire of contention: marches to City Hall to offer memoranda to higher ranking city officials, non-payment of utilities, commencing an

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[19] A community in Chatsworth facing similar challenges as those found in Bayview and Westcliff.

ongoing and public delegitimation of the ANC government, and rigoristically avoiding any terms of negotiation and "working relationship" until demands are met,

> The Westcliff Flats Residents association is one community that no councillor easily moves into the community to evict anybody or if the police arrive to disconnect water and electricity. The municipality doesn't engage or come into the community without associating with us. So we are an organization that is very active in what we are doing, and we are highly recognised. The only way we maintain this over the years is the fact that we work on a day to day basis within the community. And we fight when we have to. We come together in just a message being passed around – to get people together. Believe me if something ever happens in the community, the organization is on board. But also, even if someone dies and there's no money to bury, the organization helps out. So there's a lot of things the organization is involved in (WFRA committee member; 08/15/07)

Following McAdam *et al* (2003: 5) we can identify the WFRA as a movement organization engaged in contentious politics; however, as the authors proceed to note, much of what lies behind contentious politics consists of consultation, bureaucratic process, collection of information, registration of events, and so on: "Much of politics takes place in the internal social relations of a party, bureau, faction, union, community, or interest group and involves no collective public struggle whatsoever" (5). It is thus important to note that the two features of the WFRA – as residents association and social movement – are not entirely separate functions but confluent streams in organizing the needs and claims of the community of Westcliff.

Developing and Constructing Meanings in the WFRA

Tracing its early history and development from the perspective of movement participants revealed a process of "meaning construction" as individuals were drawn into collective struggle. All participants interviewed conveyed the emergence of the WFRA as derivative of changes in their personal identities and the life-world of residents in the area,

> I moved into the community in 1997. I was given a flat by the municipality. When I moved into the Westcliff area, I found that a lot of people were facing huge difficulties; electricity was disconnected very frequently. Not so much water at that time. But lots of people were facing disconnections. And we found that poverty was very rife in that community. In fact, just before us starting to organise, one lady was facing an eviction. She was given a seven-day notice to leave the premises. And because she didn't have an alternative and had minor children, she overdosed and almost lost her life. And that caused an uproar in the community. That was my first touch of understanding what it is like to be threatened by evictions, you know, my real sense of understanding that people are really being disconnected from electricity and so on. There was a sense of a lot of people starting to talk to each other around these issues (WFRA Committee Member, 09/06/07).

In another respondent's account, the dramatic experience of being evicted by the private security company, the "blackjacks", armed with teargas and forcibly attacking people, had led to an ethical commitment and bond to other members of the community.

> The day of the eviction, I never thought something like that would happen to me. It was something frightful; it was more something out of a movie. You know, you go to the movies and get so excited seeing these arrogant men coming with big guns. It was as if a movie was taking place outside my door. And it was scary

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because I had my 8 year old son at home at the time. My other kids were at school. And then my husband was trying to protect us ... It was very dramatic. But the way the people stood by us and they gave their services. They got teargassed because of us. People stood right on the stairway [preventing the evictors from entering to remove household possessions]. My neighbour actually got sjambokked[20] trying to prevent the blackjacks from coming, trying to say, you know what, "let them be" ... That is why I said to myself, I would not want this to happen to someone else. The experience I had wasn't a very good experience. It was a terrible, frightening thing. That is why I will always stand my ground when it comes to evictions (Westcliff Community Resident, 11/01/07).

The "frames of references", then, for the emerging articulation of protest in the WFRA can be gleaned from the accumulation of individual experiences and, eventually, gaining a wider resonance within the community. The creation of the collective identity was based on this developing process as participants continued to meaningfully grasp the forms of practical activity and interactions available within their immediate social environment or context,

We knew we had to organise after the government decided to chop-off the child support grant – you know, this grant the Nationalist government had provided to Indian people – it was chopped by one-third and in the same month, local government decided, at the time, I think they were called the Durban Municipality, they decided to increase the rents in the same month. Already people were in at a state of difficulty because the maintenance grant was not enough to support their families. They were barely surviving off that maintenance grant and now with it being chopped by one-third, obviously that put them at an even greater difficulty. And then we found that the rents increased and people started to become very concerned that the situation could get worse than it is. And that was the basis on which we decided to come together and organise (WFRA Committee Member, 09/27/07).

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[20] Whipped

Eyerman and Jamison's (1991) concept of "cognitive praxis" is aptly available in the stories as retold by movement participants of the WFRA. As individuals were brought into the collective frame of the emergent movement and imbued with a particular consciousness, a process of identity-construction was set in motion. New concepts, ideas and intellectual activities were evident as participants began to share-in worldviews and specific positions on topics and issues that affected them directly. The discourse of socio-economic and constitutional rights was often cited in this participant's retelling, further evocating the process of *social learning* that was so central to developing the WFRA's cognitive praxis,

> In the beginning we were more an issue-driven organization, where there were issues on the ground that people were facing and that was the basis of us starting to organise. We knew that if we were going to grow we had to come together and organise. Since then, we have grown in strength and a lot of us now truly understand our rights; we have grown more powerful knowing our rights to actually resist and to stand up to authority (Westcliff Community Member, 09/26/07).

It is evident, then, that the participants of the WFRA understood the movement to be "processes in formation"; very little organizational coherence was explained where issues of identity and development were concerned. Instead, the spontaneous reaction of community members to resist the encroachment of the local government was explained as having set the WFRA "in motion". These pre-organizational sentiments were crucial in the development of the WFRA as it provided the foundation on which further structures were eventually put in place. More importantly, these sentiments have not been displaced in the growing organizational form of the WFRA since its inception; the dangers of "too much" organization were expressly known by movement participants which indicates an important self-awareness on the relationship between the movement's strategies and its identity as one of open and fluid responsiveness to community needs,

No, once you start growing an organization then you get problems with funding, you need more people, and so on; you have to start looking after the organization more than your constituency. So we decided to avoid all of that and keep the organization smaller. It's helped, because the people who are in the committee are from the area and are available day and night (WFRA Committee Member, 09/27/07).

Participants interviewed agreed on the dynamic nature of the WFRA since its inception nearly ten years ago. Where change in both the identity of the movement organization and relations with other social actors were expressed, multiple, interconnected processes were related. As given above, one process was of "social learning" as participants came to experience new dimensions in their life-worlds, extending their meaning structures. Contiguously, processes of individual to collective consciousness as experiences were shared-in by families, neighbours and friends. The essence of such recollections by movement participants was an intuitive understanding on the dynamics involved in the WFRA's *becoming*.

These processes of becoming were highly contingent and relate to how the movement was shaped by both internal and external processes (analytically speaking). As internal processes, several constituents from the Westcliff community brought their own previous experiences and memories to bear on the prevailing conditions, imbuing the growing organization with a sense of collective identity and purpose. The articulation of individuals' lives as affected by larger structural forces was made (first by the apartheid government, and later by stringent government policy, for example); crucially these internal processes were precursors to the formation of an "organizational identity". As one academic remembers,

The thing is that organizations never have a definite beginning point; in a place like Westcliff that exists for over a decade, there's always a historical memory of organizing. The people involved in the organization might be different, but they remember past struggles. By the time I got to Westcliff in 1997, there had already

been skirmishes and confrontations with police but there wasn't any organizational impetus ... "Organizational identity" might be a word that needs to be debated; instead, as the City Council and the Police came to evict the people, they almost spontaneously rose against it and mobilised against it and then went back to their houses. So there wasn't a sustaining organization but people knew they were a collective group by virtue of living together and really, struggling together as some of them had been in the past (Intellectual, 08/31/07).

Additionally, external processes that socially conditioned the WFRA's identity included reactions from opponents (including the state police, party officials, and local usurpers), interactions with other emergent flat-dwellers movements in and around Chatsworth and, a host of other "outside" social actors. As the WFRA was to grow in sustaining some degree of organizational coherence and identity, the influence of actors outside of its immediate community was thus central. Another activist relates,

> The inclusion of the Westcliff community into the CCF – the Concerned Citizens Forum – was how the community was eventually brought on board on a national, some would say, global level. Of course it's no longer active; some would say because of strategic problems, but I think it did offer a viable, ongoing vehicle for the many, many communities facing the devastating effects of government's GEAR [Growth, Employment and Redistribution] policy at the local level. People were beginning to realise that my hardship, your pain, and your suffering were in fact, national and global issues and that the cause for self-determination must mean a broader terrain of struggle (Intellectual, 08/31/07).

The status of the WFRA as, at one point, participating in a broader alliance or coalition of social movements and working-class communities across the country has certainly affected the contingency of its development. As Dywer (2004) in his study of the CCF noted, the CCF enabled people from various community-based organizations to exchange experiences and skills as "struggle plumbers and electricians" to "illegally" reconnect disconnected tenants alongside regularly held video screenings and other social events (1-

2). At the same time, some of the largest collective mobilization efforts in the country, including the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) in August 2001, were centrally conducted by the CCF. As a founding affiliate of the Social Movements Indaba (SMI) and playing a pivotal role in a number of solidarity marches and rallies in partnership with groups elsewhere in the country, the involvement of the WFRA as a constituent community-based organization in the CCF is certainly a case of external influence in the contingent development of the WFRA's identity and praxis.

It is outside the scope of this present study to include evocative analyses on the many relationships that the WFRA has maintained over the course of its development as internal and external processes, vouchsafing instead to focus on that of movement intellectuals and the WFRA. What is fundamental to the WFRA's experience (and characteristic of all social-psychological accounts) is how participants interpreted these processes to construct meanings and frames relevant to their immediate circumstances and life-worlds.

To speak of the contingency of the WFRA's identity and development is thus to ask the question on what processes, both internal and external, have shaped the WFRA over time. Following Eyerman and Jamison (1991: 4), the WFRA then exists as a result of "social conditioning" between the constituents of the organization and any outside social actor. The result of the WFRA as an outcome of interactional processes is useful insofar as it resists the full closure of a movement's identity as if static and fixed in time. Instead, by according priority to the dynamics (contested and variable) involved in movement development, the WFRA is more appropriately conceived as the collective expression of relations in specific contexts. And as relations change over time through altered and altering contexts, the identity and praxis of any movement organization is thus subject to change also. To capture what is distinctive about the WFRA's development is to investigate these social processes.

WFRA Interactions with Movement Intellectuals

In keeping with Eyerman and Jamison (1991), the involvement of movement intellectuals as constituent actors in the development of the WFRA's was relevant. In a sense, movement intellectuals facilitate the social conditioning a movement undergoes over time, making visible its cognitive praxis by engaging in "meaning work". Respondents within the WFRA community, however, did not regard the identity and role/s of movement intellectuals associated therewith as if directing the content and impact of the movement "from on high". In contrast to notions of intellectuals playing a commanding role in the overall dimensions of the WFRA, movement participants often related how movement intellectuals were in themselves shaped by the ethos of the movement. All WFRA participants advanced a definition of the intellectual as one who "comes from outside", is usually highly educated and whose involvement is generally, one of episodic intervention,

> Somebody that is very educated, has got much authority in what he does and is somebody that is usually a big lecturer and in high places. That is what I feel an intellectual is ... [Intellectuals usually become involved] when we have mass rallies or toyi toyis[21], maybe when we go to the university, to have lectures and so on ... during single events (WFRA Committee Member, 09/20/07).

Popular intellectuals associated with the WFRA were expressed with reference to specific individuals, often referring to the retired sociologist and anti-apartheid activist, Professor Fatima Meer. In other accounts, Professor E.G. Pillay[22] and Dr. Ashwin Desai[23] were cited as those intellectuals once or currently associated with the movement organization. Professor Fatima Meer, when referred to, was explained as someone who might have entered into the community with specific (sectarian) interests but who underwent a

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[21] A style of collective protest characterised by jubilant hops and surging movements.
[22] Professor E.G. Pillay – academic associated with the University of KwaZulu-Natal.
[23] Dr. Ashwin Desai – sociologist, activist and author of a widely read text on community struggles in post-apartheid South Africa, *We are the Poors* (2002).

process of re-education in her engagement with the constituencies of the WFRA and across Chatsworth more generally.

> In the beginning we had a lawyer, and he came from an ANC background. But as we proceeded, we found that he had a loyalty to the ANC and partly we saw ourselves failing because he was a member of the ANC and we were fighting an ANC-led municipality. So we had to readjust, refocus and reorganise altogether. So when we were nearing the 1999 general elections, that was when we invited people from all political parties and also at the time, Fatima Meer was working for the Concerned Citizens Group (CCG) which was actually campaigning for ANC votes in the Indian community. But when she addressed the community she said that she was surprised to see the real plight of the people in Chatsworth. She never understood that Chatsworth was a place where poor people lived, you know. And given that understanding, she came into the community, she visited and given the fact that she saw that people were living in terrible poverty, obviously she's changed her focus and direction (WFRA Committee Member, 08/15/07).

Gramsci's conception of a traditional intellectual moving into an organic relationship to a movement constituency is appropriate in describing Professor Fatima Meer's transition from ANC vote-canvassing to playing a critical role in articulating a confrontational politics alongside the Westcliff community. With similar reference to the lawyer whose ANC-loyalty was subsequently exposed, it is apparent that the constituency of the WFRA were able to tell the difference between those intellectuals legitimately committed to the interests of the movement, and those who were not but who would pretend allegiance. In this way, the identity of intellectuals associated with the WFRA was never "ready-made". What is clear is the process wherein movement intellectuals and their roles were made only after honest and sustained engagement with the community and its politics.

In discussing the identity and roles of movement intellectuals associated with the WFRA, it is appropriate to grasp what appears to be the nature of leadership in WFRA movement

life. As opposed to the ideological prescriptions of vanguardism and other forms of hierarchical political organization where individuals are said (and indeed, are required of them) to play particularly exclusive, often intellectually leading roles, many WFRA participants were at pains to emphasise the importance of the "immediate constituency" before all else. This principle is reflected in the constitution and operations of the WFRA itself, as a committee that is incapable of acting without the popular support of residents within the Westcliff community,

> No, I don't think the WFRA is made up of intellectuals. I think they are community speakers in the committee. We see to the interests of the community first, before all other intellectual or political issues. The heart is in the community before all else. I would not say there are intellectuals [in the WFRA], there are community speakers (Westcliff Community Member, 08/22/07).

And, in a conversation with another community member,

> I think the local leaders are doing a very good job. If it wasn't for their trust and their respect for the people of the community, we wouldn't have reached where we are today. Through that trust, we have achieved a relationship with the Council at the moment. Coming to community leaders, I think they are doing a better job (Westcliff Community Member, 08/28/07).

Every Westcliff community resident interviewed agreed on the satisfactory operations of committee members in the WFRA and the functioning of the organization itself. While there have been incidents where committee members were criticised and threatened with assault for "bringing bad news" or appeared to "fail" a resident in his or her dealings with the Council (Interview, WFRA Committee Member, 08/22/07), the current relationship between committee members and residents can be said to involve mutual respect and trust. Internal divisions and ruptures in the relationship between representatives and broader constituencies are always clear and distinct dangers in most forms of political organization. What is clear from the WFRA experience is that there is an explicit attempt

to continuously remind residents of what role the WFRA has to play and why personal leaderships of any kind are unnecessary and unwanted.

Interestingly, while one member of the WFRA was often identified as an intellectual, at the very least a community leader with intellectual leanings, by other academics and intellectuals covered in the study, the participant explicitly refused such a designation,

> Where I'm coming from, every single day, I work within the Westcliff community, I know the history; yes I'm very knowledgeable on what's happening there, and I'm up to speed on the everyday happenings within that community. I'm very involved in working "from the ground" – that is where I work. But I'm not doing this to be an intellectual. Some intellectuals, I won't say all, they get involved in community struggles only for themselves but don't really care about the people living in the community. I moved into a poor community after I got married and I realised that this was a different world altogether and in that community I found that women were really suffering; that's what really motivated me to start doing the work that I'm presently involved in doing. So I don't really have a background or a struggle history as some people would call it. I think I come from the ground; I would never ever identify myself as an intellectual as some people would call it (WFRA Committee Member, 08/15/07).

Other WFRA participants agreed that while the public recognition of this WFRA member was considerable, extending globally, the mere fact of being a resident of Westcliff and member of the organizational form of the WFRA meant that no "total leadership" was possible. Residents committees have a long history in Chatsworth, inspired by a range of experiences with participation in much broader forums, especially with the activities of Concerned Citizens Group (CCG) at the turn of previous decade. As Desai (2000:10) notes, with the development of the CCG, a process of awakening began as the "hidden reserves of leadership" grew more visible and inspired the like in other areas. What is apparent in Westcliff, however, is that it is perhaps the only locale in Chatsworth where the initial impetus has remained without the "dangers" of moving toward higher and

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more complex forms of organization that often create dependencies on resources and, especially, on leadership. This is certainly helped by the fact that the so-called leader of Westcliff is by no means interested in assuming such a title and has the humility to submit before the interests of the community. This might not be the case elsewhere in Chatsworth, where evidence of splits within the actual constituency was found to crisscross with a lack of belief in any leadership or organization in the area. [interview, community resident, 19/02/08].

Leadership, then, involves critical questions of how organisation is made possible and what "distance" is to lie between the constituency and those designated as "speakers" or "leaders". The following WFRA participant spoke fluently on the subject,

> I think any movement, and constituency should reflect the people that live in it and the views of the people that live in that community. And I think that for anybody, be it an academic, be it a leader, or anybody, the views of the people and the plight of the people are very critical issues in organizing. When we organised in that one and a half years prior to meeting intellectuals like Fatima Meer and Ashwin Desai and getting acquainted with many lawyers and other people, we were operating without a constitution, without knowing our rights, without having any terms of reference as well, and we found that we encountered difficulties, but we worked together and exchanged with each other and the organization has improved (WFRA Committee Member, 10/25/07).

In another respondent's words,

> Intellectuals are needed, yes; but they have to be told what is going on in the community because they don't live here. I come right from the ground of experiencing what it is like to not have a meal, to be disconnected from electricity and water, what it is to live next to your neighbour who is dying and doesn't have money for burial. So I come from experiencing the plight of the community that I work in (WFRA Committee Member, 08/15/07).

A clear sense of what an intellectual *should* be certainly emerged from the interviews. Movement participants encountered in this study would not disagree that movement intellectuals play an important role in articulating themes or expressing the tensions more accurately for collective purposes; but at the same time, maintain that the responsibility does not lie exclusively with them. The basis of experience shared by all movement participants was reiterated as the platform on which true knowledge on and action for the WFRA is made possible.

Likewise, as Eyerman and Jamison (1991) relate, the cognitive praxis of a movement is as a result of the *dialogical* process between a movement constituency and various movement intellectuals. It is thus a two-way process of education and re-education between those experiencing the immediate deprivations of a disenfranchised constituency and those who do not but who seek some relationship (of "meaning-work") therewith. Where, on the one hand, a movement intellectual such as Professor Fatima Meer would tergiversate learning of the government's (and her political party's) complicity in socio-economic violence against the poor, on the other, the community of Westcliff (and indeed, across Chatsworth and in other parts of the country) were to gain tremendously in the development of their own stories of resistance by the involvement of Professor Fatima Meer. As another academic / researcher comments,

> One of the good things was that [Professor Fatima Meer] couldn't become a dominant figure simply because she was quite old and not well at the time, but she could be a powerful articulator of the peoples' interest that would not narrowly be seen as parochial or even racist because this was a mainly Indian community, and so on. So she could do two things: because of her legitimacy in the liberation movement, she could articulate those struggles on a broader platform and give it that kind of legitimacy. And secondly, bring her own political experiences to play by telling people how they needed to organise non-racially and across racial grounds, and give them access to the media; the media became interested in the story precisely because Fatima Meer was interested in it (Intellectual, 10/10/07).

Another movement participant continues,

> Personally, I was educated about my rights, you know, what I could do, what I couldn't do, how we could organise in the community. And then as we became more official we drew our own terms of reference: a constitution which the community adopted; we were elected very democratically at a public meeting with the community. So all of those things fell into place with the assistance of these intellectuals. Let me say that we have affiliated ourselves to a lot of academic intellectuals – some are from NGOs and so on; we are linked to a lot of NGOs around the country, and even locally like SDCEA where Des[24] comes from, which are NGOs. If we look at the academics, I think partly they have played a critical role in shaping our organization. Because had we not educated ourselves on our rights, we would not have had the power to resist (WFRA Committee Member, 09/06/07).

The role of movement intellectuals in the construction of an adversary was found to be central to the development of the WFRA. As Eyerman and Jamison (1991: 101) note, the early development of a movement hinges on the ability of movement intellectuals to thematise the felt needs of a community in speeches, articles, tracts and books as a new collective identity emerges. Central to this is the constitution of an "other" or an adversary on which the movement will interact. As one respondent argues,

> One of the things that helped was that Fatima Meer was both a sociologist and a campaigner of the ANC but was not tied into the organizational impetus of the ANC. And there were contending movements there who were "outsiders". There was the Minority Front of Rajbansi[25], who were outsiders, pushing a particular line. They

ᵔn Community Environmental Alliance (SDCEA), a highly
ᵔs in the South Durban Basin committed to various causes
ᵔr and work-related disputes and broader social change.
ᵔ Minority Front (MF) and current MEC for Sport
ᵔe MF continues to garner votes on a racialised

were more narrow-minded ANC activists of the ANC Chatsworth branch who had degrees and so on, doctors of medicine and so on, who were quite educated and who were trying to garner votes from the people. But coming from her background, Fatima Meer was saying to the people of Chatsworth, "No to political parties, let us organise on our own, let's look at the common afflictions, let's organise around our deprivation, let's do that, and help develop organic leaders". But the ANC and political leaders were saying, "Come and vote and we will resolve your problems". So Fatima Meer could help set the community on some course of action that they agreed with and that was in opposition to the ANC (Intellectual, 10/11//07).

The process of constructing an "other" was not a one-way process as if Professor Fatima Meer created the image "out of nothing", so to speak. As given before, her tergiversation was based on already existing sentiments including disappointment and anger, against "the perpetrators" responsible for the increasing hardship in the community and elsewhere. Perhaps the image of the adversary was less clear and articulated before the involvement of movement intellectuals like Professor Fatima Meer and took on a more public stage upon their arrival; what is certain is that an "object of the contentious politics" was present prior to intellectual engagement with the community of Westcliff and that the precise and informed identification of what or who this object was, was "worked out" dialogically between movement intellectuals and the broader community.

Similarly, Eyerman and Jamison (1991: 102) relate the problematic process of debate and conflict that often surrounds the definition of a common enemy in social movement life. Other intellectuals and experts in the form of party officials and other development agencies were playing their roles in an attempt to articulate existing WFRA's sentiments against rival political parties. State officials, city managers and personnel could not deny the community's grievances rooted in observable and enduring socio-economic realities and thus sought to influence the situation away from a confrontational politics. Movement intellectuals in the form of Prof. Fatima Meer and others were then identified

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rhetoric while, in principle, submitting to the dominance of the African National Congress (ANC) in parliamentary processes.

as unruly instigators, provocateurs or political agitators. A larger political culture prevailed in which the question of whether an ANC government, still understood as the liberation-party of apartheid struggles, could be legitimately regarded as an adversary or responsible for a growing socio-economic and humanitarian crisis. Multiple actors and contested dynamics then underpinned the constitution of an "other" on which the WFRA was to engage with. These are, no doubt, characteristic features of an organically developing movement, invariably open to competing "wills to truth", competing discourses, as Foucault puts it (Horrocks and Jevtic, 2002: 96)[26]. Crucially, however, in the two-way process of education and re-education between a few movement intellectuals and the broader constituency, individuals like Professor Fatima Meer were able to filter out the otherwise disorienting worldview and helped create the sustainable form of collective identity and praxis that was and currently constitutes the WFRA.

Eyerman and Jamison's (1991) process-oriented view on social movement emergence is important in that it prioritises the often contested nature of movement life, especially in terms of its interactions with outside political and social actors. Because the outcomes of a movement's identity and development are always open and contingent, the capacity of (often elite, resource-rich) individuals or groups to influence them in maladaptive ways is a real and enduring possibility. With the lack of rigid organizational boundaries and strictly defined membership, the possibility of the WFRA losing its initial impetus and direction to outside political interests has remained since its inception, nearly a decade ago. However, accounting for its survival, what is apparent from conversations with the participants is a gestation of "lessons learnt" on these dangers and how to circumvent them. As given before, the exposure and rejection of an ANC lawyer "spying" on the movement during the early phases of the WFRA was a healthy development and since then has set the terms for all outside engagements. Movement participants have good cause to emphasise the localism of the movement's identity and operations; where it was insisted on prioritizing the views of movement participants and community members, it was plain to see that this was because of previous encounters with "outsiders" with less

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[26] "In every society", wrote Foucault, "the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers" (Horrocks and Jevtic, 2002: 96).

than salutary interests. In this way, the perspectives of movement participants in the WFRA reflected a mature understanding of the complexities between all elites, including movement intellectuals so-understood, and the broader base of support,

> I hate it when politicians or researchers use us, as an organization and as a platform for their nonsense. When they come and give false promises and tell us, "through your organization, we are going to do this and do that, have classes for the people, have training" and so on but never do, using the community for their own gain. Especially the politicians. Politicians will come and go. There's a lot of them that used our community, for their own reasons. They did nothing for us, only gave false promises. There have been a lot of them. Visven Reddy[27] was the number one person that used the community (Westcliff Community Member, 08/28/07).

Contested relations between movement intellectuals and other intellectuals are to be found in the WFRA's history. Again, because no WFRA respondent regarded themselves or each other as movement intellectuals in the theoretical sense, participants often spoke of Professor Fatima Meer and the dynamics of her relationships with others competing for "position". As she came on to take an organic relationship with the constituencies around Chatsworth, she also came under explicit attacks on the authenticity and "true" motives behind her involvement. Demonstrating the ever contested nature between elites of both intellectual and institutional position, party political officials, NGO and development personnel and state officials (who often made the mistake of presuming Meer's *vanguard* role in the communities), sought to de-legitimise what was her growing legitimacy in the Chatsworth area. Desai (2000: 12) has noted the accusations of racism that Professor Meer often faced, as if standing up for "Indian" interests, as well as covert criticisms on her personal capacity and competencies as an ageing woman. Similarly, chairpersons of the emergent residents associations during the formation of the CCG

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[27] The first MF councillor to leave the party for the ANC, via the Democratic Alliance (DA). Currently a local African National Congress Councillor.

were set off against each other as potential rivals, often playing out on differences between religion and ethnicity.

As one WFRA participant assists,

> Yes, there have been competitions between these elites [involved in the community]. The few that have been very dedicated, that have really worked really hard in this community, that really dedicated their time, 24/7 to come and help in the community – they don't compete because they know they are not in charge, they don't want to be in charge. You come here to help the community, not to gain fame and name. But I will say, then you get the ones like Visven Reddy, Sharmain Mora[28] and her husband – they just come to use the people for their votes. They want to say, "this is the area I'm working in"; like Rajaram[29] now, the local councillor, who does nothing and will feel no shame in his body to stand and take a photograph and say, "I'm working in this area" (WFRA Committee Member, 09/06/07).

When probed on the nature of this competition between elites, including movement intellectuals in movement life, the respondent continued,

> This brings a lot of division. When someone comes into the community, they might come to bluff the people with a pot of biryani[30], then people say, "this person is doing such nice things". Then the next person comes with loaves of bread. And another person says "see this person is bringing bread everyday for us, what a nice person that is". So that's the competition. See, they use the people to gain name and fame for themselves, using poor people for their own interests, playing their own games with each other (WFRA Committee Member, 09/06/07).

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[28] Local ANC councillors.
[29] The local councillor assigned to the district wherein Westcliff and surrounding areas fall under.
[30] Any variety of Indian dishes made with rice, highly flavoured and coloured with saffron and turmeric, usually mixed with meat or fish.

Another participant spoke of the competition between intellectual elites as "egoistic battles" and malicious attempts to build credentials at the expense of the community,

> Those intellectuals are definitely trying to gain their own credibility. It's definitely an ego battle. Intellectuals and academics always want to be the gatekeepers. If you look at the SMI at the moment, it's not going anywhere. Obviously you take decisions at the meeting and nowhere else – you can't telephonically take decisions, you can't put an email and expect people to respond and take a decision – you have to have a meeting and that's where democratic decisions are taken. Obviously these people that sit and pass statement and judgments – they are the intellectuals doing this harm, not us (WFRA Committee Member, 11/01/07).

Warnings and Lessons in WFRA-Intellectual Engagement.

As given before, common-sense usage of the term "intellectual" hinged on an explicit differentiation between those who come from outside and those from within the community. When specific intellectuals were identified, their interests were differentiated as one of positive and negative impact. Positive effects of a movement intellectual's engagement with the WFRA and broader community were said to arise from the awareness of and abidance by several precepts including: putting community interests before selfish ones; a commitment to see to the benefit of large numbers of people by personal sacrifices of time and effort; not always relying on one's authority and expertise as the logic of being in service of others; and, being honest and open in all relations both with the community and to outside publics,

> For those who do want to help us, firstly, to radically help us to alleviate the poverty, helping us to create more jobs, helping us with our education in our area. Increasing our children's education here. Helping us to motivate children to not

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drop out of school at an early age. You must see these people who come here as your family, as your brothers and sisters, sons and daughters ... There is not one role you must do. I don't think an intellectual person should just see to one thing at a time, one special issue at a time, no. It should be on a broader base. We are involved in everything. Whatever you can do, do it (WFRA Committee Member, 08/22/07).

For those intellectuals who were able to submit, however temporarily, WFRA respondents would argue that this was because personal and professional interests were subordinate to the general interests and aims of poor people in Westcliff and in other parts of the country; in other words, the elitism of intellectual activity was avoided. It is apparent that this is what WFRA respondents were arguing for in any suggested "role" that an intellectual may play.

It is clear that WFRA movement participants have come to the realization that those outside of Westcliff's socio-economic class and geographical area but who arrive to offer "work within the community" in whatever manner or form, are to first understand the logic of poverty and participation in struggles. In my interviews, this logic was found to be explicitly non-intellectual, more affective in content,

> If you want a real education then come live the life of a local, normal, poor person. Live the life in a community, the day to day life and see the living that they do. It's not all about the poverty, the unemployment, it's also about the love. The caring and the sharing that people have in the community. It's a lot about that mostly. It's not about me being an elite, having a big bank balance, driving a fancy car. It's about me being able to share that love, that help and that commitment. That is the main thing (WFRA Committee Member, 09/27/07).

These are less ideals as concrete forms of positive engagement movement intellectuals have had with the organization in the past. The question though is perhaps why there are no movement intellectuals presently engaging in the Westcliff community in this way. It

does seem that persisting with and sustaining these efforts are more challenging as the pressures of living as a "local, normal, poor person" mount in the context of personal ambitions for social mobility and the need for security, financial and otherwise. The ideal that movement intellectuals are to work towards however, remain, and as confirmed by WFRA participants, accords with Wiktorowicz's (2004) three descriptive dimensions of positive engagement with the broader constituency: authenticity, legitimacy and authority. Baud and Rutten's (2004) three-tier typological classification also discussed in chapter 3 was not articulated by movement participants, perhaps because of a lack of vast numbers of intellectuals involved in movement life that might sustain a deeper diversity. At the limits of this study, however, movement intellectuals who do show a positive engagement with the broader constituency are able to evince the three qualities of authenticity, legitimacy and authority.

Negative Engagements are simply those relationships of participation that fail to meet the criteria of authenticity, legitimacy and authority between any elite and the broader constituency. It is obvious that once an intellectual is able to demonstrate the three descriptive qualities of participation that he or she becomes a *movement* intellectual. An inability to do so places the individual within an elitist position and he or she is thus best designated simply as an intellectual and not a movement intellectual. Further, negative engagements do not always occur deliberately as if by outright design or manipulation. WFRA respondents sometimes spoke of those intermittently active individuals who would strive toward minimizing the distance between themselves and the community in a committed and effortful way, but once achieving their goals, would leave and never be seen again,

> There have been people who come wanting to help but when they achieve what they want, they forget the organization (WFRA Committee Member, 09/06/07).

Elsewhere,

> Yes, I've met researchers and students who want to research us but they don't
> stay for long. You have to go back to your own house, you know, go back to the
> university or overseas where you doing your study. But then what happens to us?
> (WFRA Committee Member, 09/06/07)[31].

This demonstrates the argument and the sociological certainty that in the social world,
our activities as individuals and groups do not always have intended or manifest
consequences, moreover unintended and latent. The unintentional errors of participation
between an intellectual and a movement constituency were found to exist somewhere
between the explicitly notorious corruptions of participation and the ideals of positive
engagement.

Outright negative engagements of intellectuals include a range of dispositions and
activities, often cited as manipulation and exploitation. An important dimension that
emerged from the data was the lack of actual participation that underpins an intellectual's
negative engagement with the Westcliff community, where the Westcliff community
itself was left undifferentiated, reduced to objects in the imagination of these
intellectuals,

> I've seen many of them, especially within the SMI [Social Movements Indaba]
> movement. We have intellectuals that do not work within constituencies, that
> don't really know the real plight of people, that don't even care to go and
> understand the plight of people but comment on email – that's a big problem. And
> when research is done, who gets to see the research and benefit from the research,
> to make sure it's even saying the right things about the community? Not the

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[31] Prolonged intellectual engagement with social movements appear to raise several separate issues,
including that of maintaining commitments or "staying useful" over the course of several months or years.
Emerging from the data generated in this study, WFRA participants relate the short-term character of
intellectual participation as a constraint on the movement's overall purpose and activities. A separate study,
perhaps, could explore the nature of intellectual engagement with a social movement over a prolonged
period; that is, over the course of several months / years or over a campaign.

community, definitely not the community (WFRA Committee Member, 18/15/07).

Clearly, the lack of participation and direct interaction with residents of communities and participants of social movements is the first step in the wrong direction for intellectuals willing to engage in movement politics. A second dimension that was commonly cited in negative engagements with movement constituencies and intellectuals included, before or after actual participation, the influence of ideology in turning the existing struggles into objects and vehicles for narrow interests. Every human being carries along with him or her preconceived packages of ideas and beliefs with which their very thinking operates. But where the ideologies of some intellectuals (or elites of any other form, more commonly politicians and politico-religious leaders) are *forcibly imposed* on the activities of the movement, manipulation can be said to have occurred. These can and have occurred in many ways; as one respondent provided,

> My information [as a WFRA participant] is not coming from someone inside [the community]. Its coming directly from the community and where it's happening; if we just reflect on the all the emails between academics, for example: every comment that was made was not made [based] on their own experience, on their own observation, on they own personal investigation on the matter. It was obviously coming from some person who had their own ideas about what is going on in the communities. So it's obviously a message being made up and passed around. People need to realise that we as a community are not here for their sake. We are not here to justify their work and their own reports (WFRA Committee Member, 08/15/07).

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Collective experience is translated into psychological reality through a web of ideas internalized as invisible assumptions about the world. To unravel the psychological realities of collective behavior, I believe we must look to shared areas of understanding and social location. For instance, group actions are formulated from the experience of identity, that is, the complex construction of an individual's location in the community and her ties with others. Similarly, the will to action is born of detailed ideologies that often are experienced as common sense or unexamined assumptions about rights and powers [(Roy, 1994: 3) in McAdam *et al*, 2003: 130]

This chapter attempts to articulate the previous arguments made with respect to the central research questions into a broader conclusion. The final effect may be considered as a particular, temporary explanation on the primary intellectual puzzle that has confronted this study at every stage, from research idea to present.

One of the concerns of the present study was to develop an appropriately contextualised theory of social movements drawing on the perspectives offered within the new social movements approach. Avoiding the characteristic methodologies and conceptual frameworks imposed in the earlier traditions of collective behavior and resource mobilization theory, the study sought to rely on the subjective frames of movement participants in the construction of a grounded theory that is relevant to the actors themselves. As a grounded theory, the nature of the arguments made (here and in chapter 4) and their relationship to the primary intellectual puzzle and central research questions is one of interpretation and "standpoint" explanation; in other words, by relying on the interpretations and worldview frames of movement participants balanced with that of the

author's, the conclusions reached are less categorical than one would find in other more controlled studies on social life.

The arguments generated in the previous chapter demonstrate the necessity of an appropriate conceptualization of the actor engaged in social movement life. Where WFRA movement participants related their subjective frames on issues relevant to the movement's identity, development or specific issues in their engagement with movement intellectuals, the notion of actors as "socially embedded" in terms of group identities and social networks was evident. The immediate bonds of solidarity included personal experiences and commensurable worldviews as "Westcliff community members", often related to each other as family relations, friends and more often neighbours living in the same geographical area,

> If you look at it, in our area, we make it our duty to say, "the organization is here for you". Not only as an organization but as a family: you can trust us and bring your problems to us; we are here to help, to help each one of you. We take it upon our self to take another person's personal problem and make it our problem. That is how we act (WFRA Committee Member, 10/25/07).

Group identities embedded in class relations were evident, as respondents related the socio-economic grounds for differences in experience as compared to other outside individuals and groups. However, this is not to suggest some unproblematic and pervading sense of solidarity among *all* residents of Westcliff, as if the "commensurable" experiences of poverty and social hardships ineluctably bring residents together to create reserves of agency. 82% of all residents in Westcliff are in arrears with the local Council; debts which have accrued over decades and currently multiply with increasing charges and persistent levels of unemployment and non-income households. While it seems logical that this population would have sufficient cause to join together in making concrete claims to the local Council before any payments are made, if this is one strategic route, only a fraction of that population actually attend WFRA meetings and participate in the daily operations of the organization. Even at the level of episodic mass action,

there is sufficient doubt that the WFRA, or any other organization for that matter, is capable of rallying large numbers of the population for collective aims "at a moment's notice". Similarly, internal divisions and power-struggles between residents in the community shatter any romanticised notion of some "untamed", "pure" agency of poor people in Westcliff, and indeed in other areas in Chatsworth. Flat 27, for example, is renowned for being a bastion of local drug addicts and runners, impossible to enter without possibility of insult or injury. Council-driven upgrades of flats and maintenance on previous upgrades have virtually halted in these areas. For those individuals who do attend weekly meetings and who work tirelessly to see to the betterment of respected-neighbours-as-trusted-friends, however, the notion of "a community" capable of acting is no less real. It is thus plausible to recognise the WFRA as a movement organization *embodying its own ideals*, however precariously and temporarily.

It is worth reiterating the importance of participants' experiences in the WFRA case-study. Especially where the movement's early development and formative identity were concerned, the experiences of deprivation and disenfranchisement, often instigated by forces outside of community members' own control, were cited as the primary impetus behind social mobilization that was to later develop into political organization. But these experiences are to be understood as more than mere "reasons" or "rational calculations" in the participation of individuals into the movement and in broader social movement life. The rationality of actors' participation and contributions to the development of the WFRA was secondary to an "organic conscientisation" of the needs of the Westcliff community, arising out of an ethical responsibility to see to the defense of others "under threat". Every WFRA committee member told of their impetus to join the organization in narratival terms, involving the emergence of a sense of responsibility to other residents in the community. A sense of community based on relationships of trust, neighborliness and obligation is nothing new in Chatsworth (Scott, 1994: 365 in Desai, 2002: 30); while the content and claim-making of the political resistance may have changed post-apartheid, the ethos of finding common cause between personal troubles and public issues have remained,

The WFRA was formed in 1998, but I only joined in 2000 ... I knew there was an organization running but I was new to the area and I didn't really want to get involved ... After I received a summons saying that I was an illegal tenant and I had to leave the premises, I actually went to the Council first. I went to them day after day, and they said to me not to worry, that everything was well. Then I met some people from the organization and we started working on the matter ... One morning, on the 9th of Feb, I see the blackjacks all rushing up and coming to my flat. I really didn't know what to do. By then, everyone started running and coming because they saw the blackjacks were coming. They all said, lock the doors and stay inside. So we locked the gate and the doors and stayed inside. It was the neighborhood people who said to me "stay inside" and that's what we did (WFRA Committee Member, 09/06/07).

Community members in the Westcliff community might not have had "struggle histories" or an activist's frame for social justice prior to the area's earliest evictions and service disconnections, nevertheless, were spontaneously capable identifying right from wrong and sought to spring to action in the defense of community members who may or may not have been familiar faces. Spontaneous acts of ethical responsibility are less frequent as they may have been decades ago, both in Chatsworth and elsewhere across the country; one of the crucial lessons that emerge from discussions with WFRA participants is the recognition that despite living in an increasingly pernicious political climate, instinctive forms of ethical cooperation do exist and that difficult questions on how to sustain these acts over time are being worked out everyday and in novel, inspiring ways.

As Touraine (1981) drawing on Marx stated, people make their own history in the capacity to form social movements, but not in social relations and conditions of their own choosing. The wider contexts of political action is always a crucial factor in the nature of social protest affecting issues in the formation of collective identities, the opportunities and risks available, including the dynamics of interaction with opponents. It is on this shifting terrain that people attempt to make their own history. Similarly, Eyerman and Jamison (1991) relate the necessarily dialogical nature of social movement life, where

"structure" and "actor" (Melucci, 1988a: 342) are subject to dynamic contestations between them. The WFRA case-study reveals that no one "over-arching" context can be identified in the emergence and articulation of social movement activity in Westcliff. Unlike the political process model in which only macro-level factors are cited as relevant, micro-level relations and factors are shown to be just as relevant. Where face-to-face interactions involving specific individuals at the root of social mobilization were related, the importance of appreciating other, lesser-known / lesser-studied contexts and levels of engagement is revealed.

> A person can feel free to come to our homes with their problems. They can feel free to talk to us about personal problems, they can feel free to discuss the most personal things knowing that there's a sense of not letting everyone know about it. They got trust with us. That is how it is (WFRA Committee Member, 08/28/07).

It is not enough to say that the neo-liberal political economy of the South African state borne of press-ganging global forces, has created excessive pressures on local government departments to maintain a "cost-recovery" and therefore accounts for the formation and enduring resistance of the WFRA. Nor is it to say that only upon the eventual establishment of an organization with delineated boundaries and daily functions did the WFRA emerge as a powerful articulator of community interests. Often respondents spoke of change in the movement's identity as influenced by personal relationships and constantly shifting social networks. Where issues in the construction of a collective identity and praxis were concerned, respondents revealed how individuals and outside groups interacted on a regular basis, talking about possible routes of action, learning about their rights in casual conversation, sharing their discontent in constructive, interpersonal ways. Contexts, then, are multiple. What is distinctive about the social-psychological and interpersonal context is the human faculty of interpretation and meaning-construction that accords how all other contexts are known and articulated. It has been the intent of this study to show how important recognition of this human dimension is.

Given the epistemological and ontological bases of the present study, a reconceptualization of the social movement itself was made, confirmed by the WFRA experience. Instead of relying on theories that reify social movements into objects of reality, the importance of appreciating a constructivist and reflexive sociology of social movements was given. The "total" organization of the WFRA is not clear or at all evident. This is characteristic of most social movements borne of spontaneous action in contexts where resources are minimal, and the need to remain responsive in contexts of uncertainty is present. Instead, the WFRA has exhibited a great deal of internal complexity and heterogeneity; being composed of a community of human beings engaged in quotidian practices which includes contentious politics, the reality of its "daily operations", "commitments" or "composition" is immanently diverse. In other words, the "submerged networks" (Melucci, 1989) of the WFRA as social movement were identified as derivative and constitutive of the community itself. Likewise, for any further research that is to take place where community / resident organizations have been forced into sustaining a contentious politics, it would be circumspect to avoid imposing any frame of analysis that does not seek to appreciate the multiplicity and nuances of human social life in these environments. In other words, to avoid looking for objective criteria in the description of some ideal social movement "out there"; instead, to enquire on how everyday social life infuses with the emergence and sustainability of protest; as the *social* construction of protest (Klandermans, 1992: 78)

By prioritizing the dynamics of change and process in the formation of the WFRA, it is apparent that there can be no "full closure" of the movement in question. Any meaningful dialogue on the nature of its politics and identity is thus open to further contestation and debate albeit only in those interactive contexts where movement participants engage centrifugally with those who wish to conduct the representations, intellectual or otherwise. The WFRA can then be said to be continually "working out" the basic issues of its identity, development and survival. Appreciating this fluidity and openness allows for an appreciation of the potential reserves of agency the movement is always in possession of. Despite serious challenges to extending popular support of the WFRA as a vehicle for social justice and change on behalf of the entire community of Westcliff and

elsewhere, appreciating the dynamism of the organization *as movement* is a crucial step in doing so. Of course, no one intellectual, group of intellectuals, leaders or spokespersons are capable of rendering manifest those "hidden" reserves. However, as long as the WFRA continues to espouse, as respondents have articulated it, an embodiment of the change constituents wish to see, there are no grounds to deny the possibility of an ongoing, popular and militant agency.

The Grounded Cognitive Praxis of the WFRA

As given before, the cognitive praxis approach developed by Eyerman and Jamison (1991) was appropriated by the present study for the purposes of developing guidelines in the development of a "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1994). This grounded theory was reached by following the specific methods of data handling from generation to analysis. But without producing categorical conclusions, the "theory", produced below, is rather one of social explanations and arguments (Mason, 2002: 65) provided by attempting to balance the subjective frames of WFRA movement participants with the author's own interpretations on the key research questions. This was facilitated by Eyerman and Jamison's (1991) cognitive praxis approach being in itself a means to develop grounded theories in the specific contexts of social movement phenomena. The concepts provided within the approach did not assume an a priori existence of essential features in the WFRA but rather, a means to allow movement participants to reveal what were the distinctive subjective frames relevant to the study at hand.

Re-iterating some of the arguments generated in the previous chapter with references to excerpts from movement participants, several points may be presented in developing a grounded cognitive praxis of the WFRA and as an argued perspective on the study's intellectual puzzle:

Processes of meaning construction were central to the emergent WFRA often staged at the micro-level where sentiments (including disappointment, anger, fear and hopes) gained some degree of commensurability by inter-personal / face-to-face contact at various sites. A product of these processes were "frames of reference" as the articulation of social protest occurred and implies the capacity of WFRA constituents to assign a particular meaning to and interpretation on their immediate environments.

Another product of these "processes of formation" was that of "collective identity" as participants came to conceive of the collective grounds to individual discontent. This is to suggest that the processes of meaning construction were not abstract processes but rooted in the concrete experiences of individuals subsequently brought together in self-conscious group interests.

The intellectual life of the WFRA was a critical component in the emergent cognitive praxis as new concepts, ideas and meanings were developed. These intellectual processes were contiguous with the processes of social learning and involved the dynamic interaction of several actors involved.

The WFRA may be conceived as a process of "becoming" when (analytically) viewed from the perspective of both internal and external processes. Internal processes of becoming involved that of social learning and the growing commensurability of individual discontent into collective issues. External processes included interactions with wider power configurations including larger social movement umbrella organizations and interactions with local government and private authorities. In this sense, the WFRA as a "socially conditioned" entity is clear; these conditioning processes have affected the *contingent* identity of the movement as they are in themselves always open to contestation and variable.

Only in the identification of specific individuals were "movement intellectuals" cited as playing a critical role in the development of the WFRA's cognitive praxis; importantly, in a two-way and equal exchange of knowledge between the movement intellectual and the

broader base of support. The relationship is best described as each party learning off the other, incapable of acquiring such knowledge autonomously.

The very identity of a movement intellectual was possible only in the context of conscientious engagement with the broader community (not necessarily restricted to Westcliff). Where outsiders exhibited an inability to slough off the baggage of class-differences and re-educate themselves in a legitimate, authentic or authoritative relationship to social movement interests, that individual (and the party or organizational interest behind him/her) was cast aside.

During those times when specific movement intellectuals were identified as movement intellectuals; that is, as authentic, legitimate and authoritative in their relationships with the Westcliff constituency, the importance of prioritizing the movement constituency in those relationships was paramount. This was cited because of the experiences of deprivation and struggle that only community members are in touch with.

No movement intellectuals were identified in the WFRA committee or as indigenous to the WFRA. This indicates the refusal to appropriate the term "intellectual" in community life and social movement politics because of negative and widespread associations with the term. The intellectual was more often regarded as the educated academic / researcher "who comes from outside" often driven by personal interests for a brief period. Where an organic leadership was identified by movement participants, the term "community spokesperson" was employed.

This is not to suggest that WFRA "community spokespeople" or "leaders" do not conduct "meaning work" in various intellectualised activities. The current chairperson of the organisation – despite explicit refusals to be designated as an intellectual – is certainly involved in conducting empirical research, critical reflection, organising campaigns, broadening access to information, dealing with the press and linking up with other community and grassroot struggles: some of the primary activities of movement intellectuals. As an insider, however, this individual's relationship to the community and

its organisation is one of "minimal distance" and subject to the inherently non-hierarchical, non-elitist form of WFRA organisation.

Questions of leadership are then linked to questions of organization and the apparent "distance" between those who speak on behalf of and "lead" the constituency and those who make up the constituency. Intellectuals who do become involved in the leadership of the community are useful and successful insofar as they engaged in dialogical processes of education and re-education with the broader constituency.

The construction of the "other" as an adversary with which the WFRA would engage was not the preserve of movement intellectuals associated with the movement as if by speechifying, publications and media manipulation. Instead, the identification of the ANC government as the oppressive force behind the harsh experiences of disenfranchisement and deprivation occurred through dialogical processes between both movement intellectuals and the everyday experiences of the community members. As given before, specific movement intellectuals and the broader base of support arrived at common understandings and frames of reference by engaging in equal(ising) relationships of social learning and conditioning to arrive at an appropriate image of "the other".

Images of the other and the "real cause for discontent" faced by WFRA participants were often contested in arenas that included many other social actors. State officials, development personnel and party politicians were often evident in competing for the ideology, consciousness and meanings attached to the WFRA. This demonstrates the aggressiveness of institutionalised political organizations who, both intentionally and unintentionally, seek to intervene in the organic processes of formation any social movement is engaged in for personal or sectarian interests.

WFRA movement participants exhibited a mature understanding on the latent and manifest conflicts in any relationship with outside social actors, including intellectuals. The "lessons learnt" translate into a defense of the perspective of individuals immediately

relevant to the community and its own motives. Where outside intellectuals and other individuals do enter into relationships with the broader constituency, the potential for unequal relations of exchange / manipulation is consciously avoided by prioritizing community needs above all else.

Competitions between intellectuals attempting to associate themselves with the movement were identified as "games" played by these intellectuals to garner "name and fame". Egoism and excessive personal interest were known to underpin intellectuals' and other elites' conflicts and tensions that often eclipse real community politics. The result is said to bring divisions within the community, harming the overall interests and project of residents in the area.

Positive and Negative Engagements with Social Movements

While it has been the explicit concern of the present study to avoid categorical arguments in approaching the research questions and intellectual puzzle, interpretations do have the tendency to appear so. But this paper's conclusions are open to dismissal and re-evaluation as they are, in the final analysis, interpretations balanced with the perspective of movement participants in the study. To illustrate and draw together the interpretive conclusions reached, the study develops a diagram to show the multiple relationships or engagements intellectuals may have with social movements. These "positions" are by no means fixed and unchanging and may in due course move from one type of engagement to another. The discussion that follows is based primarily on empirical material generated during fieldwork and articulated with respect to the case-studies reviewed in chapter 3. As noted previously, however, the typology is made deliberately abstract as it draws on the case-reviews only partially; the overall intent is to add some degree of contextualisation to the presentation.

	NEGATIVE ENGAGEMENT		POSITIVE ENGAGEMENT
	INTENTIONAL	*UNINTENTIONAL*	
EPISTEMOLOGICAL DIMENSION	FRAUDULENT MANIPULATION	ERRONEOUS UNDERSTANDING	TRUTHFUL REPRESENTATION
ONTOLOGICAL DIMENSION	IDEOLOGICAL MANIPULATION	FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS	EMPOWERMENT

The relationships of participation an intellectual may hold with a social movement may be broadly categorised as one of negative or positive engagement. Negative engagements may be further differentiated as those which are caused intentionally and those unintentionally (the positive dimension is not further differentiated thus as all positive effects of an intellectual's relationship to a social movement are intentional; in a sense, all positive relationships are to be worked at). Intersecting this axis are the epistemological and ontological dimensions of relationship and participation an intellectual may hold with a social movement. The epistemological dimension is concerned with inquiring into how these individuals engage with the "knowledge" of the social movement, where knowledge, drawing on Eyerman and Jamison (1991), refers to "both the worldview assumptions, the ideas about the world that are shared by participants in social movements, as well as the specific topics or issues that movements are created around" (3). The ontological dimension is concerned with how intellectuals engage in the "processes of formation" in social movement "becoming" and includes

questions of ideology and ideological identification. The categories that are produced may be interpreted as follows:

Intentionally Negative Epistemological Engagement
Fraudulent Manipulation

A negative relationship of participation is when an intellectual willfully misrepresents the knowledge on a social movement. The basic worldview, ideas and specific issues a social movement is founded on is in this case fraudulently manipulated by some outside design or interest inimical to the broader social movement community. Cases of intentionally negative epistemological engagement occur in the engagement of researchers and academics who wish to fabricate and intentionally distort research data and findings, essentially expropriating the movement's cognitive praxis to reconstruct another false reality to their own benefit. This is reiterated by Desai (2006:4) who observes a tendency within academic circles to intentionally manipulate the results of research or analysis on social movements so as to gain respect from others comprising a distinct and separate "academic class". It is unethical precisely because it refuses to acknowledge the subjectivities of people comprising the movement; and, manipulates collective interests for personal gain by manufacturing claims to authority, authenticity or legitimacy. Bose's (2004: 135) identification of "expert" intellectuals conducting technical and specialised functions in India's various development projects provides an example of this type of engagement. Expert intellectuals relate to those who inhabit the zones earmarked for development by producing "expertise": working to plan, implement and legitimise entire development projects. For Bose (2004: 135), this form of engagement has produced intentionally negative outcomes for indigenous movements of the region as the expertise produced often stands in stark contradiction to (and threatens) the basic worldview, ideas and issues the movements are founded on.

Intentionally Negative Ontological Engagement
Ideological Appropriation

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The willful and intentional abuse of a movement's ontological processes may result in the ideological appropriation of the broader movement. As the nature of a movement's development and praxis is a always open and subject to contestation with outside forces and actors in the unguarded process of becoming, the possibility for an intellectual to intentionally and forcibly impose a set of (outside) ideas and beliefs as if organic to the movement is a real one. This engagement is negative and unethical insofar as it seeks to destroy the organic expressions of ideology and purpose that is (or may in due course) arise out of a community's experience of mobilization and protest; and, egregiously fails to appreciate how the social movement is an embodiment of ideals that develop over time and through sustained action. Walsh's (2006:12) example of "invisible" academics as those who avoid public pronouncements of their participation but who intentionally appropriate the "voice" of the movement is appropriate. Also, Wiktorowicz (2006:165) provides the term "strategies of polarization" as that which occurs between intellectuals competing for credentials and attacking other rival intellectuals involved in social movement activity. An immediate consequence to these assertions of in-group / out-group divisions is an intentional appropriation of a movement's voice or ideological frame. Once again, the collective subjectivity of broader categories of persons that make up the movement – the actual constituency – is manipulated for the purposes and at the whims of intellectual, competitive contests.

Unintentional Negative Epistemological Engagement
Erroneous Understanding

Unintended negative epistemological engagements include the development of erroneous understanding on the knowledge around a social movement. These false or invalid representations often result from misjudgment, inexperience or poor decision-making in any engagement with a movement in contexts where the movement's cognitive praxis is concerned. Common instances include the errors of malpractice in the conduct of social research in such environments; poor sampling, measurement, data collection or analysis create misrepresentations of the movement to outside publics and also within the movement. While not unethical in itself, it does point to faults in the relationship of

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participation intellectuals have with the knowledge around social movements. Pointer's (2004) criticisms on intellectual engagement with social movements as "romantic", "glorifying" and "over-simplistic" are good examples of this type; an erroneous understanding arises where "selective descriptions of the movement and its participants [emerge], but without any deep and meaningful critique of whether or not self-descriptions match action (271).

Unintentional Negative Ontological Engagement
False Consciousness or Ideological Misidentification

Unintended negative ontological engagements between an intellectual and a social movement include the development of a false consciousness of the movement both internally and as communicated to wider publics. As it is unintentional, the ideology of the movement is taken to be something other than what it is through misinformation, errors in judgment or inexperience. Walsh's (2006:10) citation of recent disputes between a social movement and several non-governmental organisations is relevant as these disputes raise critical questions on how far the paved road of good intentions lead, so to speak. While NGOs and the numerous intellectuals found therein often present an interest in community development and seek to find some support with social movements that happen to arise for the same purposes, often their engagement is tied in with relatively parochial ideological baggage and are seen as a threat to the social movement. As Walsh's notes, the AbM avoided the "co-optation" of their movement by selecting partnerships with a smaller number of NGOs thus avoiding the unintentionally negative effects of associating with NGO-affiliated intellectuals who fail to appreciate the richer and often far more radical content of social movement ideology and consciousness.

Positive Epistemological Engagement
Truthful Representation

The ideals of positive epistemological engagement by intellectuals in the knowledge of and around a social movement include the capacity to develop truthful representations

thereon. Drawing on this study's own epistemological grounds, it is proffered that prioritizing the subjective frames of participants within social movements is perhaps the "first step forward". Especially in conducting social research, any claim to honesty and integrity in the development or contribution to knowledge around a social movement must take heed of those who comprise the movement in question. Truth, in this way, is always subjective and an appropriate means to arrive thus is to have subjectivities speak for themselves. However, as Pointer (2004: 273) remarks, where intellectuals do engage with social movements, positive epistemological representations are to "uncover and confront" the inevitable power relationships and dynamics that define the movement in question. Social movements are not the repositories of "untainted" or "pure" ideas and practices where intellectuals and other outsiders creep in to "interfere"; truthful representations produced by intellectuals need to be at once firmly critical of and affording priority to the subjectivities of the movements. It is in this "middle-ground" – between a critical, independent perspective and careful attention paid to actual movement constituencies – where truthful representations may be proffered for further scrutiny and debate. At the centre of this positive engagement is the importance of remaining honest, sincere and to develop *ethical relationships of dialogue and mutual exchange*. Bose's (2004: 135) identification of "critical" intellectuals engaging with the anti-dam movement in the Narmada region illustrates this capacity for sustained interaction and mutual exchange, where intellectuals act as critical / analytical writers and reporters of events occurring on the ground as opposed to becoming "demagogues". Similarly, Becker's (2004: 43-44) case review of urban-socialist and rural-activist alliances in Ecuador demonstrates the potential to build a "meeting ground" between intellectuals and social movements, especially in their capacity to identify shared societal conditions, worldviews, ideas and issues.

Positive Ontological Engagement

Empowerment

A positive ontological engagement is a commitment to participate in the empowerment of the social movement in its capacity to become what it seeks to become. Intellectuals with

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a genuine understanding of the contingency of the movement and the contested development it undergoes are capable of participating therein in a manner that facilitates "its own" organic development; that is, without pre-conceived frameworks or personal interests. The ideological basis of the movement is not to be given from outside or imputed under false consciousness; intellectuals committed to a positive ontological engagement are to assist with the production of the dominant ideology or ideologies by sustained and committed participation. However, as Desai and Pithouse (2004b: 305), drawing on Fanon relate, movement subjectivities only emerge in the practice of struggle and *dialogical reflection between a variety of subjects* in a given society, including intellectuals, militants and the constituents themselves. This rejects any *a priori*, essentialised subjectivities in social movement life and accepts the necessarily multiple strands of influence movements are subjected to during the course(s) of their development. Hence, as Desai (2006: 11) notes, positive ontological engagement between intellectuals and social movements must consist of building some form of "community" between broader categories of intellectuals and social movements ineluctably brought together in interactive contexts. And further, that the engagement is to embody how and why both groups need each other to win their demands as part of a broader struggle for social justice. Similarly, Becker's (2004) insistence on dialogue and mutual exchange at the centre of positive relationships between urban intellectuals and rural movement constituencies illustrates the importance and effectiveness of both "sides" linking up to focus on the common / collective struggle against exploitation and elite capitalism in their specific context (64).

APPENDIX 1

Interview Script – WFRA Participants

HOW DO WFRA PARTICIPANTS CONCEIVE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT ORGANIZATION AS A COLLECTIVE PROCESS OF 'MEANING CONSTRUCTION'?

Can you tell me a little about the organization's background?

How did it develop?

What are some of the organization's activities?

What are the 'daily activities' and the 'long-term strategies'?

Would you say that the WFRA is also a 'social movement' of some kind?

How would you describe its 'movement' dimension?

What is the relationship between committee members and the broader community of Westcliff?

What is the 'official organization' of the WFRA committee?

How are 'individual issues and concerns' brought into this 'public space'?

How would you describe the 'group identity' of the WFRA's constituency?

How are 'face-to-face' interactions an important part of this community and its activities?

How has the movement 'changed' over the course of its history?

What do you think was the 'most important factor' in shaping the organization's change over time?

Is the organization a part of any broader organizations or movements?

Was it ever?

How has this affected the organization's development over time?

What have interactions with political parties been like? And NGOs?

Does the organization have opponents or 'adversaries'?

What have interactions with these adversaries been like?

HOW DO WFRA PARTICIPANTS CONSTRUCT THE STORY OF THE MOVEMENT ORGANIZATION'S DEVELOPMENT AS CONSTITUTIVE OF INTERACTIONS WITH MOVEMENT INTELLECTUALS?

In your view, who or what is an 'intellectual'?

When does an intellectual become involved in the organization's activities?

What would you want to see in an intellectual becoming involved in this community?

How does an intellectual gain 'trust' from the community with which (s)he engages?

When is an intellectual 'respected' for his/her 'authority' in some issue relevant to the community?

Does the WFRA regard anyone a 'local intellectual'?

Why?

Who, if any, are the 'local leaders' of Westcliff?

How would you describe the 'relationship' between these leaders and the broader constituency in terms of trust and respect?

What is the 'relationship' between local Westcliff leaders (or local intellectuals) and other leaders and intellectuals from other areas?

How has the history of the WFRA been 'affected' by intellectuals?

What various 'roles' did they play as the organization developed?

Would you say that this relationship was one of 'teaching and learning', on 'equal' terms?

What were, if any, the 'power relationships' between intellectuals, the WFRA committee and the broader constituency?

What work can be done to further build alliances between intellectuals and the WFRA?

What have been some of the 'conflicts', in your experience, that have arisen between intellectuals and the committee or broader constituency?

What were these tensions over?

Have there been any tensions between intellectuals themselves?

Would you say that these were about 'competitions' for authority or legitimacy, or gaining position in community politics?

What have been some of your experiences in 'politicians' fighting amongst themselves over the "true" nature of Westcliff's politics?

What effects do these competitions among 'elites' (intellectuals and otherwise) have for the organization itself?

WHAT LESSONS AND WARNINGS DO WFRA PARTICIPANTS PROVIDE FOR ANY GENERAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOVEMENT INTELLECTUALS AND MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS?

When would an intellectual 'defraud' or 'cheat' the organization for his/her own interests?

When does an intellectual 'deliberately' try to make the organization into something that it is not?

How does an intellectual develop an honest understanding of the organization?

How does (s)he 'empower' the organization to become what it wants to become?

APPENDIX 2

Interview List

	Organization / Affiliation	Interview Location	Date	Time	Duration	Means
1	The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA)	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)	August 15th 2007	13h10	30 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
2	The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA)	Lotus Primary School, Westcliff	September 6th 2007	11h00	21minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
3	The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA)	Lotus Primary School, Westcliff	September 6th 2007	11h30	18minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
4	The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA)	Lotus Primary School, Westcliff	September 6th 2007	12h00	25minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
5	The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA)	Lotus Primary School, Westcliff	September 6th 2007	12h30	17minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
6	The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA)	Lotus Primary School, Westcliff	October 25th 2007	15h10	20 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
7	The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA)	Lotus Primary School, Westcliff	October 25th 2007	15h30	25 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
8	The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA)	Lotus Primary School, Westcliff	October 25th 2007	16h10	19 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
9	The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA)	Lotus Primary School, Westcliff	November 1st, 2007	16h40	26 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
10	The Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA)	Lotus Primary School, Westcliff	August 22nd, 2007	11h20	20 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
11	Westcliff Community Member	Lotus Primary School	November 1st, 2007	16h20	18 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
12	Westcliff Community Member	Lotus Primary School	November 1st, 2007	16h00	10 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
13	Westcliff Community Member	Lotus Primary School	November 1st, 2007	15h40	15 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder /

						Notes
14	Westcliff Community Member	Lotus Primary School	August 28th, 2007	12h00	12 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
15	Westcliff Community Member	Lotus Primary School	August 28th, 2007	11h30	17 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
16	Westcliff Community Member	Lotus Primary School	August 28th, 2007	11h10	12 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
17	Westcliff Community Member	Lotus Primary School	August 22nd, 2007	11h00	16 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
18	Westcliff Community Member	Lotus Primary School	August 22nd, 2007	10h45	12 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
19	Independent researcher / activist	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)	August 31st, 2007	16h20	28 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
20	Independent researcher / activist	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)	August 31st, 2007	15h40	25 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
21	Independent researcher / activist	The Deck, Durban Esplanade	August 31st, 2007	14h20	29 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
22	UKZN-based academic and lecturer	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)	September 26th, 2007	11h20	22 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
23	Centre for Civil Society-based scholar	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)	October 10th, 2007	13h00	18 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
24	Centre for Civil Society-based scholar	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)	October 11th, 2007	16h50	22 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes
25	Centre for Civil Society-based scholar	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)	October 12th, 2007	14h30	21 minutes	Digital Voice Recorder / Notes

APPENDIX 3

Informed Consent Form

Consent to Participate in Research

You have been asked to participate in a research study.

You have been informed about the study by the researcher, Trivern Ramjettan.

You may contact Trivern Ramjettan on 078 520 6840 / 031- 2623 869 at any time if you have questions about the research.

You may contact Ms Phumelele Ximba at the Research Office of the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal on 031-260 3587 if you have questions about your rights as a research subject.

Your participation in this research is voluntary, and you will not be penalised or lose benefits in any way if you refuse to participate or decide to stop.

If you agree to participate, you will be given a signed copy of this document.

The research study, including the above information, has been described to me orally. I understand what my involvement in the study means and I voluntarily agree to participate.

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   **Date**

_____   _____

Signature of Witness   **Date**
(Where applicable)

_____   _____

Signature of Translator   **Date**
(Where applicable)

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