



School of Built Environment and Development Studies

**An analysis of the South African communities' perspectives and activism on
the expropriation of land without compensation: the case of Cato Manor.**

By

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DECLARATION

I, Thabiso Ngubane, student No (215022345), hereby declare that “An analysis of South African communities’ perspectives and activism on expropriation of land without compensation: The case of Cato Manor.” is completely unique to me and has never been submitted in full or in part for a degree at a university. All of the following authors have been thoroughly acknowledged in the references. I created some of the original diagrams utilized in this study, some of which have never before been fully or partially submitted to any university for a degree. All of the following authors have been acknowledged in the references. Diagrams were used in this study in various ways; some were original creations of the researcher, while others were properly cited excerpts from other works.

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ACRONYMS

AbM-Abahlali BaseMjondolo

ANC- African National Congress

CMDA-Cato Manor Development Association

EFF- Economic Freedom Fighters

FTLRP-Fast Track Land Reform Program

LED-Local Economic Development

LEWC-Land expropriation without compensation

MEC- Member of Executive Council

NGO-Non-Governmental Organisation

RDP-Reconstruction Development Program

SANNC-South African Native National Congress

SDG-Sustainable Development Goal

UNICEF-United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

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ABSTRACT

Background

The apartheid project pursued hundreds of separate development legislative laws, which promoted the economic and social interests of the minority, whilst marginalizing and disenfranchising the majority in South Africa. Amongst the apartheid government's most unjust laws was the Group Areas Act of 1950, which racialized spatial occupation, by forcibly removing hundreds of thousands of South Africans from their primary communities of origin, into areas newly designated for their particular race group. This Act happened on the back of the Native Land Act of 1913, which allocated fewer than tenth of the land to Black Southern Africans, outlawing from purchasing or leasing land outside these "Black reserves". Together, the Land Act of 1913 and the Group Areas Act of 1950 ensured the present reality of spatial inequality, and gross levels of inequality in the ownership of land in South Africa. This is the history that has given rise to the country's growing social movements for land ownership and access to decent housing. Amongst the communities most affected by the country's historically unjust spatial laws is Cato Manor, a community with a history of forced removals in Durban, KwaZulu Natal. Cato Manor has a robust history of land activism, and thus provides an appropriate research opportunity to explore the perspectives and activism of ordinary South Africans on land reform and the country's hotly contested land expropriation without compensation (LEWC) policy.

This thesis describes the findings of a qualitative study that was conducted among 15 men and women residing in Cato Manor, Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. The findings reveal a great demand for land and housing in Cato Manor, which was expressed through different forms of activism and protests, which started out as peaceful engagements and later escalated to violent marches spreading to the central business district of Durban. Importantly, the research shows that the violent tactics which Cato Manor is notorious for were not the residents' first nor most preferred route of demanding for land reform and decent public housing. Furthermore, the study revealed the self-silencing, self-policing, splintering and demobilization effects that labelling and characterising activism as violent had on the community's social movements for land and housing in Cato Manor. The findings also indicate perspectives that government's allocation of housing and land to the disgruntled Cato Manor residents, was a ploy to destabilize and retard the growth and vigour of social movements in this community. Finally, the findings show a disparity in the perspectives regarding LEWC with nearly half of the

interviewees opposing the policy, because they have little faith in the government to employ this policy swiftly and successfully. The other half of the respondents professed support for the LEWC, believing it will level the inequality in land ownership.

Altogether the findings of this research indicate that activism for access to land and public housing is ongoing and resilient, but hugely affected by the tactics that government employs in response to protests, and by how the movements for social change are labelled and characterised by social institutions such as the media. The findings indicate lack of trust in the ruling party, resulting in mixed reactions to the policy on LEWC.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and background

Globally, 372 major land reform programs have been enacted in 165 countries between 1900 and 2010 (Bhattacharya, Prasad and Mitra 2019). These programs often focus on one or all three of the following pillars of land reform; land restitution, land reform and land tenure reform (Klopper & Pienaar 2014). Land restitution is the narrowest form of land reform, in that it focuses on restoring land ownership to specific cases of historical land dispossession (Fay, Derrick, and James 2009). Land redistribution is considered more inclusive than land restitution as it focuses on creating and expanding access to land to a broader group of beneficiaries, by transferring ownership of land from existing owners to others (Davies, Kosec, and Nkonya 2020). Land tenure reform is concerned with reforming the legal system that determines who gets to own land and who does not (Davies et al, 2020).

Importantly, the evidence indicates that regardless of the pillar of land reform that a country follows, many of these processes are motivated by the need to address historic injustices, perpetrated through land dispossession, theft, and discriminatory laws that historically prevented certain populations from owning or using land (Davies et al 2020). Additionally, a common theme across most of the countries that have enacted one or all three pillars of land reform is that the need to address poverty and inequality is often the key motivator of such programs (Davies et al 2020). At the beginning of the new democratic dispensation, South Africa was no different in this regard, as the key motivator for land reform was not merely to right a historical wrong; it was to employ land reform as a strategy to address the social and economic marginalization of populations who were otherwise hopelessly trapped in poverty in the country (Klopper & Pienaar 2014). Yet, recent studies suggest an important shift in the way land reform is exercised in South Africa, from a pro-poor driven policy exercise to a greater focus on commercial forms of land ownership (Mtero, Gumede, and Ramatsima, 2019). This shift may be the reason land reform remains elusive in the country, despite the implementation of several policy and program initiatives to achieve land redistribution, restitution and land tenure security. For instance, statistical indicators on land reform indicate that the government has only achieved less than 10% of its goal for land redeployment. (Klopper & Pienaar, 2014). Not only that, the shift from pro-poor precepts of land reform to more commercial farming indicators may also be indicative of the bias of the land reform agenda towards rural land

redistribution rather than urban land reform programs. James (2001) has long noted the bias towards rural land redistribution, and the almost complete neglect of urban land reform in South Africa. The rural land redistribution bias is seen in the state's emphasis on agricultural land reform programs. Even the Department of Land Affairs was renamed the Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development, signalling the state's close and almost exclusive alignment of land issues with the country's agricultural and rural sectors. Moreover, usually when land reform is mentioned in South Africa the images that are conjured up involve historically marginalized populations in South Africa owning tracts of farmland, which are found in rural parts of the country, rather than in the city. James (2001) criticises the rural bias of the land reform program, claiming that it masks the ties of interdependence between rural and urban populations. Importantly, the biased focus on rural land redistribution means that we neglect the major land needs of urban landless populations. Yet, landlessness in the city often means homelessness or shack dwelling (Obioha, 2019), both of which are conditions that signal regression into the worst socio-economic state of being.

Due to the dire socio-economic effects of urban landlessness that render the landless homeless or resident in informal and/or illegal settlements, this form of landlessness is much more likely to incite activism and protests than rural landlessness. Protests against urban landlessness are also more likely to be focused on an amalgamation of land, housing and service delivery issues, than the single issue of land. Thus, in this thesis protests for social housing are considered a proxy for urban landlessness.

The thesis explores the perspectives and activism of Cato Manor residents regarding urban land redistribution in general, and the proposed policy to expropriate land without compensation in particular.

1.1.1 History of activism for land in South Africa

Since the inception of the Native Land Act of 1913, the question of land inequity has become a major topic in South Africa. The apartheid administration developed historical regulations, - which were unjust, unmerited, and promoted the economic and social interest of the minority by marginalizing and disenfranchising the majority, gave rise to the current government's call for the need to establish land reform policies. The most contentious and polarising issue in deliberations about land reform is the question of whether land should be expropriated without compensation. As defined by Kwarteng (2019), compensation is the right granted to the states

under international law to acquire privately owned land and redistribute it to the rightful owner with no incentive.

According to Deveraux (2018), the African National Congress (ANC) officially accepted land expropriation without compensation as a policy during the 2018 policy conference. Since then, several public conversations and debates have been held concerning the issue of land expropriation without compensation in South Africa. These conversations and debates have shown land expropriation without compensation to be a polarising issue. On the one hand, there are those who believe land should be expropriated without compensation. (Kwarteng and Botchway,2019). On the other hand, political parties such as the Democratic Alliance and Freedom Front Plus believe it would be unconstitutional to expropriate land without compensation (Deveraux,2018). Importantly, whilst there is a familiarity with the political positions and activism of every major political party in South Africa on this issue, very little is known about the perspectives and activism of everyday South Africans, particularly those who are marginalized, poor and landless. Yet as Ramutsindela (2013) argues, land reform plays a vital role in the development of human needs, therefore, it is a critical social justice issue that invites activism.

The debate has become more urgent in recent times due to the calls for racial equity in the ownership of land that have characterized the political landscape in South Africa, especially after the radical economic transformation rhetoric that was first introduced by the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) political party, and later by former President Jacob Zuma's political faction in the African National Congress (ANC) took hold (Akinola,2020). Importantly, the calls for land redistribution in South Africa are not only the result of political campaigning by the two political parties mentioned above, but they are also a consequence of grassroots activism and protesting.

Currently, South Africa has about 13500 protests every year (South African Human Rights Commission, 2020), many of them non-violent and due to service delivery issues. The prevalence of service distribution protests in the country has to do with the robustness of democracy in South Africa, which obligates the state to respect the right of every individual in the country to assemble and protest. Section 17 of the Constitution provides the following:

“Everyone has the right, peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petitions. The exercise of such rights shall take place peacefully and with regard to the rights of others”

Importantly, land reform and activism in South Africa have always intertwined. Since the introduction of the 1913 Natives Land Act, activism in the form of published articles, written media statements, both peaceful and violent protests have been witnessed throughout the era of the political struggle against apartheid, and even in the present democratic dispensation. One of the first acts of activism was witnessed through written articles by John Langalibalele Dube who was president of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC). Kumalo, (2008) notes that the passage of the Native Land Act of 1913 was not without its difficulties. It sparked widespread resentment among the indigenous people of South Africa. John Langalibalele Dube, the head of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), slammed the Act by publishing a scathing article citing that the objective of the Act was to keep Africans in poverty and under the rule of the White man (Kumalo, 2008). It is further argued by Kumalo (2008), that African leaders continued to express their displeasure with the new law in several newspaper pieces between February 28 and April 26, 1913. The newspaper columns quickly gained a wide readership and became influential in encouraging widespread resistance among the indigene that the Act sought to strip of land ownership. This was evident in the growing peaceful protest that became increasingly visible leading to the SANNC holding a major meeting at the Masonic Hall in Cape Town in the month of April, where a variety of themes were discussed, including how to respond to the newly approved law (Kumalo, 2008). Since then, other forms of activism, including protesting, have framed the fight for land reform in South Africa.

Importantly, activism against landlessness in South Africa has not only been directed to the apartheid government. The democratic government has also received its fair share of criticism, and a lot of it has manifested in the form of widespread protests by social movements and opposition parties. This is because since the ruling party came into power in 1994, they have gone through a trial-and-error process of proposing new policies to bring justice and equality in land ownership. Ramutsindela (2013) argues that since 1994, South Africa has launched a three-pronged approach to land reform that has been thoroughly documented (tenure reform, restitution and redistribution). Ramutsindela ,Davis & Sinthumule (2016) makes the additional argument that nothing was accomplished during the first five years of land reform and that many of the original goals were not attained. Nearly 30 years later, opposition parties, civil society, social movements and scholars all agree that the land reform program has not borne fruit. There remain high levels of inequity in land possession and use in the country, prompting increases in the incidences of protest marches, especially in urban areas.

One of the most famous social movement which has been at the forefront of land activism is known as Abahlali Basemjondolo (those who dwell in shacks). According to Gill (2014:211), “Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM) are a South African shack dwellers’ movement that struggles for land, housing, basic services and the dignity of the poor” through different forms of protests. AbM was born due to the displeasures of communal land ownership, as well as basic needs provision from the government. According to Mdlalose (2014), the initial approach used by AbM in their battles to advance land reform, housing, and service delivery for shack dwellers was calm dialogue with the government. When these tactics failed to provide the intended results, the next step was to write media statements as the second phase of protesting against urban landlessness and poor service delivery. When the two approaches failed to yield results, AbM began to mobilize their members for large protest marches. Mdlalose (2014) is clear that protesting was not the movement’s most preferred tactic, but one they felt was necessitated by the government. Finally, when the protests alone did not prove sufficient to result in housing, land and service delivery, the social movement began to take the government to court. The last couple of years have shown that the movement uses protests as the main method of activism. According to Mdlalose (2014), these protests included marches up and down the city of Durban. These marches have at some point become volatile as they included the burning of tires, and massive roadblocks. Mdlalose (2014) states that AbM helped stop evictions of illegal shack dwellers around Durban and within the Cato Manor community through protests and court battles, but the key tactic was protest. Moreover, across the country, it has become clear that for the voices of ordinary citizens to be heard vigorous protest is needed.

1.1.2 Perspectives about the and expropriation without compensation in South Africa

The perspective on land expropriation without compensation is divided in South Africa. The Democratic Alliance and the Freedom Front believe it to be an unconstitutional move. According to AbM president, the process of land reform should come from democratically organized people with land use decision-making power, indicating that the movement does not consider the government the most appropriate structure to discharge land reform programs (Vox,2018). The movement's leader also thinks that the ANC's new discourse about the expropriation of land without compensation is a fresh voting campaign for the ruling party that attempts to attract Black majority votes. “But when they talk about expropriation as taking land from White farmers, we know that land will go to Black elites, while the poor Black people will remain impoverished and marginalized” (Vox, 2018:4). This indicates mistrust and lack of confidence in the government’s intentions. Whether the mistrust indicated by the President

of AbM represents the views of the general public in South Africa is unknown, because not much research has been conducted to gather the sentiments of ordinary South Africans, hence the study herein presented. What is known is that levels of public trust in government have been declining.

Lekalake (2015) further argues fresh public opinion polls indicate South Africans have lost faith in the ruling party and the presidency (*President Jacob Zuma*) and are displeased with its execution of their duties. Negative views of the countries leadership and administration are more prevalent among urban dwellers and minorities, but they are also prevalent among the ANC's traditional supporters.

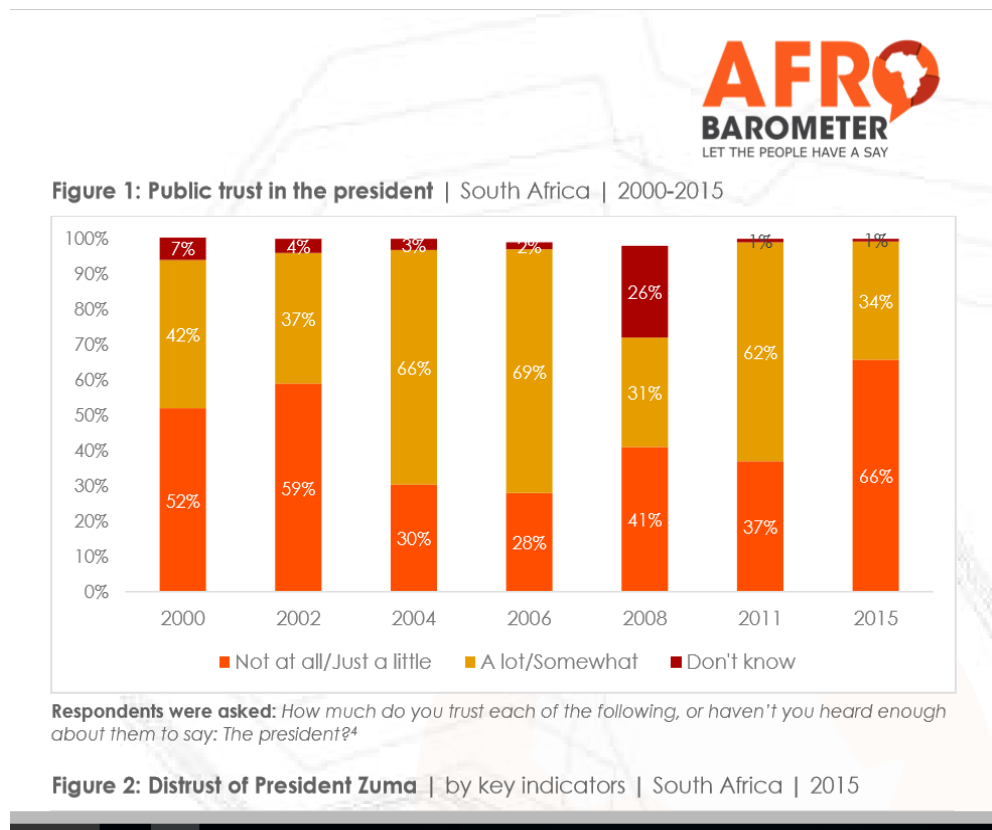


Figure 1

In the above graph presented by Lekalake (2015:3), it demonstrates that over the years, there has been a gradual increase of the population who have little/no trust in the government. As the graph indicates, the most recent poll done in 2015 indicated a staggering 66% of the public indicated to not at all/just a little in trusting the government.

In conclusion, the Natives land Act of 1913 has played a significant role in driving activism and perspectives on land policies today. Since the introduction of the Act, different types of activism have taken place in South Africa ranging from peaceful marches, volatile protest, news piece columns and many more. The apartheid government is not solely responsible for the unrest of the citizens, but the current government has also come under heavy scrutiny for the little success it has had when it comes to achieving equity in land ownership and use.

1.2 Rationale of the study

The necessity for the current land reform initiatives, according to Kloppers and Pienaar (2014), was brought on by the racial discriminatory legislation and practices that persisted for the majority of the 20th century, particularly those that had to do with land ownership. Extreme disparities in regard to land ownership and land usage are the result of the application of these discriminatory laws and practices. In 1994, when the ANC government took office, it has introduced different policies with the aim of reducing the gap in land ownership between the different races in South Africa. However, the country has yet to achieve equity in land ownership; in fact, the land reform policies that the democratic government has implemented since 1994 are considered to have outright failed. On the back of the lack of meaningful land reform in South Africa is the government's relatively new land expropriation without compensation (LEWC) policy proposal. This new policy has not yet been adopted, due to political opposition from certain segments of the country. Importantly, although a lot is known about the positions of the various political parties on the topic of LEWC, very little has been published on the perspectives of ordinary South Africans regarding not only this policy, but also the other land reform programs that the democratic government has introduced since 1994. We also know little about the activism of these same ordinary populations when it comes to land reform.

Understanding the perspectives and activism of ordinary South Africans living in peri-urban settings on the topic of land reform in general and LEWC in particular is important for several reasons. Firstly, the perspectives of lay people regarding land reform in peri-urban settings will help uncover the lived experiences of urban landlessness, a topic not discussed much in land reform discourse. Secondly, understanding the activism of these populations when it comes to land reform will also help us develop a nuanced understanding of how ordinary people fight back and lay claim to their democratic rights.

1.3 Problem statement

The current government's challenge is to implement a land policy that will reduce the disparity in land ownership between different races. According to a 2017 government audit, “White people own 26 663 144 ha, or 72% of all farms and agricultural holdings owned by individual landowners. This is followed by colored people, who own 5 371 383 ha, or 15%, Indians, who own 2 031 790 ha, Africans, who own 1 314 873 ha, others, who own 1 271 562 ha, and co-owners, who own 425 537 ha, or 1%.” (GOV,2017). The enormous disparity between Black and White people in land ownership has been the driver of activism and different perspectives within South Africa.

In nearly 350 years of South African history, land grabbing has led to indigenous populations losing significant productive resources and their rights to land and natural resources, according to Cousins (2016), who referenced Hendricks (2013) et al. Land rights for women were badly harmed, predominantly in parts where land was held and regulated by customary systems. Cousins (2016) further states the unequal distribution of land and insecure land rights were thus based on social distinctions and inequities based on a complex articulation of race, gender, and class identities. The unequal land distribution was made possible by the legal system that was put in place by the apartheid government. Therefore, the democratic government has been trying to remedy the situation for decades. According to Cousins (2016), from the early years of 1991, there has been many attempts at trying to establish a new dogma to bring equality in not just land ownership between races, but between genders as well. Cousins (2016) states, in tough talks during the years of 1990-1999, a constitutional framework for land reform was reached. Although the property clause safeguards property rights, land reform is seen as being in the public interest and permits expropriation at levels that are just and fair rather than at market value. It establishes a right to tenure security and restitution for land lost after June 1913, with similar reparations (cash payments or other real estate, as appropriate).

The challenging land negotiations included a land redistribution program intended to increase access to land for the nation's Black majority, a land restitution program intended to restore land or provide alternative compensation to those who have been displaced as a result of racially discriminatory laws and practices since 1913, and a tenure reform program intended to protect the rights of those living under precarious arrangements (farmworkers, farm dwellers and labour tenants). There was also a proposal for a lower-profile program to modernize land-administration processes. (Cousins, 2016). As a result, it is evident that the government's original vision of land reform placed a strong emphasis on several objectives, including

addressing eviction and injustice, distributing land more fairly, reducing poverty and promoting economic growth, ensuring tenure security, establishing sound land administration, and promoting national reconciliation.

It is, therefore, evident that the government has put in place policies to bring about land justice, however, the current activism and perspectives of the citizens suggest the enormous displeasure by the public. According to Leighton (2015), the biggest problem with land policies that have resulted to such negative perspectives and activism includes the rate of land redistribution under the "willing Buyer, willing Seller" premise which has been so slow and highly criticized that the ruling ANC has indicated its intention to discontinue the scheme. The conventional defence is that the willingness of White farmers to sell their land, or at least a piece of it, was a key component of the eager buyer, willing seller policy. Clearly, there aren't many farmers who would be prepared to do that, and the government has occasionally been forced to pay exaggerated buying costs. Thus, negotiations for the purchase of real estate may last for a very long time. It is further suggested that the public's perspective is shaped by the events in Zimbabwe and Namibia since they show that South Africa can encounter similar challenges (Leighton, 2015).

The failure of the different land reform policies has led to an outcry for a more radical policy to address the great inequities in land ownership and use in South Africa. The result of these outcries has been the LEWC policy proposal. Although not yet implemented, the controversy of the policy justifies ongoing inquiries to understand not only the different political perspectives that are emerging, but especially those of low-income populations whose voices are often marginalized and excluded in policy deliberations. The perspectives of marginalized peri-urban populations on land reform are important not only because their voices are required in the development of inclusive cities, but also because they are the ones who are most affected by these kinds of policies.

1.4 Aim of the study

The goal of this study is to determine the perspectives and activism of Cato Manor residents on land reform policies in general, and land expropriation without compensation in particular

1.5 Research objectives

1. To examine the perspective of Cato Manor residents concerning land reform in general and the policy of land expropriation without compensation in particular.

2. To examine the past and current activism of Cato Manor residents on issues of urban landlessness, the lack of social housing in general, and the land expropriation without compensation policy in particular, and what it has achieved.
3. To determine the extent to which the government enables, supports, and welcomes community perspectives and activism on land reform policies in general and land expropriation without compensation in particular.

1.5.1 Research questions

- What is the perspective of local citizens about land reform and land reform policies in general, and the policy of land expropriation without compensation in particular?
- What has been the community's past and current activism on issues of urban landlessness, the lack of social housing in general, and the land expropriation without compensation policy in particular and what has it achieved?
- What is the extent to which the government enables, supports, and welcomes community perspectives and activism on land reform policies in general and land expropriation without compensation in particular?

1.6 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework for this research is presented and embedded to analyse and interpret data within the thesis. Theories and conceptual frameworks are utilized to envision, interpret, communicate questions, and integrate research, (White, Klein, and Martin, 2014:285). The conceptual framework used in this study is Jämte and Ellefsen's (2020) conceptual framework on the repercussions of soft repression as a result of social movement activism. Soft repression, according to Ferree (2004), is the employment of nonviolent means to silence or destroy opposing ideas in social movement. At the interpersonal, organizational, and movement levels, this multidimensional investigative approach encapsulates the experienced impacts of soft repression. Therefore, this analytical framework is used to examine the government's responses to the Cato Manor community's activism against landlessness and lack of housing. Jämte and Ellefsen's (2020) conceptual framework is also utilized to examine the impact on an individual basis. This methodology also permits the research to assess the impact of both hard and soft repression on the suppression of AbM activism. The rationale for employing this conceptual framework is that it explains the crux of objective 3 of this thesis; it helps us understand the

responses of the state (and other social institutions) to activism against landlessness. It further helps us understand the impact of such responses on social movements and the people’s fight against urban landlessness, lack of social housing and poor service delivery.

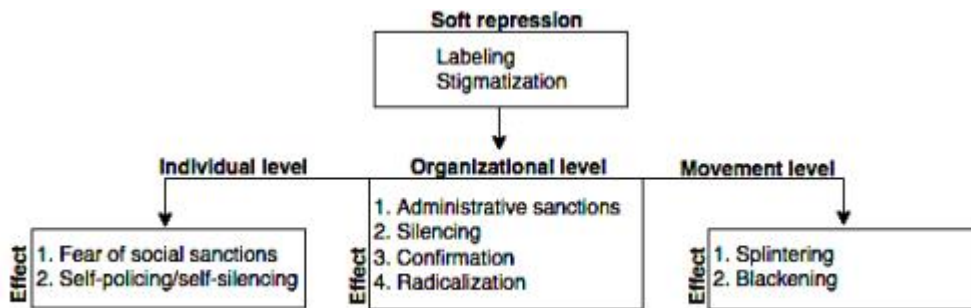


Figure 2

1.7 Structure of dissertation

This thesis is divided into six logical chapters that fully implement the research study:

1.7.1 Chapter 1: introduction

This chapter provides a background on the research topic as well as an introduction to the phenomenon under examination. The objectives of the research are discussed in depth along with the justification and reason for doing the study in this chapter.

1.7.2 Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter explores in detail previous literature focusing on past and present land policies implemented by the apartheid and the present government. This chapter reviews the impact of LEWC in other countries such as Zimbabwe.

1.7.3 Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter, the research methodology chosen for this study is described, along with reasons why it was chosen. First, this chapter examines the research methodology, which, in accordance with Creswell (2014:3), consists of strategies and actions for study that range from general hypotheses to specific methods of data gathering, analysis, and comprehension.

1.7.4 Chapter 4: Research findings

The research findings gathered from the participant interviews are presented in this chapter. Through a thematic analysis that concentrated on the themes gleaned from the interviews, the findings were examined.

1.7.5 Chapter 5: Discussion of findings

The research findings and conclusions covered in this chapter are discussed. The data is presented, analysed, and interpreted in this chapter. Themes and subthemes that arose from the data are mentioned, and each subject is thoroughly examined and debated.

1.7.6 Chapter 6: conclusion and recommendations

This chapter concludes the study report by briefly summarising the whole research. In this paper, the researcher also presents recommendations of new policies and recommendations for future academics and researchers.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter evaluates previous works on land dispossession, land activism and trial, error and success in implementing new land policies in different societies. The review will firstly explore land conflicts and land activism in the global south. Thereafter the review will narrow its focus on South Africa, by first discussing the legislative processes and events such as the Natives Land Act of 1913, and the Group Areas Act 1950, which set off the current inequality in access to land and land ownership in South Africa. The chapter will also explore how other African countries like Zimbabwe and Mozambique having suffered the same fate, have gone through trial and error in trying to implement new land policies that aim to bring justice, equity and sustainability in land ownership. Finally, the literature will review the extent to which the South African government enables, supports and welcomes community perspectives and activism on land.

2.2 The struggle for land in the global South

In several cities in the Global South, access to land is a major challenge. In part, the struggle for land is due to rapid urbanization and inequality (Huarcaya, 2018). However, it is also due to the history of land dispossession that is the backdrop of land scarcity in many countries in the Global South (Araghi, 2012). Importantly, in most of these contexts, neither the government nor the markets have fashioned realizable pathways to access suitable land for all users, particularly low-income individuals (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016). Yet, the history of legislated land dispossession (as opposed to random, non-state sanctioned land theft) in many of the countries in the Global South compels state institutions and markets to proactively design strategies and policies to address inequity in access to suitable land and housing.

The key reason for landlessness is the scarcity of land. Importantly, land insufficiency does not only refer to the lack of physical land to allocate to landless individuals and populations. It also refers to the unavailability of land due to exorbitant prices, poor quality of available land, historical law-making that expropriated land unjustly and excluded sectors of the population from land ownership (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016). Add to this the fact that land is not a manufacturable commodity, and therefore a finite resource and what you have is absolute scarcity of this important resource. Beyond absolute scarcity, there are other factors

that are perhaps even more influential in driving landlessness, namely the lack of legislative action to safeguard equitable access to suitable land and housing, lack of effective policies, and unregulated market forces that drive the cost of land and housing to unattainable levels for low-income individuals. In the context of South Africa, landlessness is certainly driven more by the latter than the former. Importantly, regardless of the factors underlying landlessness, it is one issue that provokes those affected by it to action. As such, the literature indicates that land activism and land conflicts are common across the globe, but particularly in the global south, due to the history of colonialism in these parts of the world, which was often marked by land dispossession.

Numerous theoretical perspectives have been developed to enlighten the factors driving land activism and land conflicts in contexts of land scarcity. One perspective considers the role of environmental factors in the social production of activism and/or land conflicts in the Global South (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016). Under the environmental perspective, land scarcity, which has already been discussed in depth above, is considered as the main driver of land conflicts. Whilst there is consensus regarding the significant role that land scarcity plays in triggering conflict concerning land, this perspective has been criticized for being too simplistic and incomplete in its analysis (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016). This is because environmental perspectives on land do not consider the totality of contextual factors that in concert work together to create barriers to access to land for particular population groups in a society (Van Leeuwen & Van der Haar, 2016).

To make up for the limitations of the environmental perspective on land conflicts, scholars have come up with a political ecology perspective. The political ecology theory takes into consideration the processes through which globalisation, social injustice and identity shape and inform the production of land scarcity and competition over resources, which then leads to land contestation and conflict (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016). The limitation of the political ecology perspective is its inability to explain the precise ways in which the macro structural factors such as globalisation, influence land contestations at the grassroots level (Van Leeuwen & Van der Haar, 2016). Despite these limitations, the political ecology perspective is highly relevant for the analysis of land conflict in the Global South, as many of the countries in the region have a history of land dispossession (social injustice) and racialized land inequity (identity).

There is one more perspective that this chapter wants to discuss concerning the drivers of land contestation and land conflict in the Global South, and that is the legal anthropological perspective. This perspective focuses its analysis on the role of power and politics in the allocation of land and in land conflict resolution (Van Leeuwen & Van der Haar, 2016:97). Specifically, this perspective looks at the ways in which state institutions, through their use of legal instruments and other state apparatuses, contribute and respond to land conflict (Boone,2014). The legal anthropological perspective offers useful analytical facilities for the land situation in the Global South, as many of the countries in the region deploy inconsistent and conflict-generating legal and governance processes and instruments to deal with land and tenure challenges. For instance, in a study conducted by Patel (2016) in eThekweni, South Africa, the research uncovered complex political and power dynamics at play in the allocation of housing in the city. Similarly, in a study of the dynamics informing land conflict in Mexico, Lombard (2016:2693), found that the contestation for land in that setting reflects “the diverse interests of actors involved in land transactions, overlapping and inconsistent legal and governance frameworks, and power relations within and between local groups”.

2.2.1 Dispossession of land through apartheid laws

In both apartheid-era and post-apartheid South Africa, the discussion of land has long dominated politics and the public sphere. According to Walker (2017), South Africa's past is riddled with land dispossessions that began during colonialism and apartheid. Post-apartheid, the country continues to be characterised by high levels of inequality in terms of land ownership, hunger, and urban violence. The Natives Land Act was passed in June 1913 and provided the legal framework for the subsequent division of the country into a largely wealthy White heartland and a collection of increasingly poor Black reserves on the periphery. However, the history of land dispossession dates back more than 350 years (Cousins, 2016), beginning long before the Natives Land Act was passed. Importantly, although land dispossession in South Africa did not begin with the Natives Land Act of 1913, it is a significant institutional mechanism that, alongside other structural impediments to economic participation of Black people, hard-wired the contours of social inequality that characterise the South African economy today. Thus, due to its historical and present time significance in the land problems confronting South Africa today, the Natives Land Act of 1913 will be unpacked in this chapter.

When enquiring about the specifics of the Natives Land Act, several factors become evident. In summary, Beinart (2014), argues the Natives Land Act, 1913 (later renamed Bantu Land Act, and Black Land Act, 1913 Act No. 27 of 1913) was an Act of the Parliament of South Africa that was aimed at regulating the acquisition of land. Modise (2013) begins the argument by stating that before the Natives Land Act of 1913 and the dispossession of land owned by Black Africans, very few indigenous people experienced poverty. However, the introduction of the Act in 1913 is still attributed as a major cause of poverty amongst Black people today.

The inception of the 1913 Land Act was a major step taken by the minority White government in marginalising the majority Black people in South Africa. Beinart (2014), contends that the heritage of the socio-economic discriminations of the Natives Land Act of 1913 continue to trouble the majority of Black South Africans today through the poverty it caused. Hall (2014), states that the core fundamentals of this law were built to prohibit indigenous people from buying or owning land. By limiting African land ownership to 7% (and later to 13% through the Native Trust and Land Act of South Africa passed in 1936), these legislative instruments ensured that the socio-economic exclusion of Black people was hard-wired and socially engineered to be stubborn and unyielding to transformation even post-apartheid. To further cement the denial of indigenous people owning land, SAHO (2013), states that in the Land Trust Act of 1936, section 1, Sub-section A states “A native shall not enter into any agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire, or any other acquisition from a person other than a native of any such land or of any right thereto, interest therein, or servitude there over”. This clause in the Land Trust Act entrenched the economic marginalization that was facilitated by the Natives Land Act of 1913, as it meant that Black people were now banned from purchasing communal and commercial land. The other component of the harmful effect of the Natives Land Act of 1913 was the prevention of sharing crops. In agreement that Black South Africans could sow based on shares before this Act, Modise (2013) referenced Feinberg (1993) in arguing that White and Black people could jointly split the profits from agricultural endeavours. Black people were able to efficiently support their houses and community through such a system. Nevertheless, Section 7 of this Act, according to Modise (2013), made sharecropping or sowing on shares unlawful, which also meant that African people lost another source of income.

The new way of survival meant working under the White superior which resulted to Black South Africans becoming extremely reliant and governed by their White employers (Modise,2013). Additionally, serving White farmers may have implied that they were underpaid or improperly compensated, furthering White supremacy over Black people. Therefore, it is obvious that the 1913 Natives Land Act gave White colonist farmers more control and influence over their Black counterparts. The colonist White farmers expanded authority over Black people's lives in addition to the land and other productive resources (Modise,2013).

To a very large extent, the Land Act had a severe effect on the livelihood of indigenous people. Not only were they forced out of their own lands, but they were also forced to give up their farms which had a financial impact as many people lost their jobs and incomes. Black South African farmers could either own and use royal lands or cultivate mission lands, according to Modise (2013), who sheds light on the productive usage of land owned by Black Africans. This brings to a close the idea that Black South Africans utilised their access to land for their economic well-being. As a result, very few people were poor. SAHO (2013) argues that because of the Native Land Act, the indigenous Black people were forced to sacrifice their livelihoods and were to be spotted in different provinces pursuing for new beginnings and land. The apartheid government would continue introducing racial laws with the aim of oppressing Black people in the expense of uplifting the White minority. According to Peters (2016), the introduction of the 1950 Group Areas Act was another significant racial law that cemented racial, economic, and social division between White and Black people in South Africa. According to Peters (2016), South Africa's cities and towns were divided into separate residential and commercial districts under the Group Areas Act of 1950. Numerous Blacks, Indians, and Coloured people were forcibly removed from lands intended for White settlement. Black people were compulsorily evacuated from their homes and were obligated to abandon both their communal and commercial lands. According to Peters (2016), the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act both supported residential segregations. Most non-White people, especially Black people, were further pushed into poverty and a poorer level of living because of the continued segregation and inferiority of education, health, and welfare services for Blacks, Indians, and Coloreds. Peters (2016), remains adamant that South African cities took on their distinctive shape as a result of the provision of the Act: White residential areas, generally located in more conducive locations (environmentally pleasing or close to the city centre), took up the majority of urban space, which subsequently led to a conducive lifestyle with more

resources, and greater opportunities for business establishments, while Black people had to re-establish themselves in townships further away from the city which resulted in limited opportunities and job loss. Therefore, the significance of the 1930 Natives Land Act and the Group Areas Act of 1950 played a massive role in land and housing ownership in South Africa today amongst Black and White South Africans. Moreover, the disparity of economic equity is still evident which can be alluded to apartheid laws as mentioned.

2.2.2 Activism against the 1913 Natives land Act

The introduction of the 1913 Native Land Act wasn't smooth sailing. According to Switzer (1990), in the early 1920s, South Africa was already a protesting country due to the intensification of racial laws. However, the form of protesting adopted was through newspaper communications and meetings rather than violent engagements. Switzer (1990), uses the African National's Congress defiance campaign to illustrate how Black people shied away from violent protests, but rather opted for passive means to communicate their dissatisfactions. The introduction of the Natives Land Act created huge animosity amongst the native people. The Act was heavily criticised by the president of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) John Dube. (Kumalo, 2008). John Dube published a scathing article stating that the intent of this Act was to keep Africans in poverty, and to keep them under the control of the White master. (Kumalo, 2008). Between 28 February and 26 April 1913, African leaders resumed with their disapproval of the new law in multiple newspaper columns that were published across the country leading to protest meetings being planned in numerous places around the South Africa. Kumalo (2008) reveals the initial notable meeting was organised by the SANNC at the Masonic Hall in Cape Town where various topics were discussed including how to react to the new passed law. Switzer (1990) explains that while the SANNC continued to fight for the abolishment of this policy through newspaper columns, letters to various external and internal governments, this method of protests did not yield the desired result as it continued to serve and went on to have dire result for indigenous Black people.

2.3 Addressing the injustices of past policies

In recent years, there has been an outcry to rectify the injustices of past policies that marginalised Black people. However, the task of reversing the severe impact of land discriminatory laws is daunting. While the Native Land Act of 1913 was abolished in 1991, according to Deininger (2000), the monumental work of a thorough reversal of the other policies and their effects was left to the administration that came to power after the 1994

elections. Since then, there has been calls for the establishment of new policies that will enhance equal opportunities of land ownership. The term “expropriation without compensation” has been mentioned around a lot. But firstly, the term must be defined so it is clear what it means. According to Kwarteng and Botchway (2019:1) “Expropriation is a right granted to States under international law; however, this right does not guarantee states to abuse their power to unlawfully seize properties without following due process or paying the right compensation.” The most important take away from this definition is that it is contested that the repossession of land without compensation is illegal according to this definition. However, since Thwala (2016), argues that land reform is the redistribution of property for the benefit of the landless, tenants and farm labourers, expropriating land without compensation may not be an act of lawlessness when judged in this light. Furthermore, Thwala (2016), continues to make the case that land reform is necessary to end the national democratic transition in South Africa as well as to provide historical reparation for decades of colonial settler depression. Walker (2017 :1), further states indeed, “since the transition to democracy in 1994, the post-apartheid state has struggled to develop an effective land reform programme that could address the crosscutting demands for land redistribution, local development, and representative government”. While post-apartheid government endure the daunting task of resolving the land question, the idea of land expropriation without compensation has been a huge topic in South African politics and citizens. However, not every citizen agrees with the process of implementing this policy. One may argue that the biggest concern of expropriation is who will be the beneficiaries of this policy. Will it be ordinary South Africans who live below the poverty line, or will it be the elites who are already enjoying the wealth of this country? Therefore, the perspective is divided. Importantly, in reaction to the unsuccessful land reform initiative, the South African government has categorized the unresolved land crisis as an existential threat to the country's socioeconomic and political stability (Akinola,2020). As a result, land expropriation without compensation (LEWC) is advocated as a policy framework for achieving government goals in the land sector. Akinola (2020), further argues that the government has acknowledged the main objectives of creating such a policy is to have an inclusive economy for all races.

In an article published by GOV (2019), the bill set out to allow for swift transmission of agricultural land to Black recipients without disfiguring land markets or business assurance in the agri-business sector. It also wanted to safeguard maintainable production on transferred land by making sure that human capabilities lead land transfer through incubators, learnerships,

mentoring, apprenticeships, and enhanced training in agricultural sciences. The strategy also aimed to establish oversight bodies to protect land markets from exploitation, fraud, and speculation. To ensure that land is successfully transferred, the strategy planned to alter land-transfer targets in step with economic reality. Last but not least, provide White commercial farm owners the ability to mentor Black farmers, integrate their supply chains, and help them gain valuable skills. It therefore sounds like a progressive idea in theory. However, the biggest divide in perspectives on this policy is the consequences Zimbabwe faced after implementing this policy. (Mubecua, 2019).

2.4 Zimbabwe's influence on perspectives of LEWC

It is well known that some South African citizens are less hopeful about putting this strategy into effect as a result of the process of land expropriation in Zimbabwe (Yingi,2021). According to Kwarteng and Botchway (2019), it is important to emphasize that third-world countries' external investment is a significant source of funding for international development and helps to provide the much-needed infrastructure development, technology transfers, and capacity building both now and in the future. Therefore, any expropriation, unreasonable restrictions, and capture of property whether tangible or intangible, belonging to foreign investors, citizens, private individuals, or corporations without the proper, adequate, prompt, and effective compensation may have a significant but negative impact on South Africa, including the economy, job losses, and revenue from commercial farming, which is the same fate that recently befell Zimbabwe.

The process of land reform in Zimbabwe had an enormous effect on the economy and the agricultural system on the country. Gumede (2018) claims that Robert Mugabe, the president of Zimbabwe at the time, proclaimed a state of agricultural catastrophe in 2016 to solicit aid from foreign nations. This statement was a highly public admission that land reform had fallen short. The argument is further supported by the statistics revealed by the United Nations children's agency in a BBC article, and UNICEF, that an estimated 3 million Zimbabweans routinely require food aid. In Zimbabwe, almost 40% of households struggle with hunger. According to Jane Muita, UNICEF's representative for Zimbabwe, "we have not seen these levels of malnutrition in more than 15 years." (BBC,2016)

Gumede (2018:1) argues "Zimbabwe's failed populist-based land reform is a salutary lesson for South Africa on how land reform must be pragmatic, safe-guard commercial agriculture and focus on boosting ordinary subsistence, small, medium and emerging Black commercial

farmers already committed to farming.” The process of expropriating land is supposed to be aimed at improving the lives of Black people in South Africa who are the majority but the most marginalised economically. However, with the experience of what has happened in Zimbabwe, and the alleged government officials that are always accused of misusing state funds and resources for their own benefit, there are significant doubts among some on whether the process of expropriation without compensation is the right one or if the government has the capacity to facilitate this program. Gumede (2018), makes clear that, like Mugabe did, opportunistic leaders can readily utilize land reform to increase their support among Blacks. Additionally, it leaves land reform open to populism, retaliation, and ideological motivations. It is therefore a profound reality that implementing a policy of this magnitude poses huge risks in the economy and the agriculture of South Africa which is the fear of most ordinary citizens. One may argue it needs honesty from the government to not use this opportunity to better themselves.

Gumede (2018:1) states, “For another, redistribution strategies are by their very nature highly prone to corruption, rent-seeking and manipulation – this is often one of the main reasons why redistribution strategies in almost all African and developing countries fail. All of this means that land reform will have to be done honestly, pragmatically and to expand, rather than destroy, the industrial base of a country”.

While many scholars have presented the shortcomings of Zimbabwe in their pursuits of land reform and how they influence the perspectives of the general public, it is pivotal to observe the argued positives it also accomplished which also influences the pro expropriators of land. Scoones, Marongwe & Mayedzenge. (2011), argue the importance in understanding that not every land reform policy that has been introduced in South Africa and Zimbabwe have failed to produce success. There are many arguments that support the notion that there has been some success in policy change and implementations. According to the majority of analysis made of Zimbabwe's land reform, agricultural productivity has virtually collapsed, food poverty is rampant, rural economies are rapidly declining, political leaders have acquired control of the land, and farm labour has all been moved. However, according to Scoones et.al (2011), in research done in the province of Masvingo, Studies debunked the disproportionately unfavourable depictions of land reform that are seen in the media, as well as in a lot of academic and policy opinion. According to Scoones et.al (2011), two primary "models" have dominated the land reform movement since 2000, one focused on smallholder production (so-called A1 schemes, either as village arrangements or small, self-contained farms) and one focused on

commercial production at a slightly larger scale (so-called A2 farms). In Masvingo province Scoones et.al (2011) argues that in a short period of time, findings concluded that about 28% of the total land area was relocated as part of the Fast-track land reform programme (FTLRP), according to official statistics from 2009. Large portions of this territory were historically cow ranches with sparse infrastructure, minimal employment, and few useable land patches outside of the Lowveld irrigation zones. Over 32,500 households on A1 sites, which cover 1.2 million hectares, roughly 1,200 homes in A2 locations, which cover 371,500 hectares, and possibly another 8,500 households in informal resettlement sites took over this. Land redistribution appears to have had a favorable effect at the provincial level.

“Over a half of all the 400 sample households – across A1, A2 and informal resettlement sites – were either ‘stepping up’ – accumulating assets and regularly producing crops for sale – or ‘stepping out’ – successfully diversifying off-farm. These households were accumulating and investing, often employing labour and ratcheting up their farming operations, despite the many difficulties being faced” Scoones et.al (2011:10). Scoone at el (2011) perfectly demonstrates the findings based on findings in the province of Masvingo.

Table: 1 Livelihood strategies in Masvingo province.

| Category | Livelihood strategies | Proportion of household |
|----------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Dropping out (10.0%) | Exit – leaving the plot | 4.4% |
| | Chronically poor, local labour | 3.3% |
| | Ill health affecting farming | 2.2% |
| Hanging in (33.6%) | Asset poor farming, local labour | 17.8% |
| | Keeping the plot for the future | 10.3% |
| | Straddling across resettlement and communal areas | 5.6% |
| Stepping out (21.4%) | Survival diversification | 2.4% |
| | Local off-farm activities plus farming | 5.3% |
| | Remittances from within Zimbabwe plus farming | 5.0% |
| | Remittances from outside Zimbabwe plus farming | 4.4% |
| | Cell phone farmers | 3.9% |
| | Hurudza – the ‘real’ farmers | 18.3% |
| | Part-time farmers | 10.6% |

| | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|------|
| Stepping up (35.0%) | New (semi-)commercial farmers | 4.7% |
| | Farming from patronage | 1.4% |

Source: summarised from Scoones et al. (2010, 228-9).

The table above clearly demonstrates that a combined 56.4% people had a positive outcome on the land they had been given. A huge 35% percent of the land that was stepped up which means accumulating assets and producing crops to sell. A further 21.4% were “stepping out” which subsequently means diversifying the farm which may including adding different age categories, genders and race within that time. The data presented above shows a glimmer of hope in the change and implementation of new policy. As argued by walker (2008), the minute, yet significant successes achieved in Zimbabwe pave the way for those who believe in LEWC. The argument is based on the basis that this policy creates economic inclusivity, business opportunities, and jobs for the marginalized. Therefore, the perspectives of those who support this policy are motivated by these revelations.

The notion that land reform was an absolute disaster in Zimbabwe has continued to be challenged heavily over the years. According to Eswaran and Kotwal (1986), who were referenced by Deininger (2002), a redistribution of land would then lead to a fairer allocation of assets and higher production, both of which would help to narrow the poverty gap between the rich and the poor. The findings of a survey by Kinsey (1999) in one of the villages in Zimbabwe, which included 150 surveys and was funded by the University of Zimbabwe, the Ministries of Agriculture and of Health, as well as several donors, according to Deininger (2002), showed that the average number of animals per household had almost tripled to 10. Based on this, the authors establish a measure of gross crop income and draw the conclusion that land reform significantly increased household welfare and the accumulation of assets.

Van Den Brink (2008) argues that for the South African government to change the contrasting perspectives by citizens on land reform, they should adopt the 3 key fundamentals of land reform programs implemented in Mozambique which are likely to be successful:

2.4.1 Strengthening of land tenure security for family sector producers.

Land use is viewed as a productive resource and is acknowledged as being crucial to the survival strategies of the rural poor. More so than most other rural groups in the Southern African region, rural people in Mozambique place a high priority on

using land and natural resources to support their livelihoods. in (Van Den Brink, 2008). It is hoped that by ensuring family segment producers have secure land tenure, people will invest more in the land they already own, feel safe expanding the current production areas, feel able to defend their use of the land against infringement by private interests, and will therefore be able to produce more and have easier access to credit. It is acknowledged that a variety of additional factors would also be necessary, and that land tenure stability alone won't always result in increased economic activity and the eradication of poverty.

2.4.2 Encouraging investment in the rural economy through the granting of private land concessions.

Van den Brink (2008:2) further brings to light that motivating for investment in the rural economy through the granting of private land concessions is the second element. This represents, in part, a return to the pre-independence system and has resulted in the resurgence of previous colonial concessions in Zambézia (a province of Mozambique). It is envisaged that allowing private land, firms will continue investing in production and job development in rural areas. Nevertheless, it is therefore maintained that in order to ensure the long-term sustainability of the land management system, a portion of the program for awarding concessions entails the creation of a revenue base in the form of land rentals to the state, at various levels.

2.4.3 Establishment of partnerships between investors and rural communities.

The last component of the land policy plans, according to Van Den Brink (2008), entails forging strong links with stakeholders and rural communities. This is regarded as the component that makes the two previously mentioned components work together. It is envisaged that by fostering partnerships, the land tenure security of both communities and investors will be enhanced, mutually beneficial connections will grow, and the investment climate for both rural communities and outside investors will improve.

Therefore, Van Den Brink (2008) believes engaging the public on these three key elements would help the public understand more the objectives of the government while also educating about the fundamentals of this policy. Every country that has implemented land reform policies has had its challenges and successes. Mozambique is no exception. However, the intent to reach targeted goals to succeed by Mozambique is admirable. Hull (2018) cited Tanner (2002) in presenting an argument that it took Mozambique just two years to draw up their 1997 Land Law after the civil war ended in 1995, including a broad and exemplary participatory and consultative process hence, the Mozambican case offers important lessons at a time when land policy and reform is high on the agenda of South Africa. Not only did the land law have the interest of the citizens, however, it aimed to be sustainable and not token which yielded positive perspectives and results from the Mozambican citizens.

2.5 Activism of South African citizens in land reform

It is a broadly known truth that land reform in South Africa is a massive topic not only by speech, but also by action orientated protest throughout the country. For the longest of time, housing has been on a high demand especially in historical communities like Cato Manor. The struggle for land has given birth to many social movements most notably, Abahlali BaseMjondolo. One of the most famous social movements which is on the fore front for land is known as Abahlali Basemjondolo “shack dwellers”. According to Gill (2014:211) “Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM) is a South African shack dwellers’ movement that struggles for land, housing, basic services and the dignity of the poor”. The social movement is further defined as a movement that was born in Durban and is one of the core campaigns that have been at the fore front against evictions and for public housing. According to Mdlalose (2014), the movement of Abahlali basemjondolo was a social movement with a simple yet precise mandate to fight, protect, promote and advance the dignity of the poor in SA. The campaign's aims were to establish a non-party political organization that was independent of all political parties. “It was supposed to practise a bottom-up system where people take decisions for themselves and do nothing for the people without the people. Its role was to bring the government to the people and the people to the government”. Mdlalose (2014:346). Therefore, this leads to the understanding that the movement of (AbM) was to engage with the impoverished and give them a platform to voice out their displeasure to the government. But how did the movement intend to do this? Mdlalose (2014) expresses that the initial method used for these battles was peaceful negotiations with the government. Should these methods not yield desired result, the next action would include writing media statements as the second

phase. Protest was the third tool which was not the desired action from the movement. The lawful option was the last option. These resources aided in the movement's expansion and public recognition by the authorities and the general public.

The advocacy of land by (AbM) continued to grow from strength to strength. As the group grew bigger, protest grew larger as well. Mdlalose (2014), states that AbM helped stop evictions of illegal shack dwellers around Durban and within the Cato Manor community through protests and court battles, but the key tactic became protest. It became clear that for the voices of ordinary citizens to be heard was going to come from vigorous protest. “This came to be known as the ‘Dunlop’, because old tyres were set alight on roads. This kind of activity attracted the world, which made this movement known. AbM also appreciated being known for its ‘Dunlop’ activity, as it slowly became a protest organization rather than a human rights or housing rights organization.” Mdlalose (2014). The demand for land by AbM was not to be silenced as it attracted attention from the authorities which was due to the nature of protests which entailed roadblocks, arson and violence in rare cases. The movement did all they could to pile pressure on the government to provide them with communal land. Majola (2020) states though recent marches and protests have toned down on violence and torsion, the movement was still able to close the streets of Durban. “Hundreds of members and supporters of Abahlali BaseMjondolo marched in Durban regularly protesting against corruption and evictions. Dressed in their red regalia, they would march from King Dinizulu Park in Berea to the Durban City Hall, where they handed over a memorandum addressed to KwaZulu-Natal Premier Sihle Zikalala and MEC for Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs Siphon Hlomuka in 2008”. (Majola, 2014). Majola (2014) presents that the president of the movement Mr Sibusiso Zikode handed a clear memorandum, which demanded adequate housing, safe areas, and the provision of all basic services.

The fight for land has not only been for communal land, but commercial farming has been targeted as well. Whilst the far-right Afrikaner movement in South Africa has been pushing the narrative that the killing of White farm owners has been on the rise, national statistics and those of non-partisan national NGOs indicate that this not a true reflection of the country's crime statistics in the country. After a young White farm manager was discovered earlier this month murdered and tied to a pole on a farm in the eastern part of the Free State province, a group of White farmers protested outside a court hearing for two Black suspects in a murder case, according to a New York Times article written by Lynsey and Monica (2020). Although highly contentious, the killings of White farmers are thought to be a message sent by Black people in

the demand for farmlands they believe is theirs (Lynsey and Monica, 2020). Lynsey and Monica (2020), further present that the recent assassination of the local farmers has caused racial tension to flare up once again in South Africa, where the segregationist apartheid system was overthrown almost 30 years ago. “Tension is particularly high in rural farming areas where White people still own a vast majority of the farms and Black people still serve as their often-impooverished labourers”. Lynsey and Monica (2020), further present that the White protesting group has charged that the South African government has failed to protect them on purpose. According to some White activist groups, what they refer to as "farm killings" are the start of a "White genocide" that aims to expel Whites from South Africa.”. This idea has come after the government has been proposing new land policies of expropriating land without any compensation Lynsey and Monica (2020:1).

Cocks (2020) alludes that during the court case of one White farmers during a court hearing for this murder case, South African farmers and Black protesters exchanged insults and threats. According to Cocks (2020), in an effort to address economic inequities, the government's plan to expropriate White-owned land without just compensation poses a threat to the farmers as well.

In conclusion, communal and commercial land activism in South Africa is still rife. Social movements such as AbM have had a variety of strategies to communicate their displeasures. From the initial plan of engaging through peaceful negotiations which were not deemed a success, to writing media statements and moved to more action orientated protests. These protests included peaceful marches around the streets of Durban to violent burning of tyres and other materials which resulted many members being prosecuted. Overall, the activism on land reform, and demand have had mixed actions from peaceful, to violent actions. These on-going actions of protests and killings have developed a variety of opinions and perspectives based on the South African government.

2.6 Public perspectives on the government’s willingness and capacity to redistribute land

In the South African context, one may wonder, why citizens have such less faith in the government to oversee this process successfully as argued by Lekalake (2015). However, this is due to the past failures of the government to deliver, on policies promised. It has been exactly 27 years since South Africa has been in democracy and yet, the indigenous Black people are still in poverty and still only own a small fraction of land (Moyo 2014). Early democratic

periods placed a high emphasis on participatory policy-making procedures. According to Moyo (2014), these were frequently quite participative and included a diverse range of audiences from across the social and political spectrum, including community members and anti-apartheid campaigners from civil society organizations. However, the success of the policies that were set out during the early years of democracy are uncertain. According to Ramutsindela et.al (2016), the first Minister of Land Affairs after 1994 was Derek Hanekom, and his core responsibilities were expanded to include agriculture in 1996. The Green Paper of 1996 and the White Paper of 1997, which set out the emerging consensus on land policy, accept the imprint of wide consultation. Ramutsindela et.al (2016) further argues that “Progress was slow in the first five years of land reform, and many of the initial targets were not met. The amount of land redistributed by March 1999, for example, amounted to only 650 000 ha or less than 1% of private farmland, as compared to the target of transferring 30% within 5 years” (Ramutsindela et al, 2016:5)

Cousins (2016) reveals that due to the slow success the land policies were having, in 1999 when the former president Thabo Mbeki took office, Thoko Didiza was appointed as the new minister, later being replaced by Lulu Xingwana for the period of 2006 - 2009. Ramutsindela et.al (2016) further argues that in this period, priorities shifted from a strong focus on meeting the land needs of the poor to serving a group of Black commercial farmers. However, this meant that Black people who were not involved in the farming industry were finding it hard to benefit. One may argue that it has been evident that the government has indeed tried to support Black agricultural businesses. However, critics will argue that constant change of focus of these policy means that they were having difficulty in reaching their objectives. To further demonstrate why the public, lack belief in the current government, Atuehen (2011) claims that the constitution guarantees South Africans the right to fair redress or recovery of property lost due to racially discriminatory economic activities after 1913. However, by 2008, only modest, symbolic money rewards that had no connection to the previous or present market worth of their confiscated property were given to 70% of the program's beneficiaries instead of any land at all. One important factor to note, is that the proposed policy of land expropriation without compensation goes against the section 25 (3) which ironically is a provision deftly negotiated by the ANC to ensure land reform is fair for both Blacks and whites (Atuehen, 2011).

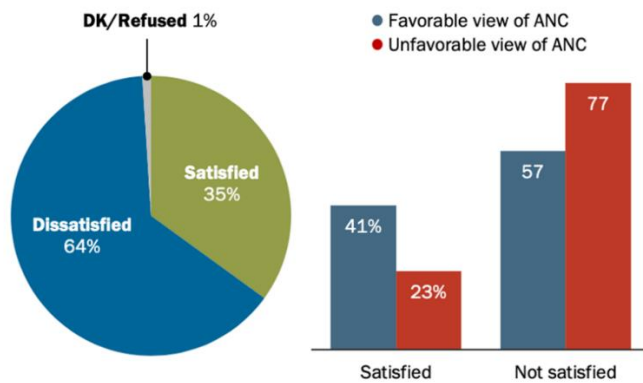
The state must compensate current landowners in accordance with fair market value under this clause, but it must also lower the price based on several equity-enhancing factors, such as direct state investment and subsidies for the purchase and construction of capital improvements on

the property. When land is expropriated, the post-apartheid state is required to pay the farmer fair market value for the capital improvements but can discount the underlying land because it was not purchased at market price, for instance, if a White farmer purchased land from the apartheid government at a greatly reduced price but then made capital improvements to the land (Atuehene, 2011). This is a contradiction of the policy of expropriation without compensation. Further critics have cited that even the small fraction of the people who have been compensated with land, the government has not given them enough support to properly educate them on how to maintain farm production. Atuahene (2011:125) sums it up perfectly when he states “The problem is compounded further by the fact that when the government does redistribute land, it does not give new landowners the support they need to succeed. Poor Black farmers require financial and technical support to access markets, credit, technology, infrastructure, and training.”

To begin with, expropriation procedures should first be based on public benefit. This argues that when expropriation is carried out in the public interest, it is regarded legal and that, in most situations, the expropriating government must provide evidence to support its claim that its conduct is in the best interests of the general public. A 2005 established Durban based group known as AbM” which is a democratic movement of shack dwellers and other marginalized and impoverished people in South Africa were particularly vocal about the policy. According to the president of AbM, the process of land reform should come from democratically organized people with land use decision-making power. In an article published by ENCA, (2018) the president of the movement further stated that “the ANC’s new talk about the expropriation of land without compensation is a new voting campaign for the ruling party that aims at attracting Black majority voters. “But when they talk about expropriation as taking land from White farmers, we know that land will go to Black elites, while the poor Black people will remain impoverished and marginalized” maintains the president. This indicates that there is a large amount of people who don’t have the confidence in believing that the government has the citizen’s interest at heart.

South Africans with unfavorable views of ANC are less satisfied with their country's democracy

% who say they are ___ with the way democracy is working in our country



Source: Survey of South African adults, conducted May 21-Aug. 10, 2018.

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Figure 3

The above graph which was constructed based on a 2018 survey which presents overwhelming numbers of citizens who are not satisfied with the current government and therefore less confident in the implementation of Expropriation of land without compensation. In an article published by, DearSA, (2020), the overwhelming opposition to amending the constitution to permit the expropriation of land without compensation was "notable" in the third round of public involvement hearings. According to DearSA (2020), the "drastic swing" saw roughly 90% of people in opposition. The public was asked to respond in writing by February 29, 2020, on a draft amendment to the constitution that would allow for expropriation without compensation. This request came from the parliament in December 2019. According to South African legislation, before enacting any policy or legislative changes, the government must give the people a chance to voice their opinions. "However, such opportunities are often inadequately announced or facilitated, and extracting outcomes information from the government is challenging." Maintains the article.

Zimmermann & Mather (2007) assert that not all South Africans are eligible to benefit from the policy of expropriation of land, so therefore, participation becomes optional as citizens don't feel the need to participate. "The land redistribution program that has emerged as government policy envisions redistributing 30% of White-owned land to Black farmers through the granting to all eligible families of a R16 000 subsidy to be used for land

acquisition.” (Zimmermann & Mather 2007:1440). Therefore, the vision of government clearly does not cater for everyone, which discourages participation”.

2.7 Government response to activism and demand for land

The government response to the demand for housing and land within the community of Cato Manor has been polarising. While there is evidence of progression in building houses for the homeless, the arrests of protestors are still a huge topic amongst the general media.

Makhaye and Xolo (2021) describe Cato Manor as a community that has been battling illegal evictions from the police and the municipality for long periods of time. Makhaye and Xolo (2021) went on to reveal that On December 27, 2019, the Abahlali baseMjondolo shack dwellers' movement gained an interdict in Durban's high court, barring the municipality from carrying out illegal evictions. After the municipality continued to evict and destroy the occupation in violation of the court order and the government's Covid-19 lockdown restrictions, it was renewed on April 24, 2020. However, the harassment of the shack dwellers does not end there. It's interesting to note that Makhaye and Xolo (2021) describe how the vice president of the AbM was detained and accused of planning a murder in May 2020. He was detained at Westville Prison for two weeks before being released on probation under strict terms that banned them from going back to eKhenana (Cato Manor).

Importantly, Makhaye and Xolo (2021) reveal that AbM is adamant that this the ANC government misusing their political power to wrongfully imprison the leaders of AbM on ‘bogus’ charges to crush the strength and intent of the movement with the hope of derailing it. Earlier in the year (2021), six leaders of AbM had been captured and arrested by the police on “fabricated” charges according to the movement. “Abahlali baseMjondolo described the charges on which all six activists were arrested as bogus. It insisted that the local ANC and the state were misusing the criminal justice system to crush the occupation”. (Makhaye and Xolo 2021). It is further revealed that random arrests have continued happening within the movement of AbM with woman also becoming targets recently. Makhaye and Xolo (2021:1) “Two days later after the arrest of the deputy president of AbM, identical accusations against Gasela and Phumelele Mkhize, both 30 years old, were brought against them after their arrests. In a statement, Abahlali baseMjondolo alleged that "ANC thugs harassed and attacked" four women at their homes, including Mkhize, just before the arrests. The convicted woman were given R500 bail on October 25. They were forbidden from entering eKhenana, according to the bail terms. Their residences were completely destroyed by fire the following night. This, according to AbM, came after a gathering of local ANC members.,.

Makhaye and Xolo (2021) continue to reveal that citizens of Cato Manor and participants of AbM have felt defeated and abused by the states due to their antics of fabricating false charges. Gasela who is a victim of bogus charges was quoted saying “Sometimes I feel they (the police and the ANC local leaders) have defeated me. I have no fight left. Once again, I have been reduced to a criminal even though I have committed no crime. My dignity has been tarnished. My home, which I worked hard to build, has been burnt to ashes. When the police came for us and took us into the van on Saturday (23 October), I couldn’t believe it was happening again.” Gasela continued to say, “I have had enough. I have been arrested for something I did not do. I don’t have a home anymore, and all my belongings and my children’s ID documents have been destroyed”. Makhaye and Xolo (2021:1). Therefore, from these revelations, the response of government to protesting citizens for land has been vicious, mischievous and criminal.

On the flip side, some scholars have presented arguments on how the government has supported the outcries for housing and land in Cato Manor. Majozi (2018) cited Sutherland (2015) in arguing that since the demand of housing through violent protest in Cato Manor, the eThekweni Municipality has constructed about 160, 000 housing units to date. Furthermore, at its peak, eThekweni Municipality was the country's leading metropolis in terms of housing deliveries. Majozi (2018) further argues that it effectively brought 16, 000 housing units per year between 2007 and 2010. Majozi (2018) further argues that the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government has launched various housing projects in response to rising urban housing difficulties, such as the Cornubia low-cost Housing Development, which ran from 2005 to 2011 which had set to provide about 28 000 homes catering for a wide range of income levels and had envisaged to create at least 48 000 permanent jobs while another 15 000 job opportunities were expected to be created during the construction phases. Majozi (2018) cited Ballard and Jones (2011) in estimating that roughly 850 formal dwellings have been created on a neighbouring well-developed Durban, Greater Cato Manor area that was designated for housing project enlargement.

The Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA), an entity that collaborated with neighbourhood organizations to facilitate the reconstruction of this underserved, depressed region from 1994 to 2003, has also undertaken efforts on behalf of Cato Manor as a community. According to Odendaal (2007), the scheme's goal was to create a region that was physically and functionally integrated with metropolitan Durban to guarantee that impoverished urban inhabitants had access to social and infrastructure services as well as employment. The project's implementation encountered numerous challenges, many of which were caused by the

significant transformational changes the nation was going through at the period of the democratic transition. Advancement was frequently influenced by the context, but some have argued that the CMDA's independence from institutional restraints of government, the nature of its collaboration with neighbourhood community organizations, and the dedication of the development team all contributed to innovative practice.

The CMDA therefore adopted a holistic approach in addressing the problems of Cato Manor as they were not only limited to landlessness. Odendaal (2007) claims that the project established key factors of what it intended to do and achieve. The aims were:

- Focusing on the distribution of housing, the 900 acres of developable land is meant to provide 25000 dwelling units, accommodating roughly 150000 local residents.
- A large investment was to be required in bulk service infrastructure, particularly arterial and collector roads, to support a functional residential environment.
- To provide space for social amenities like libraries, schools, and community centers in order to build cohesive residential neighbourhoods.
- Given the unemployment rates, local economic development (LED), which aims to create 25000 new jobs, is a crucial component of the initiative.
- Land reform is an important part of the initiative as well, given the heritage of the community.
- The improvement of human resources is regarded as essential to meeting the requirements of the populace.

The Execution of the plan aims has been principally effective. The neighbourhood of Cato Manor now consists of a number of low- to medium-income housing subdivisions as well as one social housing complex. There are still two sizable informal communities that are being modernized. The majority of the infrastructure has been built, and the social infrastructure includes clinics, a number of preschools, elementary and secondary schools, as well as libraries, community centres, and sports fields Odendaal (2007:285). Yet, Cato Manor still confronts certain new difficulties in the present despite the debatable success the CMDA has had in executing its primary goals. Cato Manor is still known for its high rates of unemployment, HIV/AIDS cases, and social decay. The CMDA places a high priority on social and economic development goals, with the latter being viewed as a "late starter" in the project.

In closing, it is evident that the government's responses to the request for homes and land have been conflicted. While some academics have emphasized the advancement of housing through various established plans and initiatives, social movements like AbM present opposing data.

2.8 Conceptual framework

This section of the chapter presents the conceptual framework that was linked to the study. According to White, Klein and Martin (2014:285) theories and conceptual frameworks are used to envisage, interpret, articulate questions, and integrate research. This study uses the work of Jämte and Ellefsen, (2020) which focuses on the consequences of soft repression as a result of social movement activism. According to Ferree (2004) soft repression is the use of non-violent tactics to quiet or eliminate opposing viewpoints from social activism. “This multi-layered analytical framework captures the experienced effects of soft repression at the individual, organizational, and movement levels. As the community of Cato Manor has become famous for different types of protests in their quest for land and housing, different outcomes have emerged from these protests. The literature provided in this chapter has demonstrated the journey of protests for housing and land and how it has emerged and continued to slowly fade over the years due to the different forms of repression. Results show that soft repression in particular, labelling, and stigmatization primarily affect the individual level by triggering self-policing and self-control”. (Jämte and Ellefsen, 2020: 385). This analytical framework is used in this study to analyse the government’s responses to the activism that the community of Cato Manor has engaged in protest against the lack of housing and land. Furthermore, this analytical framework is used to analyse the impact at an individual level.

This framework also allows this research report to evaluate the success of both hard and soft repression in the effort to silence activism particularly from AbM. The rationale for using this conceptual framework was based on explaining the reasons as to why the activism and social movement policies have decreased significantly. Therefore, in the interpretation of the data, this analytical framework is used to illuminate the social construction of how protestors and social movements such as AbM have been victim of negative labels and stigma. Jämte and Ellefsen, (2020) argue that when social movement activists challenge established power structures, such as the government, they frequently clash. Certain groups of activist’s risks becoming the target of repressions, which are external measures to prevent control and or confine their protests, based on the reactions of their opponents.

Findings reveal that the use of soft repression has seen a significant increase over the years as it has proven to be an effective method to silence protests efficiently without using brute force and violence to engage activists. (Ferree,2004). The impact of soft repression on individuals is two folds. “Our analysis indicates two main lines of responses to soft repression. On the one hand, some activists turn outward; they try to engage in the public sphere and remain open and

transparent to counter the stigma of the extremist label. To offset the stigma or to consciously organize a large swath of the populace, turning outwards requires engaging in the public arena and debate, as well as staying an open and transparent organization. As this study found, the social movement of AbM tried to counter soft repression through publishing statements in defence of their actions of protesting. On the other, some turn inward, becoming more exclusive and clandestine in their forms of organizing". Jämte and Ellefsen, (2020:384). Therefore, this analysis supports the findings of Hui (2020) who stated that any forms of repression provoke reaction from activist. some reactions are desired by the repressors while some are not.

2.8.1 Hard and soft repression of protest

Hard repression, which is carried out through compulsion and the threat or use of violence, and soft repression, which is carried out through gentler means, must be distinguished (Earl 2006). While hard repression entails the use of force to maintain control or subjugation, soft repression does not entail the use of force. The Marikana massacre which was the killing of protesting miners is a great example of hard repression in its finest form. Hard repression was also evident in this study as it was demonstrated how the protestors of housing and land particularly AbM were captured and tortured by the police.

As Mdlalose (2014), previously stated that AbM has inherited a narrative of violent protestors, this can be alluded to the tactics of soft repression from the government. Ferree (2004) argues that to prevent a group from mobilizing, labels are used to stigmatize it by undermining its collective identity and degrading how the public regards the group. Soft repression allows political authorities in domestic contexts to name, muzzle, and negatively stereotype activists in order to delegitimize and derail their mobilization through stigmatization. The current researcher opines that soft repression has been a huge factor in the decline of protests recently as this study found.

2.8.2 Consequences of soft repression

As argued by Jämte and Ellefsen, (2020), the consequences of soft repression are impactful in three different levels, mainly: individual level, movement level and organizational level. Therefore, the impact of soft repression can be broken down into three categories:

Individual level- At individual level, Jämte and Ellefsen, (2020) found that activists describe two effects of labelling and stigmatization: fear of societal punishment and self-policing. Fear of being labelled a violence-affirming extremist leads to increased self-control and decreased

activism for many activists. However, some activists, on the other hand, claimed they were unconcerned with being labelled, while others realized the dangers but chose not to let their activities be influenced by outside forces. The findings of this study correlate with the above argument. From the interviews conducted by the author, it was evident that the drive for housing and land by some protestors could not be diminished by any form of repression. Labelling and stigma cross over from the organization to the individual level, according to the interviews done by Jämte and Ellefsen, (2020). Activists emphasized how the stigma associated with labelled groups impacted individuals who were publicly connected with these groups, either voluntarily or involuntarily; for example, they could be "outed" by countermovement's, the media, and government agencies. Jämte and Ellefsen, (2020) further reveal that interviewees' main concerns revolved around the dangers and experiences of being publicly discredited or subjected to social sanctions. Personal disadvantages and having one's political participation publicly ridiculed or delegitimized were among them. Activists expressed apprehension about how the classification would harm their prospects in the future. Activists who were publicly associated with a labelled organization feared that they would be subjected to social sanctions, such as being called out and questioned in social situations, when applying for jobs, finding an apartment, pursuing academics, or being called out and questioned in social situations. Furthermore, Jämte and Ellefsen, (2020) argue that activists also described how the media and counter-movements used labelling to discredit and delegitimize their political participation and beliefs. Labelling some activists as extremists or associating them with extremism diminished the value of their ideas and actions while also exposing them to the media's scrutiny which increases risk of social repercussions.

Movement level- Labelling some groups as violent extremists has ramifications for the greater social movement in which they participate. Jämte and Ellefsen (2020) found two effects of soft repression at movement, mainly splintering and blackening. The labelling of some organizations within a wide social movement as violent extremists can have an impact on intra-movement dynamics. As activists in non-named organizations may be unwilling to engage with those that are labelled, the options for contact, collaboration, and alliances are altered. Jämte and Ellefsen (2020). It is further argued that for most research conducted through interviewees, the actual effects of splintering appeared to be minor. Existing research has shown that the number of protests staged by coalitions and collaborations has increased since 2010, and that central actors within the movement strive for more inclusive and open forms of organizing effective protests. As the findings of this study demonstrated, splintering was not effective

enough on disintegrating the protests of housing and land, however, splintering became evident once the protesting members were being prosecuted. Most notably, the study revealed that the effect of soft repression was hindering the activist ability to attract support from institutional and private actors to gain support and further advance their protests. These findings further correlate with those of Jämte and Ellefsen (2020), who reveal that indeed in recent research, activists highlighted how institutional entities, such as political parties, were hesitant to mobilize alongside the branded organizations.

When designated organizations were present at larger mobilizations, activists recounted how it often became tricky since political parties and their young sections shied away.

Organizational level- The impact of labelling may not always be viewed as negative. In fact, it is argued by Jämte and Ellefsen (2020), that labelling may serve as a positive from the viewpoint of activist as it indicates acknowledgement from the media and government. It is argued that research reveals that while some activists questioned the labelling's foundation and criteria, others saw it as proof that the government was paying attention to their cause. The latter expressed delight in the fact that their organization was classified as a threat; they have a real influence and are deserving of attention. They considered it as a positive since it recognized their group as a political actor, regardless of whether they thought the classification was fair. Others, on the other hand, felt the categorization as inevitable, given their actual behaviour. To explain their perspective of being tagged, activists use terms or phrases like "a feather in their cap," "motivating," "validation of their self-image," and "wearing the name like a crown." The author of this paper opines that indeed labelling offers a sense of pride which encourages activists to further indulge in their activities. During the interviews, it quickly became evident that activist took a sense of joy and pride from the attention and "fame" of what they have achieved from the activism. One participant stated:

"I'm glad a lot of people have documented what we have done and achieved. It will remain in the history books forever."

Importantly, soft repression is a direct method to counter activism without engaging in physical violence with activist. The impact of soft repression causes self-policing and splintering of individuals and major organizations. Furthermore, the "blackening" which has been described as the process of negatively labelling an individual or group has been found and proven to be an effective method of getting individuals disassociate themselves from activism. On a positive note, the findings expressed how labelling can have a positive impact as activist feel a sense of pride in their presence being acknowledged.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature that focus on how African countries have gone through trial, error, and success in implementing new land policies to their respective societies. As it has been well documented historically, African countries have been victim of colonial rule from the first world countries. This chapter began by firstly examining the impact of colonial rule on African indigenous people can never be doubted. It observed how this Act left them in extreme poverty and resource-less. This literature delved deep in exploring how the inception of the 1913 Native Land Act imposed by the apartheid government impacted on the indigenous black people of South Africa which subsequently led them to losing their lands, farms, and homes and marginalised them to poverty. This chapter moved on to explore how other African countries like Zimbabwe and Mozambique have gone through trial and error in trying to implement new land policies that aimed to bring justice, sustainability, and equality amongst people. In the South African context, the literature reviewed how the ANC government which came into power after democracy has developed and implemented new redistribution, and restitution policies. Furthermore, it examined the perspectives of citizens if they are satisfied with the minimal success that has been reached thus far or if they feel that these new policies that are suggested everyday such as “expropriation without compensation” is just a way to get the ordinary citizens to vote for the leading party as it has been suggested before. It also reviewed if the citizens have the confidence in the South African government to execute the task at hand. The literature also inspected if these policies integrated woman in providing fair opportunities in land ownership and how they challenged customary laws which have been known to be patriarchal and marginalised woman before. Lastly, the literature examined how the community of Cato Manor has challenged land policies before as they are the focus of this study.

The study also used the work of Jämte and Ellefsen, (2020), which focuses on the consequences of soft repression as a result of social movement and activism as a conceptual framework. The conceptual framework was able to reveal the government’s response towards citizen activism and protests. It revealed different aspect of both soft and hard repression as methods to destabilize and splinter all social movements that were protesting for land.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The research methodology and study design are discussed in this chapter. Just like every research paper must adopt a research method, this paper is no different. One may ask, what is a research methodology? According to Kothari (2004), research methodology simply denotes to the practical how of any given piece of research conducted. Furthermore, it is the specific measures or systems used to classify, select, process, and analyse information about a proposed topic. In a research paper, the methodology section allows the reader to critically evaluate a study's overall validity and reliability. More particularly, it pertains to the researcher's methodical design of a study to guarantee accurate and trustworthy outcomes that answer the goals and objectives of the research. To put it another way, the methodology chapter should justify the design decisions by demonstrating that the methodologies and approaches used are the most appropriate for the research's aims and objectives and will produce accurate and trustworthy results. Therefore, this chapter aims to breakdown the methodologies of research including where the research has taken place and the study setting.

The methodology chapter explains how the researcher arrived at the study location in detail which is formally known as Cato Manor and is located 5 kilometres west of the heart of Durban. The renowned township was selected as the study's site because of its well-known rich cultural and political legacy. This chapter will also detail how the participants were selected from the community to partake on the study. It will fully detail the selection criteria that was established to select participants. This chapter will move on to define which methods were used to collect data. The chapter will further describe the data collection instruments that were used in the study. The researcher will move on to discuss how confidentiality enhanced the trustworthiness of the study and making sure participant's identities and safety remained a top priority. Finally, the chapter considers the ethical issues and study limits that were faced. It also examines how data was acquired and analysed.

3.1 Research approach

According to Creswell (2014:3), the term "research approach" refers to a set of tactics and strategies for conducting research that range from general hypotheses to specific techniques for obtaining, analysing, and comprehending data. There are a number of decisions in this strategy, and they must be made in the order that they are presented and make sense. The overall decision involves which approach should be used to study a topic. Therefore, there are many different systems to conduct research. The qualitative approach, a form of natural inquiry that aims to gain a thorough understanding of social phenomena in their natural settings, was used in this research study. Furthermore, Creswell, (2007:4) argues that qualitative methods are a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. Qualitative research is used to understand how people experience the world.

Although there are numerous ways to qualitative research, most of them are adaptable and put a strong emphasis on preserving rich meaning when analysing the data. This sort of study design involves developing research questions and methods from data often gathered in the participant's environment, inductively building from broad themes, and interpreting the data by the researcher. (Creswell, 2007). As it has been well documented before, the goal of qualitative research is to better comprehend ideas, views, or experiences by gathering and analysing non-numerical data. Therefore, the qualitative technique was favoured over a quantitative strategy because it gave the researcher the chance to ask questions that elicited participants' responses in their own words (Guest, & MacQueen, 2004). This is significant because it helps to understand how individuals' own narratives help to shape or motivate their behaviour, such as the sociocultural and historical factors that inspire action in Cato Manor. The qualitative technique enhances openness, allows for in-depth examination of a chosen phenomenon, and makes it possible for the researcher to recognize and comprehend the categories of information that emerge from the data. (Blanche & Durrheim ,2006). Additionally, the qualitative technique enables the researcher to evaluate the information gathered from the participants through in-depth interviews to comprehend the subject.

The qualitative research approach can also be utilized to develop fresh research concepts or acquire in-depth insights into a topic. In the context of this research, one of the main objectives of the thesis was to determine the perspectives and ideas of the public about the concept of land expropriation without compensation, therefore, qualitative research was the perfect research method to conduct this study. Precisely, this research method enabled the researcher to engage diligently with investigating the perspectives and activism of community members of Cato

Manor in the policy of land acquisition. By engaging with the community, this method of research allowed the researcher to establish what fuels the activism that has taken place at Cato Manor which has a rich history when it comes to issues relating to land. Using this method of research, the conductor was able to gather what influences their perspectives on land policies.

3.2 Sampling

While it is unlikely that the researcher will be able to gather information from every example to fully address the study questions, choosing a sample and a sampling technique is necessary. Researchers can extract a lot of information from the data they have gathered by using purposeful sampling. This enables researchers to explain how their discoveries have a significant impact on the public. This research used purposive sampling, which is a non-probability sampling procedure. Purposive sampling involves a researcher choosing participants based on their intuition that they will be useful for their purpose of the study Neuman (2011). Therefore, 15 participants were sampled for the study. Furthermore, purposive sampling, sometimes referred to as critical, selective, or subjective sampling, is a kind of non-probability sampling in which researchers pick participants for their study based on their own judgment. The researcher of this study had prior knowledge of the community of Cato Manor as he had acquaintances live in the area. This sampling method necessitates researchers to have prior knowledge about the objective of their studies in order to appropriately pick and approach eligible participants. Finally, the researcher chose to utilize purposive sampling because, in comparison to other sampling techniques, it is incredibly time and cost efficient.

Firstly, the conductor of the research devised a plan of all the eligible participants. The plan and criteria of the participation was highly inclusive as the investigator planned to collect contrasting views from the participants. Having a variety in research would help the thesis understand what different age groups, race, culture, and gender have to say on the phenomenon.

As Cato Manor is a very small community, it was simple for the conductor of the researcher to get participants. While observing and adhering to all COVID 19 protocols, the researcher went from house to house to recruit participants of research. This process involved collecting the views of different participants in relation to the already prepared questions by the conductor in relation to land policies, and activism within the community.

3.3 Selection of participants

The selection criteria that were used to identify and recruit the 15 participants were as follows:

- Resident of Cato Manor Community
- Aged 18- 60 years
- Male and female

The reason the researcher chose these 15 members is that the topic of the study was derived through observing directly with what is and has happened at Cato Manor directly. The Researcher has also been to the community previously and has a sound understanding on the livelihoods of the people of this community. The selection criteria are that 18–60-year-old will bring a variety of perceptions. The thoughts and opinions on the youth will provide a fresh perspective on how they view land policies. The experiences and wisdom of the elderly will also bring relevant information particularly on the past and present activism that have occurred within the community of Cato Manor. With the aid of these selection criteria, the researcher was able to choose examples with a wealth of data, allowing the study to develop detailed understandings of the findings rather than making empirical generalizations. Furthermore, the community of Cato Manor has residents of all religions, races, and disabilities. The researcher allowed everyone to partake as they are all part of the community. The researcher purposively sampled fifteen participants to partake in the study. After the fifteen members completed the process of signing consent papers, interviews with them were conducted accordingly. These fifteen members directed the researcher to other people who were the organizers and leaders of all previous strikes and protests. When it is difficult to locate individuals of the population, the snowball sampling technique is used. As a result, the referral model is the foundation of this sampling strategy. The procedure begins with a small group of people, who are then requested for names of more information-rich individuals who would be interested to take part in the research. (Blanche, Blanche & Durrheim 2006).

The purposive sampling strategy was complemented by the snowball sampling technique which was used to identify information-rich participants since land activist were not easy to find. The snowball sampling method was also used in this study because the topic being studied was of a sensitive emotion to some. The snowball sampling technique was suitable for this study because the researcher was able to recruit other participants through those participants that had already been interviewed. The participants who had already been interviewed referred

the researcher to their fellow residents they knew had driven many protests before. In total, 15 participants were interviewed and were enough to contribute to different views and experiences needed for the study because data saturation had been achieved. Fusch and Ness (2012) mentioned that if one has reached the point of no new data, one has also most likely reached the point where no new themes emerge; therefore, one would have attained data saturation. This was evident in this study as the views and the data presented by the participants were repeated. Data saturation was reached during the thirteenth interview. There was no new data coming in hence, the researcher had reached data saturation and further sampling was rendered unsustainable.

3.4 Location of the study

The setting of this study was Cato Manor, which is located seven kilometres from the city centre of Durban, South Africa. According to Stats SA (2011), the community has a population of 5996 residents and 2212 households. The gender divide is almost at a balance with 51% of the population being female and 49% being male. According to Stats SA (2011), the population is 100% Black African with 83% Speaking IsiZulu followed by 13% IsiXhosa speaking people. A research study conducted by Obioha and Small (2014), showed that 70.6% of the population is unemployed which gives insight as to why crime is high in this community. The Cato Manor municipality is composed of two wards (Ward 29 and Ward 30) also known as Section F and it covers a geographical area of 1800 ha. In terms of its class and racial makeup, patterns of legal and illegal ownership, as well as residence and occupation within the city, Cato Manor has a complicated past. (Gray and Maharaj, 2017). The rich history of Cato Manor, which largely relates to land issues is the primary reason the researcher chose this municipality. Cato Manor is renowned for being a sizable, low-income housing development in central Durban that mainly omitted land restitution claims to address forced removals from the region during the colonial era and apartheid. Therefore, the perspective and activism of the citizens of this area are critical to understand, given the ways in which they have been impacted by an implementation of radical land reform policies. The setting was convenient for the researcher to reach since he is also familiar with this community.

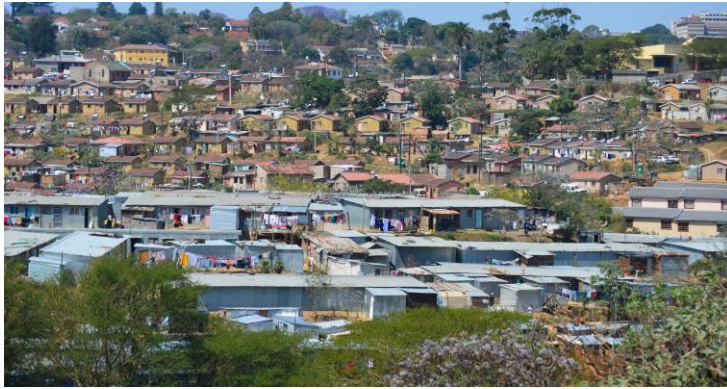


Figure 4

An image of Cato Manor today

3.5 Entry into research site

The researcher was knowledgeable about the small community of Cato Manor and the researcher had also interacted with the community's residents before on numerous cases hence, it was easy to gain access to the research site and obtain participants. To gain permission to the site, the researcher firstly went to the local police station to enquire about the process of gaining a gatekeeper's letter. A gatekeeper is a person, group of people or an institution with either formal or informal authority to regulate access to a site or research subjects (Neuman, 2006). Alternatively, a gatekeeper might be thought of as someone who has the power to decide who gets access to the research site. The researcher approached the Cato Manor police station and met a detective who advised the researcher to approach the local councilor to obtain authorization. A formal appointment with the local councilor was made through telephonic communication and the local councilor was happy to give authorization after reviewing the research proposal of the researcher.

3.6 Data collection

Data gathering is the process of recording information about how the research was conducted or how the research's source material was produced (Flick 1998:149). This section of the methodology describes how information was gathered from study members. Ulin, Robinson, and Tolley (2005), assert that the three main techniques of observation, in-depth interviews, and focus groups serve as the cornerstones of qualitative data collection. In-depth interviews were employed in this qualitative study to gather the opinions of 15 chosen individuals from the Cato Manor community. When a researcher seeks to thoroughly examine a new topic, in-depth interviews are crucial and helpful in obtaining specific information on a person's ideas and habits. The researcher planned the 15 interviews carefully to get to the essential objectives

of the research which intended to gain data on the perspectives and activism of Cato Manor community members regarding land reform policies in general, and land expropriation without compensation in particular. Furthermore, the interviews were planned to examine the communities past, and current activism regarding land reform policies. Finally, the interviews were also designed to explore the extent to which the government enables, supports and welcomes community perspectives and activism on land reform policies in general and land expropriation without compensation in particular. Therefore, when a researcher desires to thoroughly examine a new topic, in-depth interviews are crucial and helpful in obtaining specific information on a person's ideas and habits (Boyce & Neale, 2006).

3.6.1 Interview guide

According to Canals (2017), although in qualitative research it should be kept in mind that these pre-selected procedures may vary during the process, the methodologies utilized to collect data, as mentioned in prior chapters, are mostly dictated by the study questions and objectives. Indeed, as explained further below in this chapter, the interview guide in the study was revised after it was pilot tested. However, in this study, the methods were not changed as they proved to work as expected during a pilot study.

The interview guide was the main research instrument that was used to elicit data from participants. The interview schedule was prepared in advanced by the researcher. Through undertaking an extensive literature review, this data gathering tool was created which previews the current literature on the topic being investigated hence the researcher created interview questions that were consistent with the research objective. Since the majority of participants were familiar with IsiZulu, the interview guide was created and published in both English and IsiZulu. Key research questions, many of which were open-ended, were included in the interview guide. Due to the participants' comfort level with responding to interview questions in their preferred language, the interview procedure was significantly simplified thanks to the interview guide. The dialogue was therefore easy to follow. The gaps created by thoroughly doing the literature review led to the questions that were included in the interview schedule. Individualized interviews were conducted with fifteen participants from the community of Cato Manor.

3.6.2 The researcher as the main research instrument:

Axinn (2006), asserts that because the researcher is a key component in the collection of qualitative data, the researcher is heavily accountable for the accomplishment of the goals that were established for the study. The researcher exemplifies what it means to perform qualitative research as the most crucial tool or apparatus. This argument is supported by Paton, (2002) in arguing that the researcher is the main tool in all data gathering processes predominantly in qualitative research. As a result, the researcher is the most important tool since they must possess the necessary expertise to navigate the participants' uncharted territory, investigate the relevant occurrences, and gather the pertinent information required to provide answers to the main study questions. According to Kvale (1996), the interviewer acts like a miner in a qualitative study since information is viewed as a buried mineral that must be uncovered in a similar way to a precious metal. This implies that the researcher must possess the necessary skills to gather comprehensive and adequate data from the subjects. As a result, the researcher played a crucial role in gathering sufficient and rich data from the participants. Apparently, “everybody has the skills to do interpretive research, but to do it well one needs to turn these basic skills into specialised research skills” (Blanche & Kelly 1999: 126).

Upon arriving in the researcher site, the researcher had to develop sharp skills needed for successful data collection. These skills included the capacity to pay close attention to what research participants were saying, to notice, to ask questions, to probe when appropriate, and to interpret problems that might come up throughout the conversation. Burgess (1988:102), describes interviews in qualitative research as a type of "conversation with a purpose". As a result, the dialogue can go naturally. By making participants aware that they were not required to respond to all the questions, they were permitted to end the interview if they felt uncomfortable doing so, which helped to reduce any potential mistrust that might have developed between the researcher and the participants in this study. However, this did not occur since the researcher conducted the interviews in a non-threatening and socially acceptable manner by continually being patient and Non-judgemental

3.7 piloting of the data collection instrument

Prior to collecting the data, the data collection instrument was piloted. According to Kim (2011), a feasibility study that often consists of a scaled-down version of the planned study is known as a pilot study. Typically, it is done to help with the formulation of the research design and to provide answers to the study's methodological problems (Kim, 2011). Additionally, it

gives the researchers more practice using the research techniques and interventions and provides estimates for calculating sample sizes.

When piloting the data collection instrument, the researcher was able to put the interview schedule to the test and practice their interviewing skills. Three male participants who weren't part of the study's main sample but who had traits in common with the potential participants participated in the pilot trial. They were from the community of Cato Manor and were acquaintances of the researcher. Piloting the data collection instrument entailed interviewing each of the three participants using the interview guide. The researcher was able to modify the interview guide to make it more suitable for participants to reply to the questions effectively and in a way that fostered more conversation. Since the issue of activism and protest is sensitive to some because they believe that during times of protests, some may have engaged in unlawful activities such as torching and arson, doing the pilot study helped the researcher construct questions that were not objectionable to the participants. Therefore, the researcher was helped by the pilot study in developing pertinent questions and presenting them in the proper way. Finally, the pilot study helped the researcher to navigate through the COVID 19 protocols. It prepared the researcher to understand and plan for the necessary precautions that were needed to be followed during the process of collecting data.

3.8 The interview process

The interviews were held on the date and time that participants indicated as suitable for them. The interviews were conducted in the participants' homes as they felt that it was much safer, convenient, and more pleasant to do so. To ensure that the participants were at ease and comfortable, the researcher presented a brief introduction statement prior to the interviews. This further allowed the participants to ask any questions they might have before the interview. Following this activity, the researcher gave the participants consent forms, went over the meaning of each one in great detail, and had them sign. All participants gave their agreement for audio recording. Most of the participants were reluctant to have their names included in the study, but the researcher reassured them that pseudonyms would be employed to protect their privacy. The participants were also advised of their rights to secrecy, anonymity, and the freedom to leave the study whenever they wished without fear of repercussions. King (1998) asserts that the interviewer should work to gain the interviewee's trust, and that level of trust should rise during the interview. The researcher's objective is to respect the participants' rights, gain their trust, and make them feel at ease throughout the interview process.

3.9 Data analysis

In qualitative research, data analysis is viewed as an ongoing process that takes place explicitly prior to the end stage of the data analysis process rather than just an event that occurs once all the data have been collected (Patton,2005). In this study, listening to and transcribing the interview recordings served as the first steps in the analysis process. Since the transcription didn't include sociolinguistic elements like tone, repetitions, pauses, and other conversational elements, the recordings weren't transcribed verbatim. Kyale (1996) argues that although letter-perfect transcriptions are thought to be the most trustworthy and impartial in order to convey participants' ideas in a way that produced only those features that were relevant to the study, the researcher rephrased and condensed some of the remarks given by the participants to be more precise and concise.

In this study, thematic analysis was used to examine the data. In thematic analysis, patterns or themes are found in qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Understanding and reflecting on the written transcripts and recorded audio are part of the thematic analysis process. Finding out about the data, creating the first codes, looking for themes, reviewing themes, defining themes, and writing up were the six steps that were utilized to analyze the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). To be familiar with the data, the researcher started by reading and rereading the transcripts in-depth. Actively examining the data and looking for recurring themes, patterns, and meanings from the feedback was part of this approach.

The researcher created the initial codes from the data after becoming familiar with the participant's data findings. Codes are the most fundamental component of the raw data or information that can be evaluated in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon and assist in identifying a feature of the data (semantic content or latent) that appears intriguing to the analyst (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Additionally, coding in qualitative research is how you specify the subject matter of the data you are analysing (Gibbs, 2007). Following the coding procedure, the researcher started organizing the various codes into probable themes. The researcher then examined the codes and thought about how they might be merged to create a larger theme. The themes were also arranged according to how frequently participants' comments were similar. These were then examined after looking for and sorting the themes. The themes were examined to see whether they made sense and if the facts supported them.

The extracts which supported the themes were checked to ascertain if they formed coherent patterns. The topics for which there was insufficient information were dropped. The themes

were developed and improved upon after this activity. Braun and Clarke (2006), claim that defining and refining entails figuring out the core of each theme's meaning (as well as the overarching themes) and what part of the data each theme captures. Following this activity, the researcher verified the data and started to put together a coherent write-up. In-depth facts were supplied by the researcher, who also compared them with one another, the theoretical framework, the setting, the subject's position, and pertinent literature. Data were compared to determine whether they were able to achieve the research objectives through answering the research questions.

3.10 Example of thematic analysis

Table 2: Thematic analysis

| <u>Meaning unit</u> | <u>Code</u> | <u>Sub themes</u> | <u>Theme</u> |
|---|--|---------------------------------|--|
| “We came to reside in this area in the year 2002 in a shack because it was closer to the city. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shack dwelling | State of landlessness | Activism for land and housing. |
| “The government does not support our grievances as a community. I don’t trust them to represent us any longer”. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Current government | State of the current government | government response and support to citizens. |
| | | | |

3.11 Trustworthiness of the study

3.11.1 Trustworthiness is imperative in qualitative research. Reliability, according to Duckworth (2013), is the consistency of values across a study. Smith (2015) argues that dependability tells you whether using an instrument to measure something more than once yields the same result. This statement provides further evidence in favor of the claim. Research dependability can be defined more simply as the extent to which a research methodology yields outcomes that are reliable and repeatable. In principle, a measure is considered dependable if

it consistently yields the same result when applied to the same object of measurement. In the case of this research, the researcher used the same questions for every participant and all the answers were captured using the same method for all participants

Trustworthiness, according to Babbie and Mouton (2005), is focused on how the researcher can persuade others as well as themselves that the research findings are valuable and honest in nature. Using reliable techniques, such as appropriate sample tactics, detailed descriptions, an audit trail, and information sources, the reliability of this study of Cato Manor's perspectives and activism was ensured. This allowed the study to be dependable, confirmable, and transferable. An audit trail, as defined by Wolf (2003), in a qualitative investigation, can be precisely described as a qualitative method to increase the verifiability of a study's findings. By demonstrating that the conclusions are based on participant responses rather than the researcher's own assumptions and prejudices, the results are said to be confirmable. The findings cannot be regarded as transferable unless they are credible, and they cannot be considered credible unless they are dependable (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

3.11.2 Credibility Cope (2014:89) argues defines credibility as “the truth of the data or the participant views and the interpretation and representation of them by the researcher”. Therefore, credibility certifies that the built realities existent in the participants' minds and those that are assigned to them are compatible (Babbie & Mouton,2001). Furthermore, According to Egbunike (2010), the "adequateness" of the tools, methods, and data is what qualitative research validity refers to. To answer a research topic, a methodology must be fitting, the strategy must be legal/lawful for the methodology, the sampling must be appropriate, the data analysis must be appropriate, and the result and conclusion must be appropriate for the sample and context. This was accomplished through long and thorough engagements with study participants. The researcher engaged research participants until data saturation was reached. Data triangulation, which entailed using several factors to see if data would cause differences in the conclusions, was another method of achieving credibility. Data triangulation, to be exact, is the use of several techniques or data sources in qualitative research to create a thorough understanding of phenomena (Triangulation, 2014). Purposive and snowball sampling procedures were used in the study as data collecting sampling tactics. The researcher and the supervisor frequently met to discuss and determine whether the data would not lead to discrepancies in the findings.

3.11.3 Transferability refers to the extent to which the study's conclusions can be useful to different circumstances (Shenton, 2004). This definition is supported by Cope (2014:89) in stating that “transferability refers to findings that can be applied to other settings or groups”. This was accomplished by gathering descriptions of the data in great detail, and the researcher also provided adequate and thorough reporting of the data. This enables the reader to assess whether the findings are transferable (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Purposive sampling was used to choose the participants, which also contributed to transferability. The researcher carefully selected the residents of the municipality as well as individuals who were well-known for being Cato Manor community activists in the past and present as participants.

3.11.4 Dependability Cope (2014:89) cited Polit & Beck (2012) in defining dependability as “the constancy of the data over similar conditions”. Therefore, dependability means that the study must also offer its readers with enough proof that equivalent results would be reached if the work were to be repeated in the same circumstance, using the same techniques, and with the same participants (Shenton, 2004). This was achieved by offering numerous accounts of the operational details of data collection. The steps used in the field to collect data were broken down gradually by the researcher, who also provided explanation for their applicability.

3.11.5 Conformability According to Cope (2014:89) “Confirmability is the aptitude of the researcher to show that the data accurately reflect the responses of the participants and not their prejudices or perspectives. By explaining how conclusions and interpretations were reached and providing evidence that the results were drawn directly from the data, the researcher can show confirmability. The findings of the study reveal the experiences, thoughts, and ideas of the participants rather than the traits, beliefs, and preferences of the researcher, which is what confirmability, to put it simply, entails (Shenton, 2004). Confirmability was achieved through an audit trail which enables the supervisor to determine if the findings conform to the data produced if data can be traced back to their original sources and if the entire study is coherent. Reference to proposal notes was also made to enable the realignment of the findings with the original focus of the study.

3.12 Ethical considerations

Researcher should be cognizant of principled deliberations when conducting research. The research should not at any form bring harm to the researcher itself and its participants within the field of the study. Ethics are a significant component of research, thus ethical values shouldn't be seen as a simple form that is completed for the ethics committee and not followed,

argues (Davies and Dodd, 2002). When directing an investigation, there is a wide variety of interactions in research that are likely to occur, including in-depth interviews, focus groups, surveys, or even observing people's behavior (Knox,2009). However, when engaging with people, it is important to observe if your research is not bringing psychological harm. For example, researching sensitive topics such as rape, and other forms of abuse that may bring about demonstrations which require nudity. Secondly, the research shouldn't bring financial harm to the participants of the study. For example, the research participants should not find themselves having to spend their own finances to partake in your study (Gejjar,2013). Participants should also not find themselves in a position where participating in your study will put them at risk of losing their jobs. Thirdly, the investigator is accountable for guaranteeing that the research does not bring social harm to the participants. During the course of collecting data, the participants should not be placed in a position that will place them at risk of facing stigma, abuse, neglect and other forms of social danger. Their personal details such as their names, surname, and all confidential matters should be always kept confidential and not exposed to anyone.

The authorization to conduct the study was obtained from the school of Built Environment and Development Studies Research Ethics Committee at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. After the ethical permission was granted, the researcher drew up a schedule which detailed every detail of how the appointments will take place. Following the creation of the strategy, interviews with the participants who had agreed to take part in the study were scheduled. Before each interview session, the researcher outlined the purpose of the study. A written statement of participation in the study and an informed consent form were given to participants. The researcher requested consent from the individuals before recording their audio. The participants felt at comfortable throughout the interviews since it was made clear to them that strict privacy standards would apply to the management and storage of the recordings.

To establish if research is ethical or not, four generally accepted philosophical concepts are used according Wassenaar (2006). Respect for people, generosity, non-mischief, and fairness for everyone were the four guiding principles the researcher employed to guarantee that the participants were treated ethically.

These principles were achieved by participant voluntariness, informed consent obtained after participants received adequate information about the study, and confidentiality upheld by keeping study participants' personal information private (pseudonyms were used). The

participants were also made aware of their right to leave the study at any time without facing any repercussions. Non-maleficence was the second principle that was put into practice. This required protecting the participants, therefore the researcher made sure all queries were made in a kind and considerate way. The study supported beneficence as the third guiding principle. Since some of the participants were curious about whether they would receive any incentives, the researcher made sure to emphasize that there were no financial benefits that the participants would receive for taking part in the study.

3.13 Limitations of the study

It is a profound reality that research has its limitations due to different circumstances that may or may not be foreseen. Some of the limits may be visible due to restraints on methodology or research design which may influence the whole framework or research study. There are margins that make undertaking a study difficult. These are the obstacles that the research is facing. The topic that probes into land activism is a sensitive issue. Some participants who are known to be land activist feared that the research was possibly a hunt for them to be convicted as they thought that some of their protests before could incriminate them. Therefore, at first, they were reluctant to participate in the study. Secondly, the participants were reluctant to respond effectively in the interviews as they feared their answers may be self-incriminating. However, during the interviews, the researcher made an effort to create a pleasant and judgment-free environment so that the members could effortlessly relate their experiences. Secondly, due to the COVID 19 pandemic, it was difficult to get participants to comply with the guidelines of the pandemic. Some participants didn't have masks to wear during the interview and it was left to the researcher to organize it for them.

Conclusion

This chapter described the methods and layout of the research, which the study adopted. Just like every research paper must adopt a research method, this paper was no different. The chapter defined precisely what research methodology is and it also demonstrated how it was implemented in collecting data. Furthermore, this chapter specified the measures or systems used to classify, choose, process, and examine data related to the proposed topic. In this study, the methodology section permitted the reader to analyse the study's general validity and reliability closely, paying particular attention to how the researcher carefully planned the study to produce trustworthy results that meet the study's goals. Moreover, by demonstrating that the methodologies and techniques used are the best match for the research aims and objectives and

delivered valid and trustworthy data, the methodology chapter justified the design decisions. Furthermore, this chapter broke down the methodologies of research including where the research had taken place and the research setting. It detailed the full process the researcher undertook to enter the research site which is formally known as Cato Manor and is situated 5km west of the Durban city centre. This chapter also detailed how study participants were chosen from the community to partake on the study. It also fully detailed the selection criteria that was established to select participants. This section moved on to define which methods were used to collect data. The chapter moved further to describe the data collection instruments that were used in the study. The researcher moved on to discuss how confidentiality enhanced the trustworthiness of the study and making sure participant's identities and safety remained a top priority. Finally, the chapter discussed how data collected was analysed, and reflected on the ethical considerations and the limitations of the study encountered.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The findings obtained from the participants during in-depth interviews that were held in the Cato Manor community are presented in the next chapter. The aim of the interviews was to explore the perspectives of Cato Manor community members regarding land reform and land reform policies in general, and land expropriation without compensation. Furthermore, the interviews sought to examine the community's past, and current activism regarding land reform and the policy of land expropriation without compensation in particular, and what it has achieved. Lastly, the interviews intended to explore the extent to which the government enables, supports and welcomes community perspectives and activism on land reform policies in general and land expropriation without compensation in particular. After undertaking in-depth structured interviews with 15 members, the researcher used thematic analysis to analyse the information and produce themes based on the shared viewpoints of the participants.

4.2 Sample Characteristics

The following table shows the demographic data of the interview participants to build a clear image of them. The interviews were open to everyone residing in Cato Manor. However, participants had to be eighteen years and older to be interviewed. The reasons behind the selected age group are due to the complexity of the phenomenon being discussed. As can be seen below, all participants were Black, majority were male, and the average age was 38.1.

Table 3: Sample Characteristics

| Participant | Age | Gender | Community |
|--------------------|------------|---------------|----------------------|
| P1 | 28 | Male | Cato Manor section 7 |
| P2 | 27 | Male | Cato Manor |
| P3 | 57 | female | Cato Manor section F |
| P4 | 36 | Male | Cato Manor |
| P5 | 35 | Male | Cato Manor |
| P6 | 49 | Female | Cato Manor |
| P7 | 23 | Female | Cato Manor |
| P8 | 33 | Male | Cato Manor section F |
| P9 | 27 | Male | Cato Manor |
| P10 | 66 | Male | Cato Manor |

| | | | |
|-----|----|--------|----------------------|
| P11 | 38 | Male | Cato Manor section F |
| P12 | 36 | Female | Cato Manor |
| P13 | 40 | Female | Cato Manor |
| P14 | 38 | Male | Cato Manor section F |
| P15 | 39 | Male | Cato Manor |

4.3 Theme 1: Contextual background of Cato Manor

The history of Cato Manor as a community has been well documented in the past. Walker (2017). From the struggles of landlessness to the different forms of activism in the struggle for land and housing. In the early 1940s, Cato Manor became to be known as a multicultural community residing Black and Indian people. A timeline posted on SAHO (2020) reveals that in 1945 Indians and Africans interacted often in both their professional and social lives, resulting in the emergence of a lively, mixed culture. However, not everything is as it seems like. African tenants began to accuse their Indian landlords of outrageous price rises and forced overcrowding which led to tensions. In the name of 'divide-and-rule,' or out of jealousy of Indian advancement, certain white groups help to fuel this hostility.

The feud between the Blacks and Indians grew bigger. The article details an event in 1949 January 13, of a racial incident on Grey Street which began a violent anti-Indian war that spreads to Cato Manor, bringing African Indian hate to a head. A two-day spree of murder, looting, and burning in the slums draws international news, with 137 people killed and thousands injured. Most Indian landowners lose their lands to African shack lords and traffickers, who damage shops, residences, and public facilities. Following the riots, Indian landlords return to collect rentals or lease entire plots to Africans, who erect new shacks and sublet them (SAHO,2020).

Previous literature has captured the rich history of the process of how African people were evicted from their land in the early years in the 1950s, and how they have continued to fight to be given back what was originally their land. According to Edwards (1994), after the introduction of the Group Areas Act, in 1952 the Group Areas Board recommended that Cato Manor be designated as a White group area in 1954. According to Newton, and Schuermans, (2013), the Group Areas Act of 1950 divided the urban regions of South Africa into commercial and residential zones. Because these lands were intended for White settlement, thousands of Coloureds, Blacks, and Indians were forcibly removed from them.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 created housing and business portions in urban areas for each race, and members of other races were forbidden from living in, working in, or visiting these areas. During interviews, participants recalled the history of forceful removals. In these narratives, the community of Cato Manor suffered heavily from the introduction of the Group Areas Act of 1950 as the residents of the were uprooted and transported to the communities of KwaMashu, Umlazi, and Chatsworth after the Group Areas Act was implemented. In the words of one participant:

“Then the Boers came and changed all that. We were moved from where we lived, we moved to a place called Umlazi in C section. We were relocated again from Umlazi in C, and we were relocated to a place called uMlazi G section”. (P3)

Although there were racial tensions in Cato Manor between the Blacks and the Indian residents, Gray and Maharaj (2017) states residents were aided by members of the Natal Indian Congress in fighting the deportation by holding large gatherings and other means of resistance. While conducting interviews, it became evident that there were many participants who were already residents of Cato Manor before they were removed in the 1950s:

“However, when I hear about it, my mother said that we were already living in this area and that the community was still called Umkhumbane before I was born. Grandpa and Grandma have their navels buried here. They were born here in this community that is now called Cato Manor”. (P1)

The comments made by the participants bring into light that before people were forcefully moved out of the community through the Group Areas Act, they were land and homeowners. However, once the Act was in full force, they were forced to seek new beginnings in different communities such as Umlazi, Ntuzuma and Chatsworth, which were further away from the city. To the community members of Cato Manor, this is where all troubles of poverty and landlessness began. The forced removals meant that they were much further away from the city, which meant limited employment, and loss of communal and commercial land:

“Here at home my child, my biological father, had a large garden where he planted different vegetables. he always got up to catch a taxi to Durban to sell what was harvested. That is what we survived. All of that ended when we were expelled from here” (P3)

It is therefore apparent that the community of Cato Manor was a multicultural community before the year of 1950. Although later Black people and Indian people got into a feud, it was

evident that at one stage, they all lived peacefully. Cato Manor was a mixed-race community of Blacks, Indians, and Coloured people who lived together in harmony, owning and sharing land. However, after the introduction of the Group Areas Act by the apartheid government, racial disintegration, landlessness and poverty began for Black people. They lost employment as they stayed away from the city, while they also lost their houses and rightful land.

4.4 Theme 2: The return to Cato Manor

Upon conducting the interviews, it became evident from the participants that most Black people started to move back to Cato Manor after 1991. According to Odindi (2011), the Group Areas Act was abolished on June 30, 1991, therefore, Black people could now reside in their area of choice. Once the ANC gained power in 1994, it gave Black people more liberty to manoeuvre freely. Booysen (2011). Therefore, people started to move back to this community for different reasons. However, participants expressed that the main reason they were coming back to this community was to be close to the city which increases their chances of getting jobs:

“We can talk a lot about local history. But because you are young, you will never know the best of it. But I'm just talking. Many people here started to come back in 1994 when the African National Congress (ANC) gained power. People really got a chance to come back because they already lived here previously. Back then, Durban was full of opportunities, it had a harbor and everything. Durban is full of many factories too, which is why people are here today. But then I came back here, I think it was in the year 2000 And we started from scratch” (P3)

The interviews also revealed that when Black people relocated to Cato Manor, they had to start from humble beginnings. They had no jobs, land nor housing. This led to people to find a small section within Cato Manor where they started to build shacks:

“I came here for the first time in 1994. I came to live in a shack, and I lived in a shack for a few years until 2003. The forest was cleared of developments and construction of houses began. The slums we lived in were disgusting. Many people came here in 1997-2004. When people come here, they build shacks up here in section F. They have been doing that for a long time. Many today do the same. When we got here, we found many slums and we joined in. People who we found in these slums used to have small jobs in Durban. People who were evicted long ago from here returned. However, when they returned, they had to start over again. That is why people were protesting. They know what they had long ago” (P4)

From the interviews, it also emerged that most residents of the community of Cato still come to reside in this community because they still currently, believe it is much closer to the city which would increase their chances of employment. While people stay in shacks, they still hope they will be allocated land and housing. Some participants expressed that since Cato Manor is such a well-known community due to its history, the chances of government housing allocation there is much greater than in other communities.

“I came here and got a job that was just a little job I got. I arrived in the year 2021. Now I’m steadily waiting to be allocated a house.” (P10).

“I came here last year (2020). My friends from uMlazi told me that very soon, people would be getting government houses so I thought I should come camp in this shack to increase my chances of getting a house. (P14).

Therefore, it is evident that Black people relocated to Cato Manor for a few, yet impactful reasons. The abolishment of the Group Areas Act of 1950 was the first step to allowing people to re-enter Cato Manor. The African National Congress gaining power in 1994 also gave confidence to people to come back to build shacks in the community. Lastly, participants revealed that one of the biggest motives for Black people to re-enter the community is the closeness to the city of Durban which provides better opportunities for jobs as it has a harbor and many factories.

4.4.1 Sub theme: The state of Imijondolo (shacks)

Throughout the research, participants effortlessly describe the conditions they were living in before they were allocated government houses in Cato Manor. It is imperative to mention that during the study it was visibly clear that not all residents were allocated housing. Some participants still resided in shacks. During the interviews most participants stated they had previously built their shacks in a small fraction of the community known as section F.

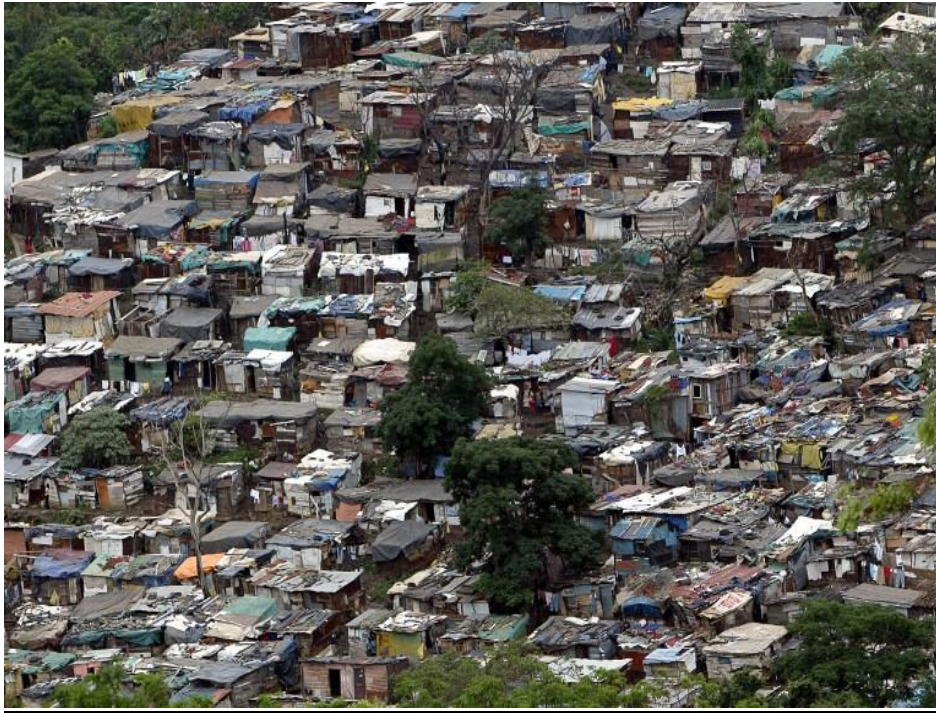


Figure 5

One of the many slums in Durban, Cato Manor. (ENCA) Wednesday 13 March 2013

The conditions of living described by participants were unpleasant. Participants described a lifestyle of cramped houses with no clean water, electricity and toilets. Participants maintained that the lack of such basic needs pushed them to rally for housing:

“I came here in 1989 but we lived in a shack, and we lived in a place where it was very dirty and unhygienic. Dirty water would run through your home while you were cooking supper, sleeping and doing everything in your house. That’s the life we come from”. (P5)

Participant 3 echoed the general argument of the state of shacks in Cato Manor. However, participant 3 took it further by mentioning that her biggest fear was getting ill due to the lack of sanitation around the area:

“Where we lived, the toilets were always getting full and that was the thing that bothered us the most. We were just too crowded where we were living. You could see that we could get sick at any time. And then the shacks we lived in were very small. The biggest problem is that we have girls who are also growing up with children. Now that is a problem because the area is not ideal to raise a child. That is not the life that people should live.” (p3).

The slums we lived in were disgusting. It's full of filth. The floor is full of papers. The garbage truck does not arrive. The way we lived was heartbreaking. Sadly, there are still people who live there. They have no electricity, water, toilet, or food. (p4).

The interviews revealed that participants felt overall it was unsustainable to continue living in such conditions. The basic conditions that were mostly concerning the participants were lack of water, electricity, sanitation, and housing. Yet, one participant claimed that the only reason she was allocated a house was due to her shack and one near hers catching a fire:

“I lived up section in F, and I lived in a shack with my children, and we relocated. We just went down with my whole family and my kids. We were lucky and unlucky. When the fire broke out, we lost our shack. If a fire breaks out, there is a problem because your shacks will burn down. But we were lucky because we got a house after that. We were lucky because no one in our family was injured. This is where protests also gained momentum”. (P6).

4.5 Theme 3: Activism regarding land in Cato Manor

After Many years of shack dwelling, the community of Cato Manor ran out of patience in residing in shacks. The activism by the residents of this community is detailed well in the history books, Mottiar (2014). The interviews revealed that the community became fed up with living in overcrowded slums and that is where different forms of activism began to take place over land and housing issues. The interviews disclose different forms of activism, some violent and some not. According to some participants, the process of acquiring houses did not happen overnight. People had been living in overcrowded slums and the government and the municipality did nothing about this for years. Participants state that after many open dialogues with the municipality, the empty promises began to ignite anger and urgency among the shack dwellers of Cato Manor.

The interviews revealed that many protests began in the year of 2001. Participants claim that the protests were at their peak in the early years of 2002-2006:

“My brother, here in this place things are fought for in order for them to get done you understand. You won't get anything if you don't get up. But then I was too young in those days. I don't remember everything as it is, you, see? But we got this RDP house around 2004 by registering with the councilor. But that wasn't just a simple process. There were a lot of protests by protestors where we lived as slum dwellers so that we could get the RDP houses we are currently living in. As you can see, it was not fun, but with the little we had, we fought with

our blood. I'm not saying anything bad my brother you, see? But the people were suffering.
(P1)

Although participants revealed that they eventually got allocated housing between the years of 2004-2006, they make it clear that it was not easy process. In the next sub-theme, a detailed description of the different forms of activism that Cato Manor have been waging to get access to land and housing is given.

4.5.1 Sub-Theme: first stage of Activism: non-violent engagement

Although the community of Cato Manor has inherited a negative narrative as a violent community filled with violent protests in the past as (Mdlalose ,2014), it was surprising to learn that the demand for housing and land did not start with protests. Participants revealed that they had never intended to protest, but rather engage with the councillors peacefully:

“People would gather around as shack dwellers. People gathered and went to negotiate with the ANC councilor because where we were residing, the state of housing was poor, particularly the toilets as they were overflowing and that was the thing that bothered us the most.” (P3).

“The people here have a bad reputation for being violent and forcing people to do things. That is not true. We are the people who can negotiate with the councilor if anything is needed. Didn't the committees first exist? Their job was to negotiate with the councilors” (P6)

They never wanted to deviate from their main object which was to engage with the local municipality through peaceful dialogue and other peaceful engagements. The interviews revealed that early on:

“But the important thing to note is that violence was not the first form of communicating our grievances. Our main objective at the time was to contact the municipality to negotiate justice and provide us with housing. Violence is something that has come a long way in protests” (P4)

The three above quotes from these two elderly women eloquently summarize the history of activism as it took place in Cato Manor in the early 2000s. The interviews revealed that by nature, the community of Cato Manor does not choose violence to address out their needs. As a community, they are always willing to engage in peaceful talks first before escalating to other tactics.

To further demonstrate this point, the interviews revealed that within the community, there were committees that were established to represent the needs of the community to the local municipality and government and at large. Participants shared that the job of the committees was gather all the grievances of the community and decisively bring them to the local councilor:

“I came here for the first time in 1994 I came, and I lived in a shack and in 2003 the forest was cleared for development. At that time, I was working for the community committee in 2003-2004 and in March I was moved to a new house. Our job as a committee was very simple. We were trusted by the community to take their grievances forward. Even small things like water, toilets, and just about everything.” (P4)

Two members who partook in the interviews were members of one of the “Mkhize” committees that were established within the community. They revealed that the fight was not only for housing, but also for necessities such as roads, sanitation, employment etc. The committees were also well known by community members and are well received:

“Yes, there are committees here in our area that I know of. They were very active long ago. Now they are no longer doing well. But is it because people already have their own homes?” (P2)

“Committees were there and after they help us with even the small things maybe you should want to make a letter from the councilor or if something is damaged in your home. They help with staff like that these days.” (P6)

Participants agree that the committees within the community who were chosen by the community did their job to the best of their ability. The interviews revealed that their task was to negotiate with the municipality and come back to brief the responses of the municipality back to the community members. It was also interesting to know that in the community of Cato Manor, there was more than one committee. However, their mandate was the same, collect community grievances, and take them to the municipality through peaceful negotiations:

“There are many committees here, but the work is the same and does not change. Collecting people's complaints to the municipality. And report back to the community. We are all servants of the community. The structure of this committee is the same as all of them” (P5)

It is therefore made clear that the fight for land and housing in Cato Manor did not just begin with massive protests. The communities and committees were firstly peaceful in their

approach. They engaged the municipality with aims of communication and finding the best solutions for themselves without causing any destructions:

“Then the man from the municipality came with others to see the place where we live, and they looked and said they would come back because they saw that the situation was not good for people to live here. After that we were waiting for them to come back, we just sat there waiting for them to come back, but hey never came”. (P3)

The method of peaceful engagements failed as it yielded no desirable result for the community members. Therefore, the community began to plan bigger, unpleasant ways to get their voices heard. This is when community members began to take activism to the next level. As Martin Luther King once said, “violence is the language of the unheard” Smith (2002).

4.5.2 Sub-Theme: Second stage of activism: beginning of violent protests

Unsurprisingly, the interviews revealed that after long processes of peaceful communications with the municipality and government that failed to yield results, the demand for housing and land became volatile. Participants revealed that they felt exploited by the government, that after long negotiations and peaceful engagements, they had to move on to the next stage to become impactful. The process of protesting did not start at a larger scale, it grew slowly until the numbers of protests swelled enough for government to take note. According to Mdlalose (2014), Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM) helped stop evictions of illegal shack dwellers around Durban and within the Cato Manor community through protests and court battles, but the key tactic became protesting. Mdlalose (2014) continues to argue that it became clear that for the voices of ordinary citizens to be heard, vigorous protest was needed. “Old tires were set ablaze on roads during these protests, which came to be known as the Dunlop. The globe was drawn to this type of activity, which spread awareness of this movement. As AbM gradually evolved into a protest group rather than a human rights or housing organization, it also benefited from being known for its Dunlop work”.:

“We spent a long time doing one thing. We regularly went to the municipal offices to find out what was happening to the promised houses. It became clear that we were being played. The community became angry with us as committees because they thought we were holding them back. The next stage was to make the fight big and visible to everyone. (P5).

“So, what I am telling you is that history is very violent here in our area. We took everything that happened here, and we lived and saw with our eyes, and we did it because we were trying to have a better life” (P5)

It became very clear that after the change of tactics from the community, there was little to no care left. When seeking to understand how the protests were mobilized, participants firstly start to explain a reoccurring theme of community members coming together to march to the municipal offices with spears, sticks and stones to demand action:

“Where it first became difficult is where people got tired. They would simply gather around and go to the councilor’s office to demand answers. Sometimes they would stone the windows or burn down the office”. (P1)

The interviews revealed that people who worked in the municipal offices became targeted by the community. Participants revealed that community members strongly felt that municipal officials were buying themselves cars and housing with funds that were allocated for the needs of the community. One participant describes a shocking incident whereby a lady who was serving as a councillor at that time was physically assaulted by a mob of marching community members while at the municipal offices:

“There were hard strikes my child because there is a year where the female councilor that was in charge. She was the one who suffered the most as people went around claiming she was abusing state resources. I think this incident occurred when the community marched to the municipal offices. She got badly hurt and needed medical and hospital intervention. She had neck braces for a long time. (P3)

“Violence was huge in this community, and I will tell you the truth about it my brother. The councilor in charge at the time was very much in trouble. The community was very unhappy with her. I too was angry but did not believe that anyone should be assaulted. This former councilor was saved by me. On one occasion, we had a community meeting. It had been widely believed that her daughter was living in Umhlanga. People heard about this, and they were fuming. People dragged her out of her car violently. Luckily I was there to intervene”. (P5)

“Let me give you an example when we were fighting for housing and land there were a lot of leaders in the municipality who used their positions for crime. this is the biggest problem created by black leaders. They want to satisfy themselves solely”. (P5)

These above quotes clearly capture the mindset and the resolve the community members had adopted. They believed that the municipal government had funds for social housing but misused them for corrupt ends. Believing that the funds had been there exacerbated the protests. Participants revealed that it was easy for the people who resided in the shacks to gather around

and march to the municipal offices where they would gear up to fight cause havoc. Participants recall seeing a large group of people marching up and down the street of Cato Manor with placards and destructing public property:

“There were a lot of protests where we lived as slum dwellers so that we could get what we were looking for. People had gathered around burning tires and blocking the roads. They walked all over the community singing and chanting songs.” (P1)

The interviews revealed that marching up and down the street also became a norm for the community. The marches included burning car tyres and stoning public services such as schools and clinics:

“When people are angry, they are not disciplined. People came with their stones to throw at school windows, clinics, and to damage other public property such as roads. People would often be blocking roads, burning garbage, and burning of car tyres. Or it may be that someday they are dumping garbage in order to keep cars from moving.” (P4)

It is therefore clear that at this stage, the protest for land and housing had gained strength as people began to protest regularly. Some were just simple marches around the community, and some were major events. They included blocking any community movement and vandalism.



Figure 6

“The poorest of the poor will be left even further behind unless those responsible for helping them are held to account and public scrutiny, a comment by faith ka-manzi, The mecury, 1 july 2013”

“From 2002 to 2004, strikes began in large numbers. Most people started joining the strike. They began to happen again and again. I would probably say that the biggest protests on the road were happening 6 times a year”. (P2)

As the numbers of people joining the protests grew, so did the scale of the outcries. The interviews revealed that the protests grew to the CBD of Durban where people would march the street of Durban causing mass destruction. They revealed that people would march up and down the street of Durban wearing red shirts, and printed flags written “umhlaba, izundlu, isthunzi”. (Land, houses, dignity):

To be honest, I also participated in the strikes. There was many of us and we had a massive impact on everyone and everything. We were frequently making the news. When we got to Durban, we would march up and down West Street and come back Smith Street. We would shut everything down, shops, and all stores. We would spill all the dust bins and close the roads. But sometimes I didn't go to the protests because I had a job, but that is what we did. (P10)

It is therefore evident that there were progressive phases of protests within the community of Cato Manor. As previous literature has detailed before, South Africa has become to be known as a very active country in expressing their discontent through different forms of protest which range from peaceful marches to violent marches. Breakfast (2019) et. al. Most recently, the riots that took place in South Africa predominantly Durban, due to political dissatisfactions and the arrest of former president Jacob Zuma showcased how protests can get in South Africa. The looting, which is defined as the process of stealing goods from a place during riots was what grabbed the headlines and captured strongly how protest can get.

However, the interviews revealed that contrary to popular belief, the members of the community began the struggle of housing and land through peaceful engagements and communication with the government. The establishment of various committees such as the “Sthe and Mkhize” committee shows that the community had elected representatives to communicate their grievances to the municipality. The interviews revealed that the community remained patient while engaging peacefully. However, participants revealed that they eventually gave up on this tactic of communicating their needs. They started protesting as a way of communicating their messages and they feel this method worked. However, the story of protest did not end here.

4.5.3 Sub theme: Government reaction to activism

The process of protesting in Cato Manor was not smooth sailing for the protestors. Mdlalose (2014) expresses that the consequences of protesting for the social movement (AbM) was devastating and brought more controversy. According to Mdlalose (2014), the leaders of the

movement were the main targets. Some protestors were arrested in action while some were arrested from home.

As mentioned, the protests by community members led to significant arrests which brought in further turmoil in the community of Cato Manor:

“I am going to be honest with you. The little that we have here was achieved with brute force. I hope people appreciate it. Every time we went out to protest, we knew that there was a massive possibility we would not make it back home”. (P12)

Participants describe a situation of police being out in numbers to control the rallies that had spread to the CBD, resulting in a significant increase in the number of arrested protestors:

“My brother, I won’t lie to you. When rallying with a crowd, mob mentality takes over you. At times we got carried away and started vandalizing peoples stores, and government property. I admit. That was a crime. That is what sparked most arrest. The police would come in and just grab whoever they could in the crowd.” (P14)

The interviews also revealed that the increase in arrests had a significant impact on the rallies arrest had a significant impact on the rallies in that marches began to take place in support of those who were arrested, and thus, were no longer merely about protesting for adequate housing, water, sanitation, and access to land:



Figure 7

“Hundreds of Abahlali baseMjondolo members show their support for ABM deputy president Mqapheli Bonono outside the Durban Magistrates’ Court. Image by: Thabiso Goba”

“People were being arrested not just on the street, but on their homes. I think the police had informants because our leaders were getting picked up. A lot of people left this community to go in to hiding from the police. Some came back and some did not. But it was very intense because you would exit your house going to the shops and end up sleeping in a prison cell. (P15)

“Once they started arresting us, we took the march to the courts. During bail hearings of our comrades, we would gather outside in numbers to support them. The government was quick to arrest people but was not quick to listen to our demands. This is what angered us the most. The ANC likes to emphasize the law on the poor, while they are the biggest fraudsters in our country” (P13)

Participants reported feeling a sense of injustice that the government was quick to highlight the crimes of the poor, while ignoring their needs. In the interviews, it also became apparent that to some extent, protestors agreed that vandalism was a criminal offense, but not a crime to be punishable by jail:

“I agree that what we were doing at times was wrong. Damaging stores belonging to the innocent was unnecessary. But to send people to jail just for that? This government is ludicrous. It was very difficult because a lot of people were afraid. Some fled the community for good and till this day we do not know where they went. But the march turned. We made sure that we supported our comrades. We would gather outside the court to sing and march for their release.” (P15).

4.5.4 Sub theme: Conflict amongst community members

Upon conducting the interviews, it became quickly evident that conflict was not only against the government and local municipality, but also among community members. Participants revealed that after long periods of protesting for land and housing, some of them were eventually allocated Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) houses. However, the allocation of houses caused other huge conflicts within the community of Cato Manor. Participants revealed that once the process of allocating houses began, the community became divided. The divisive conflict was sparked by perceived unfairness and lack of transparency in the allocation of RDP houses. Participants revealed that there were suspicions those who were allocated houses early on had bribed housing officials. These conflicts resulted in a host of new protests, although not at a large scale as the preceding protests:

“One of the main issues that is not mainly spoken about is the issue of housing allocation. It was very corrupt. I know. Everybody knows that people were paying the councilor money to get houses. Therefore, we were back to square one. We started marching to municipal offices again. How could people from uMlazi, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu be given houses while there are people in this area who still lives in shacks? Does this make sense to you?” (P4)

In the interviews, participants revealed that there were further engagements with the municipality to address the accusations of injustice and dishonesty in the allocation of RDP houses. However, these engagements were mostly handled by the local committees as community members directly engaged them for answers. The engagements were not aggressive, rather communicative as community members became desperate to do anything to be allocated a house:

“Let me give you an example of the work done by local committees. When the process of allocating RDP houses began, there was deception. Community members were very angry because the way the people were being given houses was incomprehensible. People gathered around us to ask what was going on. Some came to us seeking to pay bribes because they thought that this would be one of the ways to get housing. There were rumors that we as committees were selling houses. That was not true. We just went and took people's complaints to the municipality alone” (P5)

Another cause of a major uproar was said to be a phenomenon saw people who were not known by the community to live in Cato Manor suddenly being allocated houses in Cato Manor. Participants also describe a situation where people who were known to be at the forefront of activism were not given houses, which caused a massive divide that dented the unity of the movement. Some who were activists got houses, while some were not, and people unknown to the community were receiving houses:

“What our current government has done perfectly is to adopt what the Boer government did. divide and conquer. The first thing the government does is to separate the people and then add what they want to include. Therefore, we developed different views on matters relating to the construction of houses and settlements, and the land. Us the committee became in conflict with the community. Once some of us got houses, we were accused of caring less for the rest of the others.” The municipality was smart in that way.” (P4).

Importantly, the protests against unfairness and corruption in the allocation of houses fizzled out quickly, and participants attributed this to the fact that most of the leaders of the strikes were allocated houses and therefore lost the appetite to continue protesting:

“These days, all they do is talk. They end up talking. There is no action being taken. They (committees) have no plan of what they are going to do right now to get what we need.” (P7)

4.6 Theme 4: Present day activism in Cato Manor

In the interviews, the research explored current activism in Cato manor today. Unsurprisingly, the interviews revealed that activism in this community has lessened over the years. There are many factors that were advanced to explain the reduction of protests in this community. Firstly, as previously mentioned, majority leaders of the movement for housing have been allocated RDP houses, resulting in a vacuum of leadership since they are no longer interested in fighting for an issue that has been addressed in their individual lives. Secondly, a significant proportion of those in need of housing currently are new residents in the community, thus lacking the political memory that would inspire them to mount an aggressive protest against the lack of housing. It is also noteworthy that among those residents who have acted against their houselessness, they have done so through verbal communication to the municipality, rather than organized protests.

When participants were asked how often rallies related to housing and land occurred within the community one claimed:

“It is not very common for that to happen because we have received what we were fighting for. Although it was a tough journey, some of us eventually got what we were looking for. Rallies that do happen are often related to maybe having our water cut out or demand for electricity. But they are few and far between.” (P6)

“In modern times protests are still happening today but are not the same as they were in the beginning, and they are mostly not related to land and housing. Most people got allocated homes. In the past, people first went on strike to demand housing. All of that slowly decreased as we got housing. And the big problem is that the people who were the leaders of these rallies got allocated houses first.” (P1)

Importantly, what participants were highlighting is that what killed the rallies was the leaders being given houses and land first. While the research revealed that there are still many shacks in the community, the lack of leaders is what hinders the rallies to go on.

“I arrived in this community in 2009. I don’t know what people are currently doing to get houses and land. I’m not sure what people are doing but I ended up registering for a house like everyone who comes here. That is all I know. Then sit back and wait.” While residing in this community, I have hardly seen any rallies. (P8)

One participant in the interview process was quickly revealed that everything that is not happening correctly in this community was down to the committee’s lack of commitment to help the citizens of the community:

“The problem is that the management of these committees is lying and now the people are running out of energy. What? Is it Because we do not know what to say and we are not book smart? We are getting played” (P10)

“These committees were elected by the people of the community but fittingly no change exists. they don't tell us anything when they come back from the meeting and tell us how it went. They just sit there and just keep quiet.” (P10).

“I came this year, so I don't know very well on the issues of rallying. I have never heard of it much and what people say about it”. (P9)

“I came to live in this community this year. I came here because of the school nearby. Nothing happened. It just never happened for us. We are just sitting in these small shacks, and nothing is being done for us.” (P7)

4.7 Theme 5: Government response and support

After many years of rallies for housing and land, the government could not ignore the demands of the community forever. Upon conducting the research, it became obvious that participants had different views on the response of the government.

Participants revealed that the process of being allocated houses took very long. Some participants claimed that they had been residing in shacks since the 90’s and were only allocated houses in 2004:

“But my birth mother had been living here for a long time in a small shack before we came. I think she came here to look for a job in 1994 or so”. (P1).

From the participants responses, it felt as though they had lost confidence in the current government to deliver services at a local level hence a lot of people have developed feelings of “dislike”:

“One thing you should know is that this government is incredibly slow. That's why people hate it like this today. They are always abusing public funds. People lived in shacks for a very long time for them to intervene. It even took people to act violently for them to adhere to community demands of building houses. To this day there are still people living up here in the shacks, but the government is doing nothing. They want violence to erupt again. (P1)

“But all I can say is that things are always moving slowly. Our government is slow to hear people's grievances. When I go to church, I still see people we used to live with in shacks still in the same area. Why is the government and the municipality silent? Even when small things like water and electricity are needed, these complaints will be attended after a long time. I came here in 1999, but I only got a house in 2004. I've had it with this government”. (P6)

One participant shared that they thought the government as being very wise in applying a housing allocation strategy that apportioned houses to leaders of the protests first, thus successfully, dividing and conquering the community and the movement for housing and land:

“I came here for the first time in 1994. I came to live in a very small shack. I lived in a shack and in 2003 the forest was cleared for developments. At that time, I was working for the community committee in 2003-2004 and in March I was moved to a new house. I'm sure you also know how government things work. Our government does nothing. If there are no rallies, he will not do anything. If you look at it, there are only a few houses here. People are still crammed into shacks here. This government has done nothing here. I am not the only one who says this. I will not be ashamed. The wise thing to do by the government is to build a small sample of houses for a few people because you know that there will be peace. This is simple. It's the divide and conquer strategy. Too many people are still looking for housing”. (P4)

Importantly, whilst the people who eventually received houses through the government RDP program complained about the inefficiency and slowness of government in delivering housing, the community members who continue to reside in shacks perceive the municipality of Cato Manor as being totally ineffective, uncaring and uncommunicative:

“Nothing has happened here. Absolutely nothing has happened. But I have been residing in this area for a short time. And at the same time the municipality and the government have never said anything to us. They say nothing to us.” (P7).

Another participant who resides in this area echoed the same opinion as the participant in the excerpt above. The general feeling was that the government is ignoring the needs of the participants, and that when they deliver services, they deliberately make sure it is at a bare minimum just to appease the community and to stay in power:

“But since I came here nothing has happened. This government is disrespectful because its offices are close to us, but they do not listen to our complaints. He sees us suffering and he sees the shacks full in this township, but nothing happens. We're just ignored here. What they will do is buy us food parcels when it is voting time. They want to buy our votes”. (P8)

Participants who still reside in shacks went on to express how they feel the government is doing them a disservice. This was not a surprise as they reside in shacks and live-in poverty. However, one participant significantly claims that it is not only the lack of housing that is the issue. It is also basic needs such as water that needs to be addressed:

“The people here have lost interest in the government. We have been waiting for housing but to this day we still live-in slums. We are suffering right before our government and yet they do nothing. It is a matter of concern for the black government. They only look after themselves only. They let people suffer while their lives continue normally. Currently, there is no water here. But we reported long ago to the municipality. So far, they have been silent. People will initially call us rebels if we start rallying for basic needs. If I personally vote, I will not vote for this government because it is a joke. (P11)

“This municipality has played with us for a long time now. Look around you. What do you see? Shacks. Why do people in South Africa still live-in shacks in the year 2021? What type of freedom is this? When we voted for this government, we thought our poverty we be expelled. But everything has worsened. They have truly let us down”

The participants who still live-in slums were in unison in agreeing that the government does not respond to their grievances. Participants claimed that although the municipal offices are near them, the municipality ignores their claims. Participants also revealed that their outcry for houses has been ignored for a very long time. It is not only the demand for houses that has been ignored, but basic needs such as water and electricity.

4.8 Theme 6: Land expropriation

One of the aims of this study was to gather and examine the perspectives of the participants regarding land reform, particularly land expropriation without compensation. The interviews went deep in to understanding how the participants not only feel about this policy in the realm of their immediate communities, but also at a national level.

The interviews reflect mixed results. Upon engaging the participants about what they understood about the term land expropriation without compensation, some participants revealed that it was the first time hearing those words. However, some participants claimed they have only heard about this policy on radio and television:

“I have heard many times about this policy. It's just that I don't really follow these things. After all, my brother, do not forget that in this country, we are led by absolute hypocrites. Now you can't just believe everything they say you, see? But to be honest with you, what I know most about this policy is what I hear most on T.V. ”. (P1)

The second participant was confused when asked about this policy and requested I explained it in IsiZulu, which is his mother tongue language. After thoroughly explaining this policy to him, the participant had this to say:

“I agree with this policy because the land does not belong to them, (whites) but we must not evict white people or harass them. The government must ensure that there is no violence, and we must not evict people. The government should sit down with others and negotiate with them fairly.” (P2).

From the above responses, both participants agreed with the policy of expropriation without compensation, however, in addition Participant 2 highlighted the importance of a smooth transition which required fair communication and possibly compensation.

One participant expressed the pain of being landless:

“As someone who doesn't have a title deed to a house, I know what it feels like to have no proper roof over your head. It's heart-breaking and I don't wish it upon anyone. “(P11)

However, participant 3 was not sure about the procedure of getting land back through the way this policy proposes. When participant 3 was asked this is what she had to say:

“it's very hard for me because the problem is we will end up suffering one day and we will be like other African such as Ethiopia and countries like Zimbabwe. What will happen to

us? where do we end up? You, see? What will we be left with? I'm just too scared to take the land away from them. They know what they are doing with it. This is a very difficult issue because you also cannot just take peoples land and expel them to poverty.”. (P3)

At this point, the research was receiving contrasting opinions on the policy of land expropriation. Some participants were strongly for it, while some were against it:

This is very easy for me when it comes to taking land back. Let me make you an easy example. you cannot come and take my house and live in it for all these years, doing whatever you want with it, and expect me to pay you out when I take back my house. How can I buy my own house from a thief? That doesn't make sense, we can't afford to pay someone to commit a crime. It's that simple, we can't compensate for what belongs to us.” (P5)

“I don't know much about that policy as I am an elderly. These are your things to understand. But I guess I'm not that old. But then as you explain I agree they should return the land to us because our people have nothing. they have no land to build houses. You can see for yourself that the shacks are still full, and I agree that this should be the case” (P6)

“I hear you. I don't hear much about those things, but I just don't know them very well. I ignore them because they really mean nothing to me as nothing will change eventually. I say let's give up because you see as they currently own this land, the whites are doing something productive with it. The small minority of black people who own land are not doing anything with that land. All they say is I have a place out there, but they don't do anything meaningful with it.” (P7)

One participant noted the importance of collaboration between, the government, and all races for the policy to be swiftly put in place. The participant stressed the importance of avoiding conflict as the key to success:

“I think it's okay. I think this policy is okay, but if everyone is going to work together truthfully. But I also, it is important to evaluate the people buying land. It must first be evaluated if people are going to use the land in the right way, it should be clear what the person is going to do with the land right from the start. Before being given land you must know what you are going to do with it. You should not be given the land and not know its work”. (P8)

Participant 10 who still resides in a small shack stressed the importance of acquiring land. This participant argues it would benefit the homeless greatly if this process was put in place profoundly:

“I agree with this, we have been told to register for houses, but till this day, we are still here. I don’t know what the issue is because the government has money. But perhaps as you say, if the government owns the land, it would be easy for them to build houses for us. We wouldn’t be living like this. But what I don’t like is them chasing us away and calling us informal settlers, that drives me crazy.” (P10)

In conclusion, the interviews showed that the policy of expropriating land without compensation is not familiar to all participants. Out of 15 participants, more than half stated they do not understand what this policy means. However, once the policy was briefly explained to them, some participants felt it was necessary for the government to own land as this would create more commercial success, employment, and eliminate homelessness for Black people:

“But what I see is that the land will help black people to find housing, jobs, and a better life”. (P8)

It is also noteworthy to mention that some participants were opposing the idea in fear of what other African countries have gone through. Some participants also expressed their lack of confidence in the current administration to oversee this process successfully.

4.8.1 Sub-Theme: Trusting the government.

It is not a secret that there is a divide amongst South African citizens on trusting the current elected government. As demonstrated by a study conducted by SOSA (2018) displayed on figure 3, the findings show that 64% of the citizens who participated in the research indicated dissatisfaction of the ANC government and service delivery. Only 35% were satisfied and 1% refused to participate.

Therefore, the interviews also investigated if the participants have faith in the government to successfully implement this policy without failure. While the majority of the participants made it clear they are in favor of expropriating land without compensation, the one reoccurring theme was participants raising their concerns in trusting the current government to successfully oversee this process. The participants who were against the policy merely feared for the future of South Africa as they felt it might suffer the fate of Zimbabwe:

“The way I view this situation is that the economy here in South Africa could suffer like Zimbabwe because we may be taking land from White people, but it is possible that the government does not have a plan and strategy to continue growing the economy and to further create employment and further increase production in farms.” (P1)

Participant 2 felt that there is a possible way of introducing this policy swiftly, but also raised concerns that the economy of South Africa may suffer due to the governments corrupt tendencies. Participants felt their lack of faith in the current government comes from the corrupt scandals the government is always facing:

“I see that there is a way we can be affected negatively if we are not careful. The big problem here is that I don't trust our government because it will take the land and give it to their friends and eat the money on their own. we can be affected heavily if the mindset of the government doesn't change greatly. What I also fear most is the economy may plummet. If we take away the land, we know the government and Black people do not have the experience to run not just the land, but farms properly. If the economy falls, the same black people will lose jobs,” (P2)

4.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has presented findings on past and current activism regarding land reform and land reform policies based in the community of Cato Manor. The interviews further presented findings on the extent to which the government enables, support and welcomes community members perspectives and activism on housing and land. The chapter on also presented findings on the perspectives of the participants on land expropriation without compensation. The participants shared their views which were largely similar but somewhat different on certain topics of the study. The themes developed were based on the responses of the participants throughout the research.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter presented the findings generated from interviews that were conducted to determine the perspectives of Cato Manor community members regarding land reform and land reform policies in general, and land expropriation without compensation in particular. In this chapter the findings are discussed by locating them in the existing body of knowledge on the topic of activism for land.

5.2 Key Finding 1: Cato Manor residents not historically violent

While conducting the study, it became very evident that the history of landlessness in Cato Manor has shaped the activism and the perspectives of residents on land reform policies. The study found that the rich history of Cato Manor was not characterised by violent protests and homelessness prior to the forced removals of the 1960s, as it has previously been documented by Mdlalose (2014). The study found that before the introduction of the Group Areas Act of 1950, Black, White, and Indian residents in Cato Manor were living in harmony. Thus, the findings of this study contradict the findings of not only Mdlalose (2014), but also Gray (2017), who argues that Cato Manor's history is one of discrimination, injustice, and violence. The findings reveal that before residents were forcefully removed from Umkhumbane, as Cato Manor was called then, it was a mixed-race community dominated by Blacks and Indians. However, as stated by Newton, and Schuermans, (2013), and as confirmed by the findings of this research, the Group Areas Act of 1950 divided up the residential and commercial portions of South Africa's cities and towns. From areas that were afterwards earmarked for white colonization, thousands of Coloureds, Blacks, and Indians were forcibly evacuated. Participants further revealed that Cato Manor was not only a community of different races and cultures, but it was also a community where Black people also owned both residential and commercial land.

The current study revealed that when Black, Coloured and Indian residents were forcibly removed from Cato Manor, they were moved to different communities further away from the city, which were mainly Umlazi, Kwa-Mashu, Ntuzuma and Chatsworth. The relocation of Black people had dire consequences on their lives, mainly because they became further away from the city, which resulted in job losses for some, and limited opportunities of finding new

jobs for others. In the interviews, the study found that prior to the forced removals, the community of Cato Manor was a haven for small Black owned businesses. It was reported that Black people owned numerous small tuckshops around the community from which they made a living. The findings reveal that poverty is perceived to have been relatively low in Cato Manor during this time, due to the enterprising, harmonious spirit of the community residents. One participant made an example of how the community would come together to invest in food stokvels for the poor around the area, which indicates social cohesion and Ubuntu. What the current literature does not cover is the fact that the forced removals of Black people from the community of Cato Manor did not only affect them in terms of job losses, but that residents lost a sense of Ubuntu, relationships, and social cohesion, which had brought immense value in their everyday lives. Thus, the forced removals destroyed the social fabric and capital of this community since they were scattered in different townships after the forceful removals.



Figure 8

Forced removals – Cato Manor. “Women and children wait to board a government truck”.
(SAHO,2020)

5.3 Key Finding 2: Cato Manor does not have the conditions for peace

According to a SAHO (2020), on April 19, 1990, FW De Klerk, the final president of South Africa during apartheid, said in Parliament that the Group Areas Act of 1950 would be replaced by new, non-discriminatory laws that would be supported by both Houses of Parliament. For many families impacted by the Group Areas Act of 1950, the announcement represented a fresh start (SAHO,2020).

In the study, participants reported that between 1994 and 2003, Black people started moving back to Cato Manor after the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991, abolished the Group Areas Act and numerous other discriminatory laws on June 30, 1991.

According to Khan (2017), the African National Congress (ANC) had just won the government elections which provided Black people with more confidence to relocate to their original communities from which they were forcibly removed and banned. The findings of the research correlate with those of Smith (2003), who argues that the sudden relocation of Black people back to Cato Manor was motivated by the abolishment of prohibition Acts found in the apartheid regime. However, these findings also provide an additional and perhaps largely unpublished fact that when people came back to reside in this community, they came to live in shacks rather than the proper housing they owned before they were forcibly removed by the apartheid government. The discoveries of this study also show that in addition to the abolishment of apartheid, there were other factors that motivated the Cato Manor residents to return to their community of origin. In addition to shack dwellers returning as an exercise of their historical agency and right to their community of origin (Pithouse, 2008), the findings of this study indicate clearly that the other pulling factor for the residents is the fact that Cato Manor is near the city of Durban, which presents many jobs and small business opportunities.

The findings reveal that the Central Business District (CBD) side of Durban was an attractive drawcard as it has shops and, factories and the Durban Harbour, all of which provide job opportunities, revealed the residents. The participants expressed that the proximity of the harbour to Cato Manor gives them hope of employment within the Durban area. It was also revealed that Durban enables Cato Manor residents to start small businesses such as being street vending. These findings confirm those of Gebre, Maharaj & Pillay (2011) who argue that the core drivers of migration are socio-economic factors, such as opportunities for social networking and greater accessibility and availability of job opportunities.

The study found that people relocating back to Cato Manor had to start from humble beginnings with no shelter, houses, and no jobs. Therefore, having no proper housing meant that people had to start building shacks from scratch as their form of housing. The findings indicate that the influx of people coming to the community of Cato Manor was at its peak between 1999-2004. The findings reveal that a small section of the community labelled “Section F” was targeted as the place where most people came to reside and build shacks. The findings of Maharaj (2017), define the living conditions of Cato Manor as a poverty-stricken community

today. The findings indicates that people who lived or are still living in shacks in Section F, are living in poor conditions, in slums with no running water, toilets, and electricity.

Importantly, the findings indicate without ambiguity that beyond the poor living conditions of the shacks in Cato Manor, shack dwelling exposes residents to major health risks, due to the lack of sanitation, poor waste management and high risk of fires. These findings confirm those of Majola (2021), who reported over a dozen fires almost yearly at slums in Cato Manor. These poor and inhumane conditions in the slums in this community do not create the conditions for peace, thus the violent activism that is sometimes seen in Cato Manor should not be surprising. The 1st World Forum on Urban Violence and Education for Coexistence and Peace, held in Madrid in 2017, acknowledged that cities that are unequal, non-inclusive, unsafe, and lacking the conditions that extend a sense of safety, belonging, and dignity to everyone who inhabits the city create a type of vulnerability that is entirely man-made. It is a vulnerability that is borne of inequality and poor living conditions. Furthermore, Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) 11 and 16 enshrined in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted in 2015, state that we should 'Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable' (SDG 11) and 'Promote peaceful and inclusive societies' (SDG 16). The conditions in Cato Manor do not align with the values of an inclusive, safe, resilient, sustainable and peace promoting city, highlighting the urgent need to address landlessness, homelessness, shack dwelling and lack of water and sanitation in many communities in South African cities. It is unjust to have people living in the kinds of conditions that are found in Cato Manor, and yet Suffla, Seedat & Karriem (2010), argue that social justice is an imperative for peacebuilding. This means that if we want peace, safety and low levels of conflict and crime in the city, then we need to address any social injustice that exists in it, otherwise we cannot expect any peacebuilding processes to achieve success.

5.4 Key Finding 3: The predominance of non-violent activism in Cato Manor

The community of Cato Manor has become known as a violent protesting community for housing and land. With the state of shack dwelling described above, the findings indicate that the residents in this community have become impatient with the local government. Mottiar (2014) affirms that the community of Cato Manor has frequently been labeled as "aggressive" by authorities due to its use of techniques like burning tires and stopping major roadways in its fight to democratize society and better the living conditions of the poor. However, the findings of this study reveal that the "violent" narrative that is associated with Cato Manor is open for debate. The research suggests that there are different forms of activism and protests

in the community of Cato Manor, and only some of these are violent. Most importantly, the findings reveal that the residents of Cato Manor have generally not pursued violence as the first course of action in their fight against landlessness and homelessness; rather, protests became violent after repeated attempts at peaceful protesting and dialogue with local authorities. For instance, in the interview's participants narrated that usually, the first form of activism was to hold community meetings to plan protests. The meetings never called for violence as a protest strategy, instead they usually planned to first march to the local councillor's offices, revealed residents.

These marches were mainly dominated by the elderly, both men and women. At the march, participants would chant struggle songs and demand RDP houses from the municipality. Importantly, the findings indicate that repeatedly, activism of this nature never yielded action on any of the list of demands from the residents of Cato Manor, resulting in disillusion and heightened anger, but the community never resorted to violence; they came with alternative ways of getting their grievances across. Importantly, the conceptual framework by Jamte and Ellefsen (2020) referred to in chapter 1, suggests that labelling activist groups and social movements as violent is a soft form of soft repression, which has the multi-level effect of resulting in self-policing and self-silencing among individual protestors, and ultimately demobilization, splintering and blackening of social movements for change. This means that when the media, government and other social institutions recklessly label social movements as violent, they do so to repress social action, and ultimately succeed in causing these movements to splinter and die.

The study further reveals that the strategy that Cato Manor residents employed to engage government regarding the lack of service delivery and poor housing was to establish a formal social movement that would represent the voice of the community and advance its interest. The social movement was christened Abahlali BaseMjondolo (AbM), which means "shack dwellers" or "residents who dwell in informal settlements". According to Mdlalose (2014), Abahlali Basemjondolo was a social movement with a simple yet important mandate to contest, defend, encourage, and advance the dignity of the underprivileged in Cato Manor. The objectives and aims of the movement intended to build a non-partisan that organization that did not affiliate itself to political parties. "It was supposed to practise a bottom-up system where people take decisions for themselves and do nothing for the people without the people. Its role was to bring the government to the people and the people to the government" Mdlalose (2014:346). Furthermore, Mdlalose (2014) expresses that the initial method used by AbM was

to engage in peaceful negotiations with the government. This study found that indeed, the tactics of peacefully negotiating with the local municipality took place for long periods of time. AbM became responsible for gathering all the grievances of community members. Their scope was not only limited to land and housing, but it expanded to basic needs such as water, electricity, and sanitation. Furthermore, Mdlalose (2014) argues that AbM was also fighting against illegal evictions of shack dwellers in Cato Manor. The study also supports these findings; police would frequently remove shack dwellers and destroy their shacks. These forced removals were often temporary, because residents would move to different parts of the community to re-establish themselves and would later go back to the same section of the community. Importantly, as the focus of AbM shifted to focus mainly on evictions, this raised the need of establishing new smaller committees to focus on fights for housing and land.

The study found that particularly within “Section F”, there were establishments of smaller committees who were responsible for gathering residents’ complaints and reporting them to the municipality. These committees are still in function today, all be it, with a limited scope. The study found that initially, the community members were happy with the work the committees were doing. The committees stuck to their tasks for longer periods of time and engaged both the municipality and the communities peacefully and efficiently. Importantly, the research indicates that the method of peaceful engagement was considered to have failed by the respondents in this research, as it yielded no desirable result for the community members. Therefore, the community began to plan bigger, unpleasant ways to get their voices heard. This is when community members began to take activism to a more aggressive turn. This is not surprising, as Martin Luther King once said, “violence is the language of the unheard” Smith (2002).

5.4.1 Key finding 4: How non-violence gave way to violent activism in Cato Manor

The study reveals that after long peaceful negotiations, residents decided to take activism and protesting to a more aggressive turn. With the communication between the municipality and the residents failing to yield positive results, the demand for land and housing became volatile. Protesting did not begin on a massive scale; rather, it expanded gradually until the number of protesters was large enough for the government to take note. According to Mdlalose (2014), Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM) used rallies and court battles to assist and stall evictions of illegal shack dwellers around Durban and within the Cato Manor community, but violent protesting had now become the adopted method to get the message across. Mdlalose (2014), supports these findings by continuing to claim that it became evident that aggressive protests

were required in order for ordinary residents' voices to be heard. "These protests were recognised as the 'Dunlop,' because old tyres were set ablaze on roads. This type of activity drew attention from all over the world, forcing the government to take note (Mdlalose,2014:347).

Within the community of Cato Manor, it was revealed that residents began to gather around to march to the municipal offices, only this time, they had the intentions of vandalising government property. The research found that residents would gather around with weapons such as knobkerries, rocks, and petrol. They would stone the office windows, set the office buildings alight, and then disperse quickly. The people working in municipal offices quickly became targets from the community as they wanted immediate action. The residents of the community went as far as believing that everyone who was working within municipal offices was involved in fraudulent activities such as using state funds to enrich themselves by buying houses and cars, while residents were left to suffer. These allegations and beliefs that municipal officers were embezzling municipal funds to finance lifestyles of conspicuous consumption led protesting residents to attack officials. At this stage, violence began to be common in Cato Manor.

The study found that as the number of protesters grew, so did the scale of the protests. The study reveals that massive strikes would happen at least more than 10 times a year, while small strikes would happen more regularly in Cato Manor. These findings are complemented by the study of Khumalo (2020), who reveals that the residents of Cato Manor strongly feel that violent protests are the only language local authorities understand. Regarding the driving force behind the violent turn of protests in Cato Manor, three points need to be made. Firstly, leading scholar on social movements and violent protests Professor Donatella della Porta (2020), argues that the source of conflict, along with the emotions evoked by the state's response to calls for social change play a key role in determining how protests evolve and whether they become violent. On the other hand, employing a gendered analysis of public protests, Skweyiya and Nkosi (2017), argue that service delivery protests become violent due to the low visibility of women compared to men in such actions, leading to a hypermasculine enactment of public discontent. Importantly, in the research informing this thesis it was expressed that some residents did feel remorseful for these actions as they felt some of these businesses they were destroying were owned by Black people. But participants revealed that mob mentality overtook their remorse. Even then, it was made clear in the interviews that that while many

citizens of Cato Manor participated in activism and protests for land and housing, there was certainly hesitancy from some residents to partake in violent protest.

It is not surprising that some residents of Cato Manor decried the violence used in the latter stages of protests against landlessness and lack of housing, water and sanitation. After all, a longitudinal, multi-country study by Cunningham (2016), found that most community members favour non-violent protests over violent activism, and that the latter often fizzles out due to the loss of popular support, whilst the former is known to have greater success in delivering government reforms. What this indicates is that it takes a people being pushed to extreme levels of agitation, hopelessness and mistrust in their government to mount a violent campaign towards social change.

5.5 Key finding 5: Government reaction to activism

The government responded in two ways to the protests in Cato Manor; firstly, through aggressive, excessive use of police force, and secondly by allocating brand new RDP houses to some community members, including those who were prominent participants in the protests. Each of the responses had a significant impact on activism for land and housing in Cato Manor, albeit in opposite directions.

The excessive use of police force, in particular the arrests of many people from the community who participated in the protests had a slowing down effect on the protests. Most of the leaders of the protests fled their communities in fear of being arrested as they feared that they could be targeted and captured from their homes any day. However, while the protests lost some of their momentum, the spirit of comradeship did not die. In an article published by Noelene (2014), it was revealed that although not as powerful, protestors remained in full support of their fellow comrades who were arrested. In part, the support for the arrested activists was driven by the belief that the charges brought against them were fabricated as an attempt to weaken the social movement for land and housing. In the words of Makhaye and Xolo (2021:2) “Abahlali baseMjondolo described the charges on which all six activists were arrested as “bogus”. It insisted that the local ANC and the state were misusing the criminal justice system to crush the occupation” The publication by Makhaye and Xolo (2021:3) also provides a direct quote from one of the activists “Sometimes I feel the police and the ANC local leaders have defeated me. I have no fight left. Once again, I have been reduced to a criminal even though I have committed no crime. My dignity has been tarnished. My home, which I worked hard to build, has been

burnt to ashes. When the police came for us and took us into the van on Saturday 23 October, I couldn't believe it was happening again.”

An important point to make about the government's response to the protests in Cato Manor is that the overuse of police force reported by participants, is widely considered by experts and scholars on protests and social movements to be one of the factors that stoke the flames of violence. It is not so much that the government should not engage law enforcement during protests, it is more that the state should not use aggressive, baiting and excessively punitive force when doing so. An analysis conducted by the Institute for Security Studies on public protests against poor water and sanitation service delivery in South African townships between January 2013 and July 2021, indicates that those that were non-violent had in common non-violent, non-threatening, peace pursuant law enforcement, rather than police officers (Institute for Security Studies, 2021). The other states' response to the protests concerned allocating RDP/social housing to some community members residing in Cato Manor and the surrounding townships, in a manner that lacked transparency, due process, fairness and accountability to local structures. Community members began to suspect that those who were allocated houses had bribed housing officials. They also argued that the local municipality used the housing allocation process to weaken the social movement for land and housing, by including the leaders of the protests among those early beneficiaries who were thought to have been selected in a non-transparent manner. The strong feelings of discontent about the housing allocation process resulted in a host of new protests, although not at a large scale as the preceding protests. The study found that community members' attempts to get the municipality to provide a transparent and detailed account of how they determined which community members received housing, were not met with a satisfactory response. Importantly, this particular government response produced an effect that the social movement may not have anticipated, infighting among the disenfranchised, landless and houseless community members of Cato Manor. The interviewees in this study were certain that the allocation of houses to the committee leaders of the struggle against landlessness and lack of housing, water and sanitation delivery, was a deliberate strategy of the government to divide and conquer. Sadly, that is exactly what the infighting achieved; as the conflict between the leaders who were allocated houses and the community members who were not continued, the protests for land and housing fizzled out.

It is not surprising that this second response of government had a dividing and conquering effect on the protests and activism for land and housing in Cato Manor, because of the absence of clearness, participatory mechanisms, and community responsibility in the process of

allocating housing that the state followed. The Institute for Security Studies stresses the importance of transparent, consistent government processes during protests (2021).

5.6 Key finding 6: Majority of participants not familiar with the land expropriation without compensation (LEWC) policy

While researching the perspectives on this policy, it quickly became clear that ordinary residents did not understand the fundamentals of this policy. Some members revealed that it was the first time hearing these words. Some participants expressed that they had only heard about LEWC during parliamentary debates on television or radio. Therefore, before shedding their opinions, the researcher had to define the fundamentals of this policy.

The lack of knowledge of the LEWC bill that is presently under scrutiny in South Africa confirms the belief among many scholars that the participation of ordinary people in the development of public policy is more rhetoric than reality (Williams, 2005). The reasons for the exclusion of ordinary/lay people in deliberations about public policy are many; some have to do with the absence of access to information and policy illiteracy especially amongst members of the public from low-income communities (Masango, 2001). Other reasons have to do with the lack of intentional processes to ensure the participation of low-income communities in public policy making, leading to the hijacking of the public participation stage by the elite (Williams, 2005). It is clear from the findings of this research that in future considerations of LEWC, ensuring public participation by ordinary South Africans, especially those who are landless will need to be a priority.

5.7 Key finding 7: Lack of support for LEWC

The study found that whilst just over a half of the participants supported the idea of LEWC, nearly as many respondents professed lack of support for this policy consideration (see Diagram below).

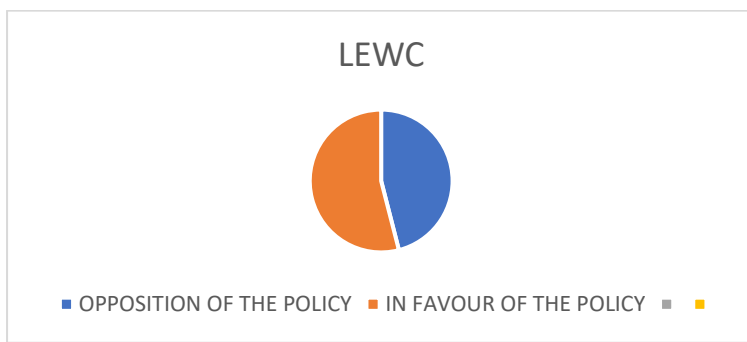


Figure 9

The reasons that respondents offered for not supporting LEWC included fears that if the policy were to be affected the South African economy would plummet and the country would go the way of Zimbabwe. Notably, the fears that if South Africa adopted a LEWC policy the country would go the way of Zimbabwe find resonance in an article published by Gumede (2018), who describes the devastating effects of expropriation on Zimbabwe's economy and agricultural sector. Gumede (2018) begins by arguing that in 2016, President Robert Mugabe announced a state of agricultural catastrophe, allowing international donors to assist.

Importantly, non-existence of trust and faith in the ANC government's ability to implement LEWC in a transparent, honest, scandal and bribery free manner also emerged as a major reason for not supporting the policy among the research participants. These findings are not surprising, given the prominence of state capture in the minds and conversations of South Africans since the establishment of the Zondo Commission by former president Zuma in 2018. Indeed, trust in government is at an all-time low in South Africa. A study conducted by Writer (2021), found that whilst 40% South Africans indicated trust in the government in 2011, this proportion dropped significantly to 29 % in 2021. Writer (2021) contends that social and economic challenges against a background of widespread corruption, which this survey also showed, are what characterize the reduction in the number of people who trust the government.

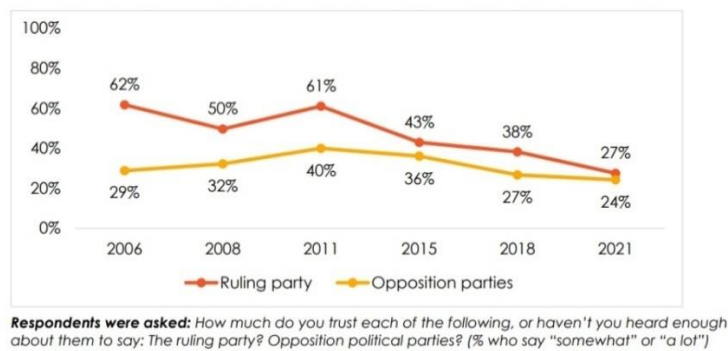


Figure 10

5.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, this section has critically deliberated the discoveries from the research directed in the community of Cato Manor. The main objectives of this research were to determine the perspectives of Cato Manor community members regarding land reform and land reform policies in general, and land expropriation without compensation in particular. Therefore, this chapter analysed and discussed the findings by comparing all the findings to current literature. The study also examined and discussed, past and current activism in Cato Manor as

this community has inherited a negative narrative of using violence to express their dissatisfaction. The study went deep in to analysing different types of protests and how they have changed over the years, finally, the discussions in this chapter explored the extent to which the government enables, supports and welcomes community perspectives and activism on land reform policies in general and land expropriation without compensation in particular

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Conclusion

The thesis project sought to conduct an analysis of the perspectives and activism on expropriation of land without compensation among residents in Cato Manor, a township in Durban, South Africa. The objectives of this study were to determine the perspectives of Cato Manor community members regarding land reform and land reform policies in general, and land expropriation without compensation. Furthermore, the study sought to examine the community's past and current activism regarding land reform and the policy of land expropriation without compensation in particular, and what it has achieved. Lastly, the study intended to explore the extent to which government enables, supports and welcomes community perspectives and activism on land reform policies in general and land expropriation without compensation in particular.

To achieve the objectives of the study, a qualitative research approach was utilised due to its strength to generate interpretive data. The thesis achieved its objectives by generating findings on the perspectives and activism of Cato Manor community members regarding land reform and land reform policies in general, and land expropriation without compensation in particular. Participants were in favour of transforming the arena of land ownership to include the majority Black people who are presently excluded from land ownership. When it came to their perspectives on land policies, participants believed that some degree of accomplishment has been achieved in terms of land reform in South Africa, however an overwhelming majority expressed their dissatisfaction with what has been achieved and highlighted the failure of these programs which led to massive activism and various protests across the community of Cato Manor and the city of Durban. The perspectives on the policy of land expropriation without compensation (LEWC) revealed some polarization in that almost half of the participants opposed the policy due to mistrust in government, fear that the economy would crumble, and a concern that this bill would become another vehicle of personal enrichment and corruption for the ruling party.

In terms of the community's perspectives on Cato Manor's past, and current activism regarding land, the research generated some significant findings. The research revealed that the generally accepted view of Cato Manor as a community that believes in violent protest mechanisms is contestable, and certainly not thought to be true by the residents there. This contestation was

revealed in the research's findings that long before violent protests became a norm in Cato Manor, the residents of the community conducted numerous peaceful, non-threatening, non-violent protests, as well as multiple dialogues and conversations with the municipality to get their voices heard about their need for land, housing, clean water and sanitation. However, these failed to generate any action by the government on each of the social issues that the residents of Cato Manor were raising with the state, leading to more aggressive, and ultimately violent protests. The research also found that the government's response to the violent protests had the effect of sowing divisions in the social movement for land and housing, and undermined, destabilised and ultimately fizzled out the spirit of activism in this community.

When the research explored the extent to which the government enabled, supported, and welcomed community perspectives and activism on land reform policies in general and land expropriation without compensation, some important findings were generated. The government's response to the activism against landlessness, lack of decent housing, water and sanitation in Cato Manor was two-fold. On the one hand, the state's response comprised a slow, haphazard, yet socially and politically divisive housing delivery strategy. This strategy comprised allocating government housing to the leaders of the social movement and committees spearheading activism for land and housing in the community, and members of other communities residing outside Cato Manor, whilst excluding the majority of residents from the beneficiation process. The effect of this strategy had terrible and long-lasting effects on the entire movement for land and housing in Cato Manor, as community members cried foul and ended up perceiving their leaders to have betrayed them and sold their souls to the government to get decent housing for themselves rather than those they were representing. These tensions between the leaders of the protests and the community members of Cato Manor ultimately splintered the social movement. The other response of government to the protests for land and housing comprised the use of excessive police force, which also had the effect of discouraging protests and ultimately weakening activism for land and housing in the community. Put together, these responses by the state suggest that the government in this case did not enable, support and welcome activism for land in Cato Manor, and perhaps in the broader country of South Africa as a whole.

The thesis has generated important and new insights about what the urban landless think about land reform, and the ways in which they engage in activism to secure land and housing. The thesis was able to provide and confirm the Cato Manor residents' viewpoints on land reform

and land reform programs in general, as well as land expropriation without compensation. This thesis paper was also able to elicit findings on the community's past and current activism within the community of Cato Manor based on land restructuring, particularly the policy of land expropriation without compensation, and to see what has been accomplished. Lastly, this research was able to determine the extent to which the government enables, supports and welcomes community perspectives and activism on land reform policies in general and land expropriation without compensation.

6.2 Recommendations

- **Transparency in the process of housing allocation:** This study recommends transparency and precise communication from the local municipality of Cato Manor to its citizens. As Genc (2017) argues, good communication is the bridge between clarity and confusion. As this study revealed, the lack of transparency in the process of housing allocation was a major cause of violent protest. Therefore, this study recommends the local municipality to draw up a clear policy framework of the requirements needed to qualify for housing. Thereafter, it is vital the municipality advertises a policy framework for all the community citizens to understand and follow.
- **Active participation:** The local municipality should let citizens participate in decision making processes that relate to the community and the livelihood of all residents. Resident participation should be true in its form. Residents must be given a platform of power in decision making. Allowing citizens to actively participate in their community will fast track the process of land and housing allocation. Citizens know their community best. Therefore, the local municipality should form partnerships and with the locals in developing their community. Constant citizen engagement will also allow the municipality and government to identify able and skilled residents thus providing them with job opportunities.

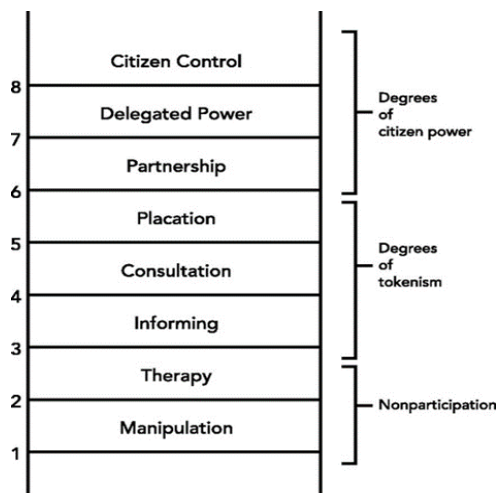


Figure 11

Arnstein’s ladder of participation demonstrates different types of participation levels. However, residents should develop partnerships and be given a degree of power by the government to influence their own future. To avoid further conflicts with the residents, Ward councillors and the municipality at large should avoid manipulating residents of the community and should rather give them a degree of control in decision making as demonstrated by Arnstein’s ladder of participation.

- **Community engagement unit:** The government should create a Community Engagement Unit which will be responsible for engaging local communities in collecting and attending to all the needs and grievances of the community. These engagement unit should be deployed in all communities and should be easily accessible to all community members.
- **Inclusivity:** As revealed by the study, almost half of the participants interviewed oppose the proposed policy of LEWC, which demonstrates the lack of comprehensive engagement of lay people in the debates and deliberation about this policy. Since South Africa is a democratic country, the government needs to seek, draw from and incorporate the perspectives of ordinary South Africans in the development of the LEWC policy. A roadshow targeting socially invisible and marginalized communities and enabling community dialogue.
- **Supporting and nurturing the right to protest:** As the findings of this study demonstrated, the narrative of Cato Manor being a violent community are false.

Therefore, it is pivotal for scholars to thoroughly investigate the different stages of protests and precisely understand the journey of houselessness and how it led to different types of protest. It is important for scholars to understand and publicize the mandate of AbM which never intended to include any sort of violence.

- **The role of the media:** It is imperative to comprehend the influence of both traditional and social media. This research found that the media played a massive role in negatively labelling Cato Manor as a disruptive community. Furthermore, as revealed by Jämte, and Ellefsen (2020), the consequence of soft repression causes silencing, stigma, splintering and ridicule. Therefore, this study recommends the media to be more reflexive and develop awareness of their potential to harm democratic processes of the poor and marginalized. Media houses also need to develop a strong relationship with social movements to better understand their perspectives.
- **Peace building:** To minimise social unrest, the local government should create a safe community that is conducive to peacebuilding. This should be done through timely, equally distributed service delivery of basic needs for all residents. As indicated by Twala (2014), slow service delivery is one of the major causes of protests in South Africa. Therefore, the government should look to develop different ways which will ensure the community equally receive government services. According to Suffla, Seedat and Karriem (2010), peacebuilding cannot happen without addressing structural inequality and social injustice. Thus, the structural conditions that mark the lives of the poor in low-income communities need to be urgently addressed.
- **More education on LEWC:** While conducting the research, it became evident that residents of Cato Manor did not understand the policy of land expropriation without compensation, only after it was thoroughly explained to them, they shared their perspective. Therefore, more groundwork education on LEWC is needed to further enlighten the public.

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APPENDIX A

INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM

I, Thabiso Ngubane, a researcher from the University of KwaZulu-Natal is under the supervision of Professor Yanga Zembe am conducting research to understand the community's perspective on the policy of land expropriation without compensation and the community's activism on land rights. Thank you for your willingness to participate in this study.

What are we going to ask you to do?

Should you agree to participate in this study, I am going to ask you to participate in a **discrete interview**. The individual interview is going to approximately last for 20 -35 minutes and I request to audio-record it with my mobile device so that we can capture precisely what you share with me. Once we have gone through the interview held with you, I may ask you for a follow up interview if we have content that we want to clarify or need you to elaborate on.

What risks might you be exposed to as a result of participating in this study?

Great care will be taken to ensure that you are not harmed in this research. During this interview, your safety will be my priority and I will strive to minimise all risk that could place you, the participant in any jeopardy. You will not be asked to disclose your personal details such as your name; your personal identity will not be disclosed in any of the research documents. Thus, this study is going to be anonymous.

The questions which will be asked will likely not evoke emotional responses. However, should you the participant get emotionally distraught, the researcher who will be facilitating the discussion is a qualified social worker, with extensive experience in conducting research of this nature with women and Man such as yourself. He will know what to do should you feel distressed and will try to ensure the experience of participating in this research is as harmless as possible.

Are we going to keep your information confidential?

Please note that we will observe the highest standards of confidentiality in this study. What you share with us will be kept confidential and will not be shared with anyone outside the research team. The researcher will sign a confidentiality clause promising to not disclose the contents of the discussion to anyone outside the research team.

What are you going to receive for participating in this study?

Please note, this is a voluntary interview and therefore, participants will not be compensated with any form of incentives.

Are you able to terminate your participation anytime you wish to?

Yes. Your participation is entirely voluntary. You may refuse to answer questions and you may terminate your involvement in the interview if you wish to do so. There will be no consequences, nor any action taken against you if you do so.

Who can you talk to if you need more information about the study?

You may call Prof Yanga Zembe, at the University of KwaZulu Natal, telephone number: 0312601253.

Consent to take part in research

• I..... voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

• I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer

any question without any consequences of any kind.

• I have had the purpose and nature of the study explained to me in writing and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

• I understand that participation involves my answers being collated anonymously for the use of

research.

• I understand that I will not benefit directly from participating in this research.

• I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially.

• I understand that in any report on the results of this research my identity will remain anonymous.

• I understand that if I inform the researcher that myself or someone else is at risk of harm they may

have to report this to the relevant authorities - they will discuss this with me first but may be required

to report with or without my permission.

• I understand that signed consent forms and original interview responses will be retained in data format

until the results for the dissertation are released and confirmed.

• I understand that under freedom of information legislation I am entitled to access the information

I have provided at any time while it is in storage as specified above.

• I understand that I am free to contact the researcher involved in the research to seek further clarification and information.

Researcher: Thabiso Ngubane

Contact details: 0782987102 / luthando986@gmail.com

Supervisor: Professor Yanga Zembe

Contact Details: 0824548611

Signature of research participant

Signature of participant Date

Signature of researcher

I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study

Signature of researcher Date

APPENDIX B

Ishidi Lolwazi kanye nefomu lokuvuma

Mina, Thabiso Ngubane, umcwaningi ovela eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu-Natali engaphansi kweso likaSolwazi Yanga Zembe ngenza ucwaningo ukuze ngiqonde umbono womphakathi ngenqubomgomo yokudliwa komhlaba ngaphandle kwesinxephezelo kanye nomzabalazo womphakathi wamalungelo omhlaba. Siyabonga ngokuzimisela kwakho ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo.

Sizokucela ukuthi wenzeni?

Uma uvuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo, ngizokucela ukuthi ubambe iqhaza engxoxweni ehlukile. Ingxoxo yomuntu ngamunye izothatha cishe imizuzu engama-20 -35 futhi ngicela ukuyiqopha ngomsindo wami weselula ukuze sikwazi ukuthatha kahle lokho owabelana nami. Lapho sesidlulile kwinhlolekhono ebibanjwe nawe, ngingakucela ukuthi ube nenhlelokhono yokulandelela uma sinokuqukethwe esifuna ukukucacisa noma okudinga ukuthi ukwenabe ngakho.

Yiziphi izingozi ongahle ubhekane nazo ngenxa yokubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo?

Ukunakekelwa okukhulu kuzothathwa ukuqinisekisa ukuthi awulinyazwa kulolu cwaningo. Phakathi nale ngxoxo, ukuphepha kwakho kuzoba yinto ebaluleke kakhulu kimina futhi ngizozama ukunciphisa yonke ingozi engakubeka, wena obambe iqhaza kunoma iyiphi ingozi. Ngeke ucelwe ukuthi udalule imininingwane yakho efana negama lakho; umazisi wakho ngeke udalulwe kunoma yimiphi imibhalo yocwaningo. Ngakho-ke, lolu cwaningo luzobe lungaziwa.

Imibuzo ezobuzwa cishe ngeke ivuse izimpendulo ezingokomzwelo. Kodwa-ke, uma kwenzeka wena obambe iqhaza ukhathazeka emoyeni, umcwaningi ozobe eqhuba ingxoxo ngusonhlalakahle oqeqeshiwe, onolwazi olunzulu ekwenzeni ucwaningo ngalolu hlobo nabesifazane nabesilisa njengawe. Uzokwazi ukuthi yini okufanele uyenze uma uzizwa ukhathazekile futhi uzozama ukuqinisekisa ukuthi ulwazi lokuhlanganyela kulolu cwaningo alunabungozi ngangokunokwenzeka.

Ngabe sizogcina imininingwane yakho iyimfihlo?

Sicela wazi ukuthi sizobheka amazinga aphezulu okugcina okuyimfihlo kulolu cwaningo. Okuhlanganyela nathi kuzogcinwa kuyimfihlo futhi ngeke kwabelwane ngakho nanoma ngubani ongaphandle kwethimba locwaningo. Umcwaningi uzosayina isigatshana semfihlo athembise ukungakudaluli okuqukethwe yingxoxo kunoma ngubani ongaphandle kwethimba locwaningo.

Yini oyothola ngokuhlanganyela kulolu cwaningo?

Uyacelwa ukuthi uqaphele, lena yingxoxo yokuzithandela ngakho-ke, ababambiqhaza ngeke banxeshezwe nganoma iyiphi indlela yokukhuthaza.

Ingabe uyakwazi ukunqamula ukubamba iqhaza kwakho noma kunini lapho ufisa ukukwenza?

Yebo. Ukubamba iqhaza kwakho kungokuzithandela ngokuphelele. Ungahle wenqabe ukuphendula imibuzo futhi ungaqeda ukubandakanyeka kwakho kwinhlokhono uma ufisa ukwenza kanjalo. Ngeke kube nemiphumela, noma yiziphi izinyathelo ezithathiwe uma wenza njalo.

Ungakhuluma nobani uma udinga ulwazi olwengeziwe ngalesi sifundo?

Ungashayela uProf Yanga Zembe, e-University of KwaZulu Natal, inombolo yocingo: 0312601253

Imvume yokubamba iqhaza ocwaningweni

Mina ngiyavuma ngokuzithandela ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo.

- Ngiyakuqonda ukuthi noma ngivuma ukubamba iqhaza manje, ngingahoxa noma nini noma ngenqabe ukuphendula

noma yimuphi umbuzo ngaphandle kwemiphumela yanoma yiluphi uhlobo.

- Ngiye ngachazelwa injongo nenhlobo yocwaningo ngokubhala futhi ngibe ne-ithuba lokubuzwa imibuzo mayelana nocwaningo.

- Ngiyakuqonda ukuthi ukubamba iqhaza kufaka izimpendulo zami ezihlanganiswe ngokungaziwa ukuze zisetshenziswe

ucwaningo.

Ngiyakuqonda ukuthi ngeke ngizuze ngqo ngokubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo.

- Ngiyakuqonda ukuthi lonke ulwazi engilunikeza ngalolu cwaningo luzophathwa ngokuyimfihlo.

- Ngiyakuqonda ukuthi kunoma yimuphi umbiko wemiphumela yalolu cwaningo ubunikazi bami buzohlala bungaziwa.

- Ngiyakuqonda ukuthi uma ngazisa umcwaningi ukuthi mina noma omunye umuntu usengozini yokulimala

kufanele ngibike lokhu kuziphathimandla ezifanele - bazoxoxa ngalokhu nami kuqala kepha kungadingeka

ukubika ngemvume yami noma ngaphandle kwayo.

Ngiyaqonda ukuthi amafomu emvume asayiniwe nezimpendulo zoqobo zengxoxo zizogcinwa ngefomethi yedatha

ize ikhishwe futhi iqinisekiswa imiphumela yalo mqondo.

- Ngiyakuqonda ukuthi ngaphansi kwenkululeko yokwaziswa ngokusemthethweni nginelungelo lokuthola imininingwane

Nghlinzekile nganoma yisiphi isikhathi ngenkathi isesitoreji njengoba kuchaziwe ngenhla.

- Ngiyakuqonda ukuthi ngikhululekile ukuxhumana nomcwaningi obambe iqhaza ocwaningweni ukuze afune okunye

ukucaciswa kanye nolwazi.

Umcwaningi: **Thabiso Ngubane**

Imininingwane yokuxhumana: 0782987102 / luthando986@gmail.com

Umpathi: **UProfesa Yanga Zembe**

Imininingwane Yokuxhumana: 0824548611

Isiginesha yalowo obambe iqhaza ocwaningweni.....

Isiginesha yomhlanganyeli Usuku.....

Isiginesha yomcwaningi.....

Ngikholwa wukuthi umbambiqhaza unikeza invume enolwazi ukuze abambe iqhaza kulolu cwaningo

Isiginesha yomcwaningi

APPENDIX C



COUNCILLOR

Mezzanine Floor, Shell House
Cnr Anton Lembede & Samora Machel Street, Durban, 4001
P O Box 1014, Durban, 4000
Tel: 031 – 322 7090
www.durban.gov.za

Our Ref: **Cllr M Mthembu**
Your Ref: **083 371 0120**
Enquiries:

27.07.2021

I councillor M. Mthembu for ward 29 Cato Manor hereby confirm Thabiso Ngubane to conduct a reaserch study in my ward about peoples understanding of land policies.

Kind Regards

Cllr M. Mthembu

For more information please contact 083 371 0120



APPENDIX D



22 September 2021

Thabiso Luthando Ngubane (215022345)
School Of Built Env & Dev Stud
Howard College

Dear TL Ngubane,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00003265/2021

Project title: A critical analysis of South African communities' perspectives and activism on expropriation of land without compensation: The case study of Cato Manor.

Degree: Masters

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application received on 21 August 2021 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

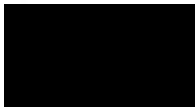
This approval is valid until 22 September 2022.

To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours sincerely,



Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, 4000, South Africa

Telephone: +27 (0)31 260 8150/4557/1587 Email: hssrec@ukzn.ac.za Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics>

Founding Campuses:  Edgewood  Howard College  Medical School  Pietermaritzburg  Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

APPENDIX E

Interview guidelines

The aim is to determine the¹ perspectives of Cato Manor community members regarding land reform and land reform policies in general, and land expropriation without compensation in particular. Furthermore the aim is to examine the community's past, and current activism regarding land reform and the policy of land expropriation without compensation in particular, and what it has achieved.

Interview questions to be asked:

- 1.** How did you come to reside in this area and what year? (Background on how the person came to live in this area, including how long they have lived here). *Wafika nini, futhi kanjan ukuzohlala lapha?*
- 2.** Ever since you have been residing in this area, how often has there been rallies or protests regarding the ownership of land and title deeds? If so, expand on how they were organised, by which committee/body/group/individual and the goals they have accomplished. *Selokhu wahlala kulo mphakathi, ngabe yake yabakhona imibhikisho mayelana nokuba nomhlaba Kanye nama Tayitela? Chaza kabanzi ngalokhu*
- 3.** What is your understanding of this proposed policy of Land expropriation without compensation? Ngabe yini oyaziyo mayelana nale nqubomgomo yokubuyiselwa komhlaba kubanininyo ngaphandle kwesinxephezelo?
- 4.** .In recent years, there has been large debates on the topic of Land distribution without compensation, what are your thoughts on the implementation of this policy in South Africa? *Kwimnyaka edlulileyo, sekube nokuphikiswana okuniningi mayelana nokubuyiselwa komhlaba kubanikazi ngaphandle kwesinxephezelo. Uthini umbono wakho mayelana nale nqubomgomo uma ifakwa lapha eNingizimu Afrika,*
- 5.** How many representative committees, structures or organizations exist in this community? What makes them representatives? Whose interests do they represent? *Mangaki amakomidi amele izidingo zomphakathi na? awumele kanjani umphakathi? Akhethwa ngubani amalunga alelo komidi?* In your own opinion, do you think the current land owners should be compensated once the correct land owners are given

their land back? Why? *Ngowakho umbono, kufanele yini kube khona isinxephezele sabaphathi komhlaba manje mhlazane usubuyiselwa kubaniniyo?*

- 6.** In your time of residing in this area, how much activism have you observed concerning land appropriation? Who has been leading such initiatives? *Ekuhlaleni kwakho kulomphakathi, mingaki imibhikisho osuyibonile? Ngubani ohamba phambili kulemibhikisho?*
- 7.** How do people in this community feel about the issue of landlessness, and land appropriation without compensation? *Abantu balomphakathi bazizwa kanjani ngokungabi nomhlaba? uthini umbono wabo mayelana nokubuyiselwa komhlaba ngaphandle kwesinxephezelo ?*
- 8.** What has been your personal involvement in initiatives to do with ending landlessness? *Kungabe yikuphi uqobo lwakho okwenzayo ukulwa nokungabi nomhlaba?*
- 9.** In your own opinion, what should be done to or for the current land owners once the rightful land owners are given their land back? In other words, what do you think are the entitlements or rights of current landowners in the land appropriation process? How should they be handled? *Ngowakho umbono, kumele benzelweni laba abaphethe umhlaba ngokomgunyathi uma umhlaba usunikezwe abanikazi bawo? Ngamanye amazwi, uma ucabanga athini amalungelo abaphathi bomhlaba njengamanje enqubeni yokubuyiselwa komhlaba kubanikazi?*
- 10.** If this policy is indeed implemented, what impact do you think it will have on low income areas and households? *Uma lenqubomgomo igcina ifakiwe, izoba namupho umthelela kulamakhaya ahluphekayo?*
- 11.** In your own view, what will be the impact of this policy in the economy of the country? *Ngowakho umbono, lenqubomgomo izoba namuphi umthelela kumnotho wezwe na?*

APPENDIX F



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APPENDIX G

My Thesis submission 2

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