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Informal Settlement Upgrading in Cape Town: Understanding Participatory Governance in Ramaphosa Informal Settlement.

By

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Abstract

In recent years there has been a rise of informal settlements in Cape Town, and other parts of the country. Informal settlements are not a new phenomenon in South Africa, due to apartheid spatial planning and segregated development, alongside rapid urbanization. Apartheid planning and urbanisation have enabled the growth of informal settlements, particularly as citizens seek alternative living spaces on the informal fringes of urban areas. This study examines obstacles to the upgrading of informal settlements in Cape Town, particularly Ramaphosa, a newly formed settlement on the edge of the City.

The study was conducted using qualitative case study research which included fifteen interviews, online sources (Google Maps) and observation. During the course of the study I spent a great deal of time in the community of Ramaphosa, so empirical observation forms part of the methods. The study used Google satellite technology and Google maps, in getting a much better picture of the settlement.

The study investigates the theory that upgrading of settlements can be achieved through participatory governance. It explores whether, citizen participation in government structures of development, engaging with local government, and mobilizing the community, can lead to the upgrading of a settlement.

The findings show that the community of Ramaphosa created spaces of participation within their community, the community had a space to deliberate, engage, plan and consult regarding informal settlement upgrading. The community of Ramaphosa has strong grassroots activism and active citizenship. The community was able to mobilize for informal settlement upgrading. Through the active citizenship, activism and spaces of participation, the community were able to upgrade their informal settlement. However, their demands for a formal upgrading were not met.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been developed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where expressly stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgement, the work presented is entirely my own.

Location: Cape Town, South Africa

Date: 29 November 2021

Signature: …………………………

<u>Acknowledgements</u>

Acronyms & Synonyms

ANC – African National Congress

BNG – Breaking New Ground

CORC – Community Organization Resource Centre

GAA – Group Areas Act

GAB – Group Areas Board

TAC – Treatment Action Campaign

UDF – United Democratic Front

UWC - University of the Western Cape

Chapter One: Introduction & Background

This chapter provides the overall introduction to this research study. In doing so, the chapter looks at the background of South African political development. This chapter provides context to the political landscape before1994, and looks at how things have unfolded since the 1994 democratic elections. The chapter provides context for understanding the research problem. It explores the idea that apartheid policy and post-apartheid urbanization were the main causes of informal settlements[1] in Cape Town.

After the democratic elections in 1994, South Africa was in a transition. For decades the National Party government; the ruling regime under apartheid created a segregated society in which race was the determining factor of how the state treated its citizens. Under the apartheid government the minority, white people, enjoyed the privileges that the National Party policies created for them. The apartheid regime divided society based on race; in the black communities[2]there was a lack of funding for basic services such as water, sanitation, and housing. The local authorities in those communities were not given support by the apartheid government.

In terms of urban governance, the apartheid regime merely put authorities in black communities with no resources to work with. According to Barichievy, Piper & Parker (2005:373), black local authorities were created in the 1980s, but these were given no additional funding and were widely regarded as illegitimate. One of the policies that the apartheid regime implemented to discriminate against black people, was the Group Areas Act. The policy controlled the use and ownership of land, as well as the right of residents. As Maharaj (1997: 135) explains, "the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950, was one of the key instruments used to reinforce the ideology of apartheid. It served as a powerful tool for state intervention in controlling the use, occupation, and ownership of land and buildings on a racial basis, and emphasized separate residential areas, educational services, and other amenities for the different race groups." The Group Areas Act made it illegal for black and white people to stay in the same areas. Black

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[1] Statistics South Africa defines informal settlements as 'unplanned settlement on land which has not been surveyed or proclaimed as residential, consisting mainly of informal dwellings (shacks)'.
Statistics South Africa. "Statistics South Africa Census 2001: Concepts and definitions". Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, 2003.
Url: https://www.statssa.gov.za/census/census_2001/concepts_definitions/concepts_definitions.pdf

[2] The 1950 Population Registration Act declared that all South Africans be classified into one of three races: white, "native" (Black African), or colored (neither white nor 'native'). The term "Black" is used in the place of "native".

people were removed from certain areas that they occupied and white people were given the land.

The apartheid regime created dysfunctional communities that are still evident today. The forced removals of non-white residents from their homes and communities led to the creation of informal settlements on the outskirts of urban areas. Adhikari (2009: 49) argues that although the Group Areas Act was passed in 1950, forced removals did not begin in earnest in Cape Town until the late 1950s. Some of the smaller coloured neighbourhoods were summarily evacuated, as was generally the case with Africans, but the fate of most people was decided by the Group Areas Board (GAB), which claimed that it would determine the racial character of an area only after public consultation.

The implications of the Groups Areas Act in Cape Town was that black and coloured communities were moved to land that was not suitable for living on. Land that was overcrowded, dense, and posed a health risk; "constraints on the amount of land available and restrictions on house-building in the townships inflated housing rents and caused overcrowding. This had serious knock-on effects for the environment and services that were already overloaded" (Turok, 1994: 251). But informal settlements are not only an issue in South Africa, other countries are facing the same problem. According to Van Gelder (2013:493), informal settlements are not only found in South Africa, in fact, in most developing countries you would find similar patterns. In most cities in the global South, empirical observations show the map of slums and informal settlements coincides with that of urban poverty. What makes informal settlements unique in South Africa is how the apartheid regime had a major role in creating them, and that there were policies that enabled informal settlements.

In the post-apartheid era, the newly formed government made efforts in dealing with the issue of informal settlements in the country; The government has made progress over the years in addressing the delivery of services, particularly housing; "While almost four million houses have been built by the state, there remain millions waiting in backyard shacks, informal settlements, overcrowded accommodation and hijacked inner-city buildings for the state to provide. That twenty years after the fall of Apartheid the poor continue to wait for the state to provide housing may on occasion surprise" (Amin and Cirolia, 2017: 3). Millions of people are still waiting for the freedom that they were promised in 1994. For the poor freedom comes in a form of services provided by the government, such as water, electricity, and housing. According to Amin and Cirolia (2017:3) the rights citizens are waiting for, which democracy

and freedom promised them to remain strong, even though these rights – such as access to housing, water, or democratic representation are daily reduced by new market inequalities and emergent power hierarchies, which overlay and configure those of the past. The government of the African National Congress (ANC) was fighting against the apartheid regime, protesting their laws and rejecting segregation, is now denying their citizens the quality democracy that they promised them.

As much as the government has established programs in addressing informal settlements, in recent years there has been a rise of land invasions and the formation of new informal settlements. On the 2nd of December 2016, the former mayor of Cape Town, Patricia de Lille explained the challenge she is facing as the mayor of Cape Town, "We have not seen this kind of protest in my term as the mayor. I'm there for seven years now. This is the first time we have to deal with so many protests and so many land invasions at the same time" (eNCA, 2018). After two decades of democracy in South Africa, there is a rise in informality in one of the best-run provinces in the country; this is not a sign of a country progressing in dealing with community-related service delivery.

The Western Cape has the reputation of being the best run province. According to a Ratings Afrika report, Cape Town is the best-run big metropolitan city in the country, Western Cape is the best-run province, and the province is also home to 12 out of the 20 top-performing municipalities (IOL, 2019). In the country's best-run city, we have a rise of informal settlements (and service delivery protest), and yet it is ranked the best, on what basis when the poor are struggling to get those services. It is as if you have the city of Cape Town which the best-run city in the country and you have informal settlements in Cape Town that do not fall under the city.

However, Cape Town is not the only city that is currently facing challenges; in Sub-Saharan African cities in particular, the poor have been largely abandoned by their governments, left to initiate their methods of self-help and relying on international organizations for assistance. Based on government policy, South Africa takes its constitutional obligation to provide the urban poor with housing seriously, as well as free or affordable water, electricity, and sanitation on a private or shared basis. This is not always reflected in action or on the ground but in the many government programmes, created in addressing the delivery of services to the poor since the fall of apartheid, the supply of basic services and housing has become a key measure of the new nation's commitment to the poor.

1.1 A new home: Ramaphosa

The research study intends to examine if participatory governance can influence the upgrading of informal settlements. In doing so the study will also examine the obstacles to the upgrading of informal settlements in Cape Town, particularly focusing on the community of Ramaphosa. Through conducting the study, I will be examining the processes and background of informal settlement upgrading in the city of Cape Town, outline the theory of participatory governance and apply it to the process of informal settlement upgrading. The study will examine the hypothesis that upgrading settlements can be achieved through participatory governance. It will investigate whether citizen participation in government structures of development, engaging with local government, and mobilizing the community, have led to the upgrading of the settlement of Ramaphosa.

The research site is a new community that was established in 2018 (February) through a land invasion. The site for the research is an informal settlement in Philippi, Cape Town. By May 2018 Cape Town Mayor Patricia de Lille reported that there had been 145 land invasions in Cape Town to date (Enca 2018). The invasion of the land in this research case took place between February-June 2018. After a violent battle with the anti-land invasion unit and law enforcement agents, the residents successfully invaded the land.

Most of the residents in Ramaphosa were renting or staying with family before invading the land, due to not being able to pay for rent. The residents came together, formed a leadership committee, and decided to invade the land. What is unique about Ramaphosa is that it is an area that has not been researched before. It is a research site that is still in motion; people are still moving in; leadership dynamics keep evolving and the number of houses is increasing each month.

The creation of new informal settlements through land invasion is nothing new in Cape Town, according to the Mail & Guardian, (2019) there were 263 land occupations in the Western Cape alone, in 2019. The increase in land invasion makes it very difficult for the anti-land invasion unit to deal with the crisis. The anti-land invasion unit is a unit established by the City of Cape Town in an attempt to stop people from illegally attempting to occupy the land. The role of the unit is to prevent illegal land invasions, removing people who have invaded illegally. At times that requires destroying people's shacks, removing their property from the land.

When residents of Ramaphosa were attempting to invade the land that they are currently occupying, it was the same anti-land invasion unit that removed them numerous times. The unit took down their shacks and removed their property from the land, sparking violent protests and resistance from the community. Instead of implementing solutions that will solve the problem the local government chooses to respond with the anti-land invasion unit. The response from communities like Ramaphosa has been to protest, but the protests have been met with increased repression from the anti-land invasion unit and police brutality premised on the unlawful occupation of land and intimidation act. Substantial efforts have been made to control occupations and protests as opposed to addressing their root causes (Mail & Guardian, 2019).

Human Settlement Minister Lindiwe Sisulu was cited by IOL, suggesting that the recent land invasions in Cape Town over the years are orchestrated events and these land invasions disturb government planned projects (IOL, 2020). The Minister also condemned how the local government dealt with these land invasions "There seems to be a trust deficit between the City of Cape Town and people who live in poor communities… people are burning things and looting stores… like cowboys, they remove people without consulting communities… That's not how you govern! … Maybe they are overwhelmed…" (IOL, 2020). In the past few years, we have seen a disconnect between the national government and local government. A lack of coherent voice from the government has left citizens confused about which sphere of government addresses their concerns.

Informal settlement upgrading is a national problem; in all corners of the country, you find informal settlements. The dynamics in the different cities might differ but this is not a 'Cape Town only' problem. But through this research, I hope to examine Ramaphosa, an informal settlement in Cape Town, and hopefully deepen understanding of how, once established through land occupation, informal settlements can be upgraded. The study will in no way make general assumptions of other informal settlements based on the findings of Ramaphosa but will present Ramaphosa as a case study or a reference point for informal settlement upgrading. Ramaphosa is a new settlement that is starting to engage the channels of government, in their attempt to upgrade their community. So to research a community that is not exhausted by the government engagement channels and is new to using participatory governance, is something that I hope will make the study unique and interesting.

1.1.1 Defining 'upgrading'

In the context of the study informal settlement upgrading is the formalisation of the living environment of Ramaphosa. Because the land of Ramaphosa is privately owned, the first step of formalisation would be for the City of Cape Town to buy the land. The term also means the upgrading of services; the land that was invaded does not have any infrastructure for basic services (water, sanitation etc.). This includes access to electricity, running water, formal roads in the community and most importantly, formal houses.

The policies on the upgrading of informal settlements have progressed since the apartheid era. However, implementation is still a challenge for government. Citizens, like the residents of Ramaphosa, have taken it upon themselves to apply pressure to government to implement their policies.

1.1.2 South Africa's housing shift: From Greenfield to self-build

The South African housing policy has been shifting since 1994. Initially, the Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP) was the policy vehicle of bringing houses to citizens who were neglected by the apartheid regime. The constitutional right to housing and access to basic services was front and centre of the policy programme. Over the years the government strategy in delivering housing has evolved. One of the reasons behind the evolution in the housing strategy is the lack of funds to implement these strategies, "a central challenge has been to transform the extremely complicated bureaucratic, administrative, financial and institutional framework inherited from the previous government" (Breaking New Ground, 2004:6). The new government soon realised the challenge it was facing in delivering social housing.

The government then introduce a new policy framework that will not only deal with informal settlement upgrading but also tackle housing and job creation, institutional reform and capacity building, stimulating the residential property market etc (Breaking New Ground, 2004). The BNG strategy for informal settlements was a phased in-situ upgrading approach, the plan supports the eradication of informal settlements through in-situ upgrading in desired locations, coupled to the relocation of households where development is not possible or desirable (Breaking New Ground, 2004). The upgrading of projects would be implemented by municipalities and that is also in line with the Municipal Finance Management (MFMA) Act 56 of 2003. The MFMA is that governs how municipalities should spend government funds.

However, the challenge that government is facing is the growing population in urban areas. In a census in 1996 the population in the Western Cape was 3 956 875. The next census was in 2001 and the population in the Western Cape was 4 524 335. In the last census in 2011 the population was 5 822 734 (StatsSA, 2011). This adds to the demand of housing and services, while the study seeks to interrogate government fulfilling their duty of providing citizens with dignified housing and access to basic services, it does take into account the many difficult constraints government faces.

1.2 Research problem

The chapter examines the problem from two different angles; the first one is the historic legacies of apartheid. How the policy of apartheid caused these informal settlements. The second angle; urbanization, how the influx of people from rural to urban areas is creating informal settlements. The chapter dives deeper into the socio-economic status of the citizen who migrates to the urban areas and how that affects their access to formal housing. The section highlights one of the policies (Group Areas Act) under apartheid and how it is relevant to the topic.

The apartheid system neglected black communities when it comes to providing services but that is the not the only reason there is a problem of informal settlements, "apartheid spatial planning and neglect of black urban residential areas, followed by rapid urbanization at the end of the apartheid period has exceeded government's ability to provide housing and infrastructure" (Shortt & Hammett, 2013: 616). The rapid urbanization at the end of apartheid put more pressure on municipalities who were already struggling during apartheid. The capacity of the municipalities could not adequately cater to townships and black communities were overwhelmed with the number of people they must cater for. According to Skuse & Cousins (2006: 779), the contemporary pace of informal urbanization in developing countries is placing significant pressure on local and national authorities to deal with influxes of internal and regional migrants whilst ensuring that basic standards of human settlement are met.

The problem is that from these circumstances informal settlements are created, citizens desperate for places to live on their own, build their informal structures wherever they see vacant land. Living in informal settlements disproportionately affects certain groups, previously disenfranchised groups. Informal settlements often sit on the periphery of urban areas, lacking access to markets and/or resources. The problem is that people are living in poor conditions: according to Huchzermeyer (2015; 3) citizens living in informal settlements

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experience higher levels of disease and mortality than in urban areas. Due to the socioeconomic status, residents of informal settlements can not afford formal housing markets. This creates a demand for an informal market, where people can rent at relatively low cost, and certain cases do not have to pay for electricity and water.

However, the conditions in the informal settlement are not conducive for any community to live in and the research study seeks to examine ways in which communities that are living in these conditions can eventually reach a stage where government improves their living condition, and how participatory governance can play a role in the communities getting to that point.

It is important to highlight the relationship between informality and poverty. Huchzermeyer (2015; 3) argues that many people living in informal settlements are people who belong to the urban poor low-and middle-income bracket. In this view, the increasing spread of informal settlements can be linked to their socio-economic status. Some factors contribute to the high levels of informal settlements in Cape Town, and around the country.

Unemployment is one of those reasons; according to trading Economics (2019), the unemployment rate in South Africa increased to 29% in the second quarter of 2019. "It was the highest jobless rate since the first quarter of 2003, as the number of unemployed grew by 455 thousand to 6.65 million and employment rose by 21 thousand to 16.31 million" (trading economics, 2019). The effects of unemployment are social, not just economic. As a result of unemployment, crime rates rise as people are unable to meet their needs through work, the rate of homelessness rises, as people can no longer pay for rent.

Land invasions most often take place in low-income communities, where the majority of people who are involved in land invasion are people who do it based on economic strain; not being able to afford money for renting and electricity, some are involved because of economic gain. Their involvement is to accumulate land that could turn into monetary profit, so they protect their economic interest at all cost. According Amin and Cirolia findings of ethnographies of informal settlements around the world which show how gangs, strongmen, elected and self-appointed leaders, businesses, religious and civic associations, and more, vie with each other for influence and control, often at the expense of the poor (2017:5).

To sum up the problem, the government is trying to deliver services to the poor, services such as housing, water, electricity, and sanitation, but faces challenges, the first being the apartheid legacy. Apartheid spatial planning and the Group Areas Act did little to empower the lives of

poor black communities. There is very little formal infrastructure in black communities. Many informal settlements are built on unserviced land that have no facilities such as water and electricity. The second challenge is addressing the apartheid legacy in black communities while dealing with urbanization; the number of informal settlements is on the rise (Mbanga, 2020) because more people are coming to urban cities, how does the city of Cape Town address challenges faced by people in informal settlements that have been waiting for services for years, while also accommodating new settlements like Ramaphosa.

The third challenge is 'informal governance' within informal settlements, that is, groups, or individuals who pose as mediators of community interest but may be merely protecting their own interests. Individuals or groups who are gatekeeping progress in informal settlements in attempts to keep circumstances as they are for their benefit. These individuals are often regarded as 'leadership', they hold a very strong position in the community and are well respected in the community. How does, and should, the government bypass them and speak directly to residents? The challenge is that individuals get into positions of authority to protect their interests.

In conclusion, the research study seeks to examine the nature of informal settlements in Cape Town, and how they are upgraded, using Ramaphosa as a case study site. With government structures in place, informal settlements are still a problem that face our local government. Instead of seeing progress being made, we are seeing more communities such as Ramaphosa being created, in a violent fashion. Once the land is invaded, then informal settlement upgrading is a challenge for most communities, it is even a struggle to be recognized by the City of Cape Town as a settlement and receive services. For some, upgrading is a far-fetched dream but some communities seek to hold the government accountable for their promise of housing and services. Ramaphosa is one of those communities and the study examines informal settlement upgrading through the lens of the community.

The study starts with the background and historical context of how policies during apartheid and post-apartheid contributed to the climate of having informal settlements. Chapter two will look focus on the methodology of the study and the different research techniques used to conduct the study. Chapter three will focus on the theoretical framing of the study, the lens in which the study is examined. Chapter four will focus on the findings of the study, and an in depth look into Ramaphosa. Chapter five will analyse the data and answer the research question and chapter six will conclude the study and emphasise the position of the study.

The study examines the rapid increase of informal settlement, not only in Cape Town but the whole country. The study then narrows into Ramaphosa, an informal settlement in Cape Town, and poses the question; 'Can Ramaphosa, through participatory governance, upgrade their informal settlement?'. This question is at the centre of the study, as my hypothesis of the study is that through participatory governance Ramaphosa can upgrade their informal settlement. The study is qualitative and will be presented from the perspective of residents of Ramaphosa.

Chapter Two: Methodology

The study primarily is focused on a qualitative research approach, in doing so the study seeks to draw from the lived experiences of the residents of Ramaphosa. The study is designed to give a descriptive narrative of events and a qualitative research method approach suits the research framework. The study uses the case study research method to examine participatory governance in Ramaphosa informal settlement and how that can lead to upgrading. The study is designed as a descriptive interpretive inquiry into the governance of Ramaphosa. The study also uses empirical observation in the collection of data. This chapter is divided into four sections, under two headings; methodology and research techniques. Under methodology, I explain the case study research method and argue why it is a suitable approach to conduct this study.

2.1 Case study method

The research study will use the case study approach. This is because of the nature of the research; the research seeks to answer the research question based on the interviews and engagements with community members and representatives from Ramaphosa. Using case study research approach will allow me to examine this phenomenon using one case in order to generate some form of understanding of the dynamics in the community.

The case study is between the period of February 2018 until March 2021, February 2018 is the month Ramaphosa was established and the study follows a series of events that have occurred since then until March 2021. The use of the case study method comes from the desire to understand complex social phenomena (Yin, 2003;2). Informal settlement upgrading is a very complex situation, with a range of opinions and different views on how it should be addressed, using the case study method makes sense as the research was able to accommodate different opinions.

The reason for using this method is that the research study focused on individuals, groups, organizations and politics. The case study method was a suitable method for conducting research in Ramaphosa, as process requires me to interview residents and leaders of the community. Get their different perspectives regarding the subject and take into consideration various opinions. According to Yin (2003; 1) as a research strategy, the case study method study is used in many situations to contribute to our knowledge of the individual, group,

organizational, social, political, and related phenomena. Taking that into account, the research study was centered around the politics of resources and access to those resources, including the idea of gatekeeping. In an attempt to define the term ´gatekeeping´ Beresford (2015; 227) argues that; gatekeeping is a term commonly used within ANC circles and the term gatekeeper politics is employed here to refer to how political leaders in positions of authority within the ruling party or in public office control access to resources and opportunities to forward their own political and economic ends. The term is not only used by members of the ANC, but Beresford makes the ANC a referencing point based on its position in government.

The party being the ruling organization and having access to resources. The method was used to analyse the research study based on the political context. As mentioned, gatekeeping is not a term that applies only to the ruling party. In using the case study method, I was able to identify different ways individuals and groups within Ramaphosa could be classified as gatekeepers.

Ramaphosa is a very complex community, with various internal factors, such as leadership, governance, resources (water, electricity, and sanitation). It is impossible to come out of the community with one perspective in any of these mentioned factors. Using the case study method as the research strategy I was able to accommodate all those different perspectives in the research. "Recognised as a tool in many social science studies, the role of case study method in research becomes more prominent when issues concerning education, sociology, and community-based problems, such as poverty, unemployment, drug addiction, illiteracy, etc" (Zainal, 2007:1). The research study falls under various issues such as community-based problems, poverty and they all belong to the larger subject of social science studies.

Zainal expands on this definition of case study, and articulates that the "case study method enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context. In most cases, a case study method selects a small geographical area or a very limited number of individuals as the subjects of study. Case studies, in their true essence, explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomena through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships" (Zainal, 2007:2). As the research entails interviewing participants from a specific geographical area, in this case, Ramaphosa, a case study method as a research strategy fits the scope of the research.

The case study method applies to the study and helps to understand a deeper problem within the community of Ramaphosa. The study can also help to understand the perspective of the community members, through various interviews. The advantage of using this method is that I

can understand what the residents and representatives of Ramaphosa see as upgrading of the informal settlement, what it means to them, and how the residents plan on reaching that goal. According to Zainal (2007:5), there are some critics of case studies, some of which state that case studies provide very little basis for scientific generalization since they use a small number of subjects, and some are conducted with only one subject. The question commonly raised is, "How can you generalize from a single case?". The criticism is fair, but in the context of this research study, more than 15 subjects from Ramaphosa who represent various perspectives within the community were interviewed, including ordinary residents and community leaders.

I have to note that the study intends to learn from this case and the findings could be tested against similar context. However, the study does not seek to make a generalisation from this case. But to highlight, learn and to test the theory of participatory governance in this case.

2.2 Research techniques

The primary focus of this section is on how the data for the study was collected, what type of data (primary or secondary data) was collected, and why that data is instrumental for the argument of the study. This section examines the use of secondary data as a context for the study. The study uses qualitative interviews in Ramaphosa in collecting data and this section takes the reader through that journey, which will include empirical observations made while spending time in the community.

2.2.1 Secondary data collection

The secondary data was collected via desktop research to provide the base for the introduction, theoretical framework, and the context of the research. Secondary data is data collected by other researchers for various purposes. As stated by Hox & Boeije, "it is possible to use data collected earlier by other researchers or for other purposes than research, such as official statics, administrative records, or other accounts kept routinely by the organization" (Hox & Boeije, 2005:596). The secondary data used in this study includes books, government gazettes, journal articles, newspaper articles, and policy documents.

Secondary data was easy to retrieve on the internet, there are search engines that make it easy to access files related to the research study. "Some data sets are freely available, without cost.

Others may be expensive, either because of the offering of the existing data sets in a reusable format for new research purposes" (Hox & Boeije, 2005;597). There were search engines that required a subscription to access certain files, fortunately, the University (UWC) subscribes to them, making them available free of charge for researchers.

2.2.2 Primary data collection

Primary data is data originated for the first time by the researcher through direct efforts and experience, specifically for the purpose of addressing the research problem. Also known as the first hand or raw data (Hox & Boeije, 2005). I, Mfundo Majola, as the researcher of the study, will collect the primary data. The purpose of collecting data is to gather evidence that will enhance the argument of the study. I expand on the methods of data collection below.

1.2.3 Observation

As mentioned, Ramaphosa is a very complex community that needs to be examined thoroughly. In conducting the study, I had to understand the different community dynamics. Through sheer luck, I witnessed the invasion of the land that later came to be known as Ramaphosa. On a normal Saturday morning (February 2018), I witnessed what seemed like chaos. Residents holding building material, corrugated iron, timber, hammers, etc., and walking towards a piece of land next to Lansdowne Road. The group was met by heavily armed law enforcement presence; the agents fired rubber bullets to try to disperse the determined group, only for the group to come back in even larger numbers.

I watched this unfold for about 30 minutes before law enforcement agents decided to throw teargas in an attempt to disperse the growing crowd. For my safety, I left the site but was left with a strong interest in the event I had just witnessed as a student of political studies; this was an event that kept playing over and over in my head. Four months later, I am back in the same area where the event took place (Philippi), the vacant land has been replaced by a vibrant community. People were moving in, some building their shacks that very moment. I remember saying to a friend I was walking with, "the large group of people had emerged victorious". We walked around the settlement and saw Ramaphosa being built from the ground up, residents hired trucks to bring their furniture and beds into their new homes. Some of the residents were on the roof, illegally connecting their electricity to the nearest street light.

Going into Ramaphosa to conduct the research, I knew where to start with collecting data. While observing the invasion of the land I noticed a group of people at the centre of everything, they were talking to law enforcement agents and from my observation, giving instructions to the rest of the group of residents. I immediately assumed that those were the leaders of the group, and decided that they were the people I had to speak to first to understand the events that have taken place in the community through their perspective, and to understand the reason behind the invasion of the land.

Through going door-to-door in the community, asking for leaders I can speak to regarding my research study, I was directed to one of the leadership committee members. After a meeting with her, where I explained my interest in doing my Master's research on the community, she explained that the community is in the process of seeking upgrading[3] from the government. She agreed to organize a meeting for me with the leadership committee to take place at her house.

After a long meeting with 7 of the 17 committee members, they agreed to allow me to research the community and agreed to be the first participants to be interviewed. The lady I had initially spoken to, "Zusiphe", as she wanted to be named in the research study, offered to walk around the community with me while I was conducting the research, and to introduce me to the residents who might be confused by my presence in the community.

Before meeting with the leadership committee, I had tried to speak to a few residents, to ask where they lived before coming to Ramaphosa and how they have been allocated land in the community. The reception from the residents was very negative, and some people would direct me to the leadership committee, as they were very sceptical about speaking to me. But with Zusiphe walking around the community with me, the reception of the residents improved. People were eager to share their journey to Ramaphosa, where they had lived before, and why they moved to Ramaphosa. However, there was a touchy subject that most residents I interviewed were hesitant about discussing, and that's the process of allocation of land. Who

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[3] The Department of Human Settlement have an Informal settlement programme, "The programme facilitates the structured upgrading of informal settlements. It applies to in situ upgrading of informal settlements as well as where communities are to be relocated for a variety of reasons. The programme entails extensive community consultation and participation, emergency basic services provision, permanent services provision and security of tenure"
http://www.dhs.gov.za/sites/default/files/documents/publications/human_settlements_programmes_and_subsidies.pdf

decides who stays where? why are house sizes not the same? Those were the questions residents avoided answering.

The disadvantage of being accompanied by Zusiphe is that, from my observation, residents were uncomfortable answering questions that concerned the leadership committee. Participants were happy to take part in the research but questions around the community leaders were a sensitive topic. The data collection period was three months, during which I would go to the settlement once or twice a week and spend 2-3 hours conducting interviews and observing the progress of the community. When going to the community, I would take 2 taxis, which took roughly 45 minutes in total.

2.2.3. The interview process

The purpose of conducting interviews is for participants to share their experience and perspective, in order to be used in the study. The participants who took part in this study are residence are residents and leaders of Ramaphosa. Who, before invading the land, stayed in different areas around Cape Town and some coming all the way from the Eastern Cape. The first part of the interview process was done in a snowball method, I interviewed one participants who then referred me to the next one. In the process of conducting interviews, one of the participants made me aware of the rule within the community, that anyone doing interviews in the community had to consult the leadership committee. This was during the time when Ramaphosa was getting a lot of media attention, as the media wanted to know the reason behind the land invasion and the formation of this new community.

I arranged a meeting with the leadership committee where I expressed my intentions of conducting research in the community. The leadership gave me permission to conduct the research in the community and Zusiphe made herself available to be my guide in the community. This due to two reasons, the 1st one; people were very sceptical in talking to people who they perceived as 'media' people and I gave them the impression that I was a media person covering the story of Ramaphosa. The 2nd reason; Ramaphosa was vulnerable to crime and violence, criminals took advantage of the chaos of protest and building shacks. Zusiphe was known as one of the prominent leaders in the community, walking around within the community was for my own safety. However, that also came with its limitations. Participants were hesitant in responding to question that were focused on the leaders of the community.

In conducting the interviews I interviewed more than 15 participants, the interviews have been an important technique in getting useful data to answer the question of this study. The nature of interviews are qualitative, and as such have allowed for in-depth data collection which has presented some rich data.

2.2.4 Triangulation

The study takes various methods in answering the research question; the secondary data (Books, Journals, articles etc.) provide a theoretical framework for the study to conducted. The study is viewed from in this lens. The primary data, along with empirical observation give an in depth understanding of the study.

2.2.5 Limitations

The study does have limitations; the first one is that there is no government perspective. In conducting the study, I did not interview any government official in attempt to balance the argument. That is due the positionality of the study, it is done looking at informal settlement upgrading through the lens of citizens. I was able to interview the ward councillor through the phone and that limited my ability to ask questions and have an in depth conversation. This was due to the councillor being busy and unable to make time. The second, Ramaphosa is located in a crime-ridden area of Philippi, getting there meant that I needed to take more than two taxis. The travelling cost limited the number of times I could visit the time and crime in the area meant that I could only stay for a few hours.

2.2.6 Ethical procedures

In the process of conducting this study, the manner in which the study is conducted is very crucial. Because the study involves interviewing people, who I would consider a "vulnerable group", certain ethical measures had to be put in place. I consider the participants who took part in the study as a vulnerable group based on their experience in invading the land. Some were left traumatized by the encounters with the police and law enforcement agents. Conducting the study in an ethical manner is important for two reasons 1. To defending the Integrity of knowledge production, and 2. To protect the participants who took part in the study. To protect their identities of the participants, participants were given pseudonyms.

The study is a qualitative study and will be involving people in the process of research, so it becomes important to deal with issues of research ethics. There is a research ethics policy at the University of the Western Cape which was followed to the letter, by ensuring that there was a research information sheet that details the purpose of the research, in a language that participants were able to read and also provided consent forms to participants. The conditions of the research were explained thoroughly to each participant throughout the process.

Should participants be triggered or emotionally moved by the questions posed to them during the study, free counselling was offered at The Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture. The trauma centre addresses trauma through inclusive healing process to build a nonviolent society with respect for human rights.

2.2.7 Ethical Challenges

One of the ethical challenges was when one of the leaders informed me that the community is planning to burn the ward councillor's house. This was difficult situation because the leader told me this information in confidence; however, this information was regarding someone's safety and security. Luckily, the community did not go through it the act. In those moments of the research, I would seek guidance from my supervisor. In the interview process, respondents would tell me about illegal activities they did in the process of invasion, that information is confidential. However, it was a challenge trying to navigate some of the interview conversations.

Chapter Three: Informal upgrading through participatory governance

The following chapter outlines the theoretical framework of the research. The chapter navigates between the literature of participatory governance and key concepts, drawing on key literature on active citizenship, spaces of participation, power and informal settlement upgrading.

The chapter sets the theoretical framing for the study, highlighting key themes related to informal settlement upgrading such as active citizenship and connecting it to participatory governance. The chapter explains how these two theoretic approaches to upgrading deepens democracy. The chapter also dives into a critical aspect of participatory governance, which is power.

3.1 The theory cycle
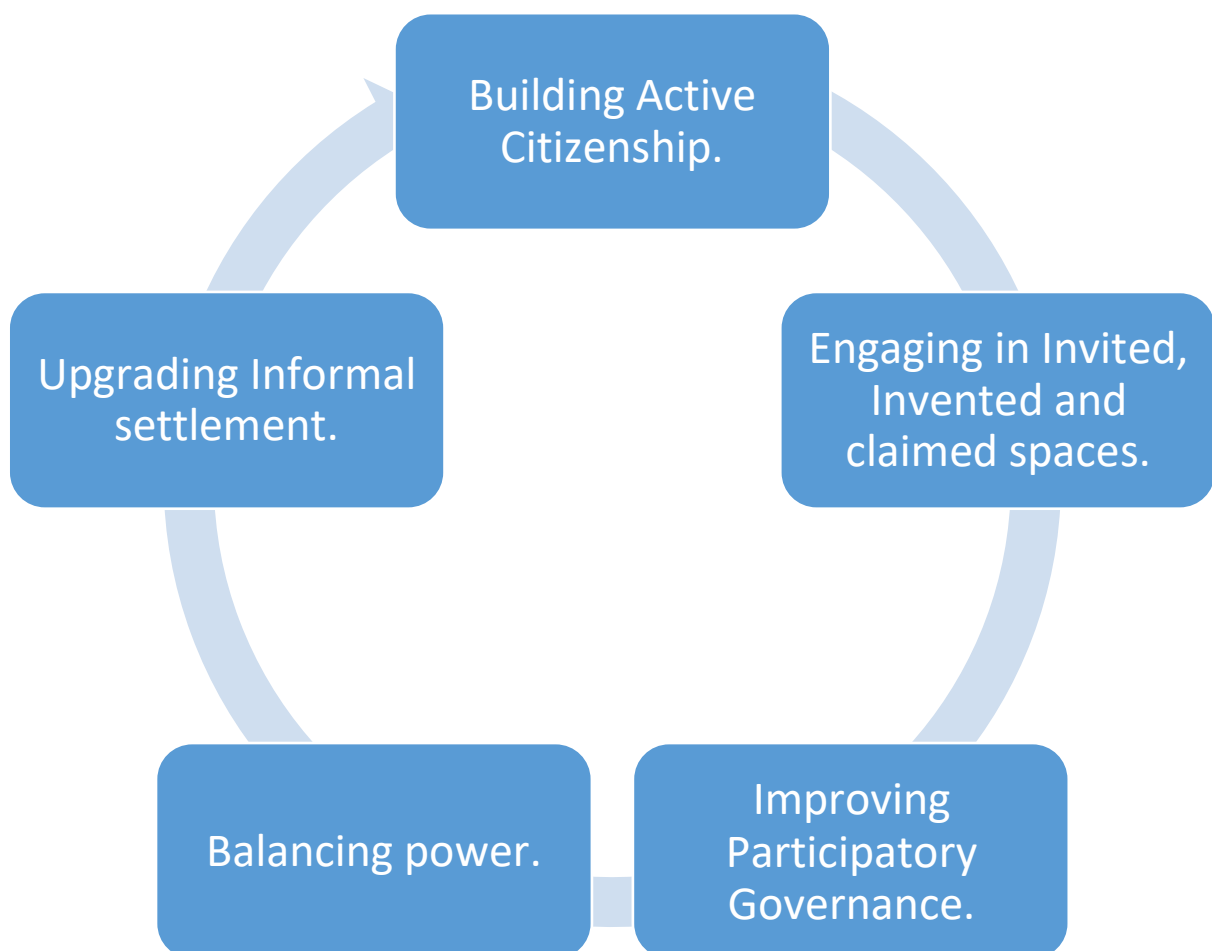
The above cycle illustrates the theoretical discourse of the research, and each stage is key in answering the research question. Based on the research question; "Can the community of Ramaphosa, through participatory governance, achieve informal settlement upgrading?", at the top of the cycle is the intended outcome of 'informal settlement upgrading'. The theory of participatory governance intends to examine if it is indeed possible to accomplish informal settlement upgrading through active citizenship. Active participation involves creating spaces of participation and engaging government spaces of participation, and communities playing an active role in the local political landscape in their community, which in turn can lead to upgrading their informal settlement.

Participatory governance encourages the participation of citizens in matters of the state, to be active agents within the processes of governance. This directly or in some cases indirectly builds a culture of active citizenship. Citizens getting involved in the governance of their communities, mobilizing, engaging government officials and state agents and informing or seeking information regarding the various ways in which they can be part of governance. Active citizenship happens within a space, whether its government created spaces, called 'Invited spaces', or citizens initiated and formed spaces, 'Invented spaces'. Active citizens are a key part of participatory governance, government can have the right policy and the right channels for participation. But citizens have to play their role, and take up space, create space and occupy space.

This is all done to improve participatory governance; when participatory governance is improved, democracy is deepened and the state shares its power with citizens. There is a balance of power between the state and its citizens.

The process of participatory governance involves various stakeholders, all with different perspectives of governance and how decisions ought to be made. The various stakeholders have different interests and come from different backgrounds that may influence the decisions they make. Within that process, some individuals may manipulate the process in their favour or for their political organization and in some cases businesses.

The course of active citizenship begins with building a community that is actively involved in matters that concern the community, which includes attending community meetings, mobilizing community members for a march, or forming community structures (e.g., street committees). Cities are a breeding ground for active citizenship as citizens want to get involved in the governance of urban spaces and want to be part of the decision-making processes that

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impact their lives. Due to their living conditions, neglect by local and national government, I would go further and argue that informal settlements are fertile ground for active citizenship.

According to Miraftab & Wills (2005), citizenship drama uses non-formalized channels, creates new spaces of citizenship, and improves and invents innovative practices, all of which take into consideration the demands of citizens. Those new spaces are 'invented spaces' created by citizens for citizen participation.

Invented spaces, as illustrated in the above theory cycle, are a by-product of building active citizenship. According to Miraftab and Wills, "in this alternative model, practices of citizenship extend beyond "taking up invitations to participate" in what Cornwall calls "invited" spaces of citizenship; they extend to forms of actions that citizens innovate to "create their opportunities and terms of engagement" (Miraftab & Wills, 2005: 202). Invented spaces are an alternative to the norm of invited spaces, which are spaces of engagement created by the state; however, there are limitations to invited spaces that I will elaborate on. In applying the theory to the research question; has the community of Ramaphosa created their own "invented space" of engagement? If so, how that space can be used in their pursuit of upgrading.

Through the process of building active citizenship, citizens engage the state and that can happen in different spaces. It can happen through state channels of engagement, "invited spaces", it can happen through citizens driven spaces, "invented spaces" or it can happen through robust activism and innovation "claimed spaces". The main goal is to improve participatory governance, which is the promised land for a change. The theory cycle illustrates this process, each step is crucial in the process of informal settlement upgrading.

However, the process is not always straightforward. Oftentimes when citizens create their platform to participate and become part of the governing process of their communities, they encounter individuals that seek to hijack that process. "bounty-hunting businessmen, dictatorial warlords, impecunious civic leaders, conspirators within and around government, anxious civil servants, ambitious leaders of NGOs, consultants with reputations to protect, politicians with assorted agendas and political parties that were carefully building their image and constituencies. Every major project is likely to involve and attract such characters" (Görgens & van Donk, 2011: 2). This emphasizes the importance of having multiple spaces of participation outside of state established spaces. Citizens can drive agendas that suit their demands in spaces that they established.

The process of participatory governance can be protected by putting citizens at the center of the process. That being said, does not exclude individuals from manipulating the process from within. "Increasing citizen participation in informal settlement upgrading creates an opportunity to reconceptualise and address a range of planning and technical challenges concomitantly" (Görgens & van Donk, 2011: 2). Historically, citizens have been bypassed in the process of planning of informal settlement upgrading. By increasing citizen participation in informal settlement upgrading not only addresses the history of exclusion but also addresses technical challenges that citizens were not aware of.

When participatory governance is improved there's a balance of power between the state and citizens. When citizen participation is genuine government forms a partnership with the community they come from, they are equals in the partnership and part of the planning process. "They agree to share planning and decision-making responsibilities through such structures as joint policy boards, planning committees and mechanisms for resolving impasses" (Arnstein, 2010: 221). The state needs to redistribute power back to the citizens, participatory governance must include transferring power back to the citizens.

3.2 Building active citizenship

To examine active citizenship at a much deeper level, I have to define it. Arnstein gives a fitting definition of the concept, "It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parcelled out" (Arnstein, 2010:216). This means changing the system that did not include, benefit and consider those that have-not, so they could benefit.

Active citizenship requires mobilization and participation outside of the spaces created by the government, which means community-initiated spaces of engagement. Active citizenship makes the decision-making process much more democratic; citizens play a role in the decision making of their demands. This makes the decision made by the government more inclusive as citizens were part of the decisions, creating an environment of quality democracy, where citizens have a voice. "Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the

cornerstone of a democracy-a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone" (Arnstein, 2010: 216).

It is important to note that most communities that are in informal settlements lack the knowledge of how to mobilize themselves, and where to direct their demands in government. That is why educating communities is important; "for people to be able to exercise their political agency, they need to first recognize themselves as citizens rather than see themselves as beneficiaries or clients. Acquiring the means to participate equally demands processes of popular education and mobilization that can enhance the skills and confidence of the marginalized and excluded groups that would enable them to enter and engage in participatory arenas" (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007: 8). Communities in the informal settlement are prone to political opportunists, individuals, or groups who have much more knowledge of political engagements. Communities in informal settlements are not clients, they have rights like any other citizen in this country. One would argue and say that the role of civil society organization, to help mobilize, educate and advocate for marginalized communities.

One of the qualities of quality democracy is the empowerment of citizens. Citizens must be able to direct access to spaces where they can participate. In the South African context, civil society organizations usually bridge the gap between government and citizens. Civil society organizations such as CORC[4] mediate and facilitate engagement between government and poor communities. The intent is usually positive; to provide support to communities who do not have access to government resources.

At times, the government invites citizens into spaces of power, without redistributing the power amongst government and the citizens. "There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process" (Arnstein, 2010: 216). Participatory governance empowers citizens; it gives real power to affect the outcome of their lives. Citizens become participants in the governance of their communities and how they should be catered for, this is possible through redistribution of power from the state to citizens.

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[4] The Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC) provides support to community networks who mobilise themselves around resources and capacities. Communities in informal settlements that wants to mobilise themselves on land, evictions, informal settlement upgrading, basic services and citizenship. They also help mobilise women's collective through savings. https://sasdialliance.org.za/about-us/the-alliance/corc/

3.2.1 Does active citizenship deepen democracy?

Diamond & Morlino provide a fitting definition of good 'quality' democracy, good democracy accords citizens' ample freedom, political equality, and control over public policies and policymakers through the legitimate and lawful functioning of stable institutions. Such a regime will satisfy citizen expectations regarding governance (quality of results); it will allow citizens, associations, and communities to enjoy extensive liberty and political equality and it will provide a context in which the whole citizenry can judge the government's performance through mechanisms such as elections, while governmental institutions and officials hold one another legally and constitutionally accountable (Diamond & Morlino, 2005: 22). Participatory governance improves the quality of democracy; it encourages participation in the decision-making of government and encourages citizens to participate beyond voting. In this way citizens can make elected government officials accountable for the decisions they make, it creates an attitude of active citizenship.

According to Cornwall and Coelho (2007), participatory platforms that open up more effective channels of communication and negotiation between the state and citizens serve to enhance democracy, create new forms of citizenship and improve the effectiveness and public policy. Enabling citizens to engage directly in the local problem-solving activities and to make their demands directly to state bodies is believed to improve understanding, and contribute to improving the quality of definition and implementation of public programmes and policies. The local government along with citizens each have a role in creating active citizenship, the government is supposed to open platforms for communities like Ramaphosa to communicate directly to them, creating a direct link where the citizens have the opportunity to contribute to the problems that they are facing.

Residents require the education of their formal rights, that they can vote, organize, assemble, protest, and lobby for their interest; "with regards to the dimension of participation, democratic equality is high when citizens participate in the political process not only by voting but by joining political parties and civil society organizations, partaking in the discussion of public policy issues, communicating with and demanding accountability from elected representatives, monitoring the conduct of public office holders, engaging in public issues at local community level" (Diamond & Morlino, 2005: 11). Mobilizing is part of the process of participation, it is how other members of the community can be made aware, educated, and how strategies to approach matters that affect the community can be brought.

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The education of residents of Ramaphosa on their rights as citizens is as important as development, by educating the community it empowers them to organize and represent themselves. With the lack of education, they become vulnerable in spaces of power, "these spaces of power, in which forms of overt or tacit domination silence certain actors or keep them from entering at all. Yet these are also spaces of possibility, in which power takes a more productive and positive form: whether enabling citizens to transgress positions as passive recipients and assert their rights or in contestation over 'governmentality'" (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007: 11). When citizens are in spaces of power, where decisions or plans for their communities are made, they need to be able to be brave enough and express themselves.

The concept of democracy is about finding a balance between; the degree in which citizens can influence the governing policies of the country and the established democratic institutions that are present. Patrick Heller (2009) argues that the quality of a democracy is not just about its formal institutions, but also has to do with the capacity of its citizens (and especially the most subordinate) to engage in public life.

Democracy is an on-going process and according to Gaventa democracy is deepened through participation. Participation of citizens is crucial is deepening democracy, "While the civil society approach focuses on building civil society's role as an autonomous, countervailing power against the state, other views focus on deepening democratic engagement through the participation of citizens in the processes of governance with the state" (Gaventa, 2006; 15). Democracy is deepened through the participation of citizens; the more freedom to participate the citizens have the more democratic the country is. Participating goes far beyond elections, participation does not start with elections and it does not end with elections.

In the context of Ramaphosa, active citizenship is crucial in their efforts to get upgrading. The community has to play an active role in the recognition of their settlement. "Community participation is quite clearly not an unproblematic engagement of contestatory power relations. On the contrary, community participation is often driven by specific socio-economic goals that seek to ensure a 'better life for all', especially for those who have been historically marginalized during the successive colonial-cum-apartheid regimes in South Africa" (Williams, 2007: 199). Citizens are driven by the desire to create a better life for themselves, family members, and community, that's what drives their participation. It is seeing the government being inadequate to govern, being excluded from the decision-making process that communities seek to engage the government on their participation role.

3.3 'Invited' and 'invented' spaces of participation

In the process of building active citizenship, the citizen will engage spaces of participation that are e stablished by the government. These spaces seek to draw citizens into political deliberations, but they do not guarantee any positive outcome. These are called invited spaces of participation.

"Invited spaces typically look to draw local communities into processes of consultation, deliberation, and sometimes joint decision-making on key local issues. Perhaps just as important in understanding emergent local state-society relations is popular mobilization led 'from below' by civil society or local communities" (Piper and Nadvi, 2010: 213). It is important to note that invited spaces are not platforms for local government to use to inform the communities of the decisions that have been made. Invited spaces are platforms for consultation between local government and the community, it is a process of decision making, not informing of the decisions made. Invited spaces are part of the process of decision making, where there is mutual respect between the community and government.

The local government must draw the community into a process of deliberation, this is crucial in identifying the needs of the community and how the community and government can work together in addressing those needs.

The government needs to create these 'invited' spaces in places where citizens can have access to that is why these initiatives must be grassroots level. Directly where their citizens are, in this case, in informal settlements. Sending an invitation to residents of Ramaphosa for an Imbizo on housing and development, taking place in the municipality offices in Town will not have the same impact as hosting the Imbizo in a local community Hall near Ramaphosa. "Although Izimbizo are often addressed by high-level politicians and often draw crowds of thousands, they do not necessarily lead to meaningful deliberation of development challenges and policy options, nor the resolution of long-standing grievances" (Buccus, Hicks & Piper, 2008: 301). The spaces created by the government sometimes do not lead to the solutions, instead, government officials come with predetermined programs and table them as community success. "It allows the powerholders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit. It maintains the status quo" (Arnstein, 2010: 216).

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The 'invited' spaces by the government are a good starting point for a community, to create a relationship with government officials. But it should not end there, in most of the times' government officials dictate the terms of engagement in their spaces. A community should create their own spaces, where government officials can come as equal participants.

Given the history of South Africa, it is important to empower the disenfranchised communities. "The new constitutional order has placed a particular emphasis on constructing a framework of legislation and policies that give ordinary citizens a range of participatory mechanisms and rights" (Görgens & van Donk, 2011; 5). The South African constitution emphasizes participatory governance, particularly in local government. The national government restructured the local government into a fully operational sphere of government with participatory governance as their main objective.

However, recently invited spaces have been hijacked by opportunists, community leaders, private sector, and government officials. "Recent evidence reveals that the 'invited spaces' created by the state largely function in a technocratic manner that favour local elites and exclude the majority, while 'invented spaces' are increasingly resulting in assertive, occasionally violent, communities protests" (Görgens & van Donk, 2011; 5). There is a trend in the media of showing community protest as violent protestors who want everything handed to them on a plate. The focus is usually on the damage the protest has done on government property, traffic lights, burning of offices, and sometimes facilities (school, clinic, and fire & rescue) there to serve the community. The violence comes from a disconnect between government and citizens, if citizens were able to communicate directly with the government, there would not be a need to protest on the streets.

The act of violent protest comes from a history of disappointment, exclusion, and distrust. A protest is not the first option in any community that seeks development, but when they have exhausted all forms of diplomacy, they protest. Communities protest to get the attention of the state, to alert them of their living conditions. And in some cases communities protest as an act to reject the state, rejecting them on plans that they were never part of or plans that benefit the private sector instead of the inhabitants. "The insurgent civil society of the struggle against apartheid during the 1980s established violent practices as an integral element of civil society mobilization and struggles for citizenship, so it is not surprising that similar repertoires of violence are apparent in current insurgencies over citizenship and exclusion." (von Holdt, 2011: 7).

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For invited spaces' to be spaces of change, the state needs to be willing to share power. Give back power to the citizens, allow them to reject whatever plans that they see are not for them. give them the power to suggest what they think should happen in their community and give them the power to oversee that process. Power needs to be shared amongst all stakeholders in the process of participatory governance. "Human settlements development and informal settlement upgrading necessarily involve negotiating processes of priority setting and a wide range of trade-offs" (Görgens & van Donk, 2011; 6). Invited spaces are important spaces to set priorities and negotiate on those priorities. The government must be willing to trade-off its plans to the community, the community must be willing to negotiate with the government. The process is a give-and-take and both parties must be willing to into this process as partners.

3.3.1 'Invented spaces' of participation

According to Miraftab (2004) "Invented" spaces are those, also occupied by the grassroots and claimed by their collective action, but directly confronting the authorities and the status quo. Invented spaces are spaces of grassroots collective action; they are formed by citizens for citizens. "Grassroots mobilize within a wide range of spaces of citizenship, making use of what in a specific time and place is effective in presenting demands and gaining results. Such informal practices follow no blueprint but are situated in their specific contexts. Sometimes they do use formal channels (e.g., courts, laws, local councils); at other times their claims rely on informal and directly oppositional forms (e.g., rallies, demonstrations, and picketing)." (Miraftab, 2004: 3).

Active citizenship requires mobilization and participation outside of the spaces created by the government, which means community-initiated spaces of engagement. Invented spaces have a long history in the struggle for liberation in the country, "During the struggle period, and especially the 1980s, popular mobilization was channelled into explicitly political anti-apartheid activities. Hence grassroots organizations that emerged mostly in urban centers to secure basic public goods like education, healthcare, and housing united under an explicitly political formation, the United Democratic Front (UDF), which identified clearly with the ideology and organization of the banned and exiled African National Congress (ANC)" (Piper and Nadvi, 2010: 215). Under the apartheid regime popular mobilization was used as a measure

to oppose the old regime. Should residents of Ramaphosa apply the same methods would they be successful in their pursuit of informal settlement upgrading?

At the end of apartheid organizations that were at the forefront of popular mobilization allied with the ANC, with the hope that the ANC would address the needs of the poor. The organizations that created the culture of mass mobilization during apartheid become part of the government, "After the 1994 elections the movements that mobilized people were absorbed into the ANC government or partnership with government, and most held the view that government would deliver to the poor" (Piper and Nadvi, 2010: 215). For the government to respond to the needs of the poor there needs to be a resurrection of the culture of mass mobilization, with communities such as Ramaphosa mobilizing themselves along with other communities in informal settlements. Mobilizing themselves creating a network outside of government that is mobilized from below, to address the issue of informal settlements.

Mass mobilization of citizens in South Africa has remained the same, dominated by political parties. "Popular mobilization at the local level in South Africa remains dominated by political parties, despite new participatory institutions, although we are witnessing the creation of conditions for new and powerful forms of popular mobilization into the future" (Piper and Nadvi, 2010: 212).

Invented spaces are spaces created from below, by citizens, to address injustice, to mobilize themselves, and to have a unifying voice. Invented spaces are often formed when formal government structures have failed citizens, but in some cases, they are formed when citizens see the need to organize and mobilize their communities. Citizens recognize the challenge of dealing with hardship within a system that is slow in addressing their demands, so they form strategies outside of the formal to deal with a formal system that excludes them. "In addressing hardships, sometimes the grassroots focus on mechanisms of survival or coping strategies; at other times they turn to strategies of resistance, challenging the structural basis for their hardship" (Miraftab, 2004: 3).

It is worth noting that grassroots collective actions move in both spaces (invited & invented), according to Mirafta (2004). Grassroots collective actions move between them, and at different points in their struggles use different sets of tools, and spaces of mobilization. Furthermore, what distinguishes the two spaces is not necessarily their affiliations with a fixed set of groups, since grassroots mobilizations may move across or occupy both kinds of citizenship spaces.

Their distinction lies in the fact that actions taken by the poor within the invited spaces of citizenship, however innovative they may be, aim to cope with existing systems of hardship and are sanctioned by donors and government interventions. To advance their cause, citizens may use both spaces, but often the state and mainstream media has painted action in the invented spaces as being radical and extreme. While limiting any form of grassroots collective action in the invited space. "Grassroots (Collective action) may take advantage of both of these spaces of citizenship. But the mainstream media, and the state too, often obscure the wide range of grassroots strategies within the informal arena of politics, so that public discourse recognizes only a limited segment of these spaces of action. Their rigid separation of informal political actions implicitly establishes a bifurcated civil society: an "authentic" one associated with the invited citizenship spaces and an "outcast" and "extremist" one associated with the invented spaces" (Miraftab, 2004: 3).

The collective action of citizens can take place in any political arena that they see will bring about change. The aim is to improve participatory governance; various strategies can achieve that objective. When participatory governance is improved democracy is deepened, when democracy is deepened there are checks and balances mechanisms in place to make sure government accounts. That government upholds the constitution and protects the rights of its citizens. Participation is a key attribute of a democratic state and deepening democracy entails strengthening this attribute, not only in election season but on a constant basis. Deepening democracy goes beyond elections; by improving participatory governance and participatory governance is improved by building active citizenship.

3.4 Improving participatory governance

Participatory governance is the coming together of all stakeholders, the government, citizens, and civil society organizations. It is an idea that citizens should play a much more direct role in public decision-making or at least engage more deeply with political matters. "With regard to participation, democratic quality is high when we, in fact, observe extensive citizen participation not only through voting but in the life of political parties and civil society organizations" (Diamond & Morlino, 2005: 23). Participatory governance is empowering the previously disadvantaged, which in the context of South Africa is Black people, giving them the power to be part of the decision-making process of their communities.

The reason for using this theoretical framework is that in local government participatory governance is more practical; you have representatives who are close to the citizens and easily accessible. The representatives can be held accountable by the citizens for their decisions, lack of service delivery, lack of development in the community and corruption. In theory, local government is intended to be more democratic than the national or provincial government, through the introduction of a complementary system of 'participatory governance' that shapes decision-making between elections" (Barichievy, Piper & Parker, 2005: 374). In relating participatory governance to the research question, to what extent is the municipality opening spaces of participation for communities who are in an informal settlement (in this case Ramaphosa)?. To what extent are communities who are in an informal settlement creating spaces of participation within their own communities? Participatory governance does not apply to the government only; it starts in the communities. The communities mobilizing themselves and being active citizens.

The second reason for using participatory governance for this dissertation is based on the history of activism in South Africa. South African has a long history of activism; during the apartheid era, citizens mobilized themselves against the apartheid regime policies. "In each of these settings, there were long histories of civil society action, many of them coming out of previous struggles to create democracies. In Brazil, South Africa, the Philippines and Chile, struggles against repressive regimes had created a repertoire of activism, replete with skills, networks and tactics, on which these later campaigns could build" (Gaventa & McGee, 2010: 13). Participatory governance encourages citizens to be active in the new democracy, engaging government officials on policymaking. The citizens being part of the decision-making process strengthens the democracy of the country.

South Africa holds general elections to demonstrate and strengthen their level of democracy, citizens are encouraged to participate in choosing a political organization that will represent their interest. Participatory governance is intended to involve citizens in the political decision making beyond elections, "the project is one of extending the scope of citizen involvement from choosing representatives through elections, who in turn make policies, to a more substantive role, which engages citizens throughout the policy-making process from defining priorities, to shaping policy proposals, to monitoring implementation" (Gaventa & McGee, 2010: 7). The role of citizens in governance is very important, the role of citizens goes beyond electing representatives; the citizens have to work with the elected representatives to define what their priorities are, and work towards them with a government.

The role of creating policies and implementing them was previously for politicians and the elites of society, the policies did not favour the poor and they were not considered in the decision-making process of government. "National policy was the province of elites – government officials, technocrats or experts with little concern for or focus on public involvement. Increasingly that paradigm has been also challenged, as broader, more inclusive understandings of democracy and governance have come to the fore" (Gaventa & McGee, 2010: 8). The system of governance is being challenged, citizens are learning about different ways they can be part of the decision-making process, and have a much more active role in the governance.

A good example of that is the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC). The TAC is an HIV/AIDS organization responsible for forcing the government to begin making antiretroviral drugs available for all South Africans. "The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) is justifiably seen as the clearest evidence thus far that citizen action can change policy in the new South African democracy" (Friedman, 2010:44). The TAC campaign was based on activism; mobilizing themselves on a large scale and have all different forms of protest. The campaign eventually got the attention of government officials and other civil society organizations locally and internationally. The aim was to influence the policy of government in the country on HIV/AIDS treatment in the country. In applying the same methods to Ramaphosa as a community; they do not have to influence government policy. They do not have to go that far, but rather influence the government to apply their policies in their community.

The same process happens at local government, citizens elect political organization or individuals who would best represent their interest and govern over them. It is a democratic system that is there for accountability, fairness and transparency. The dissertation will focus on local government, as it is the closest sphere of government closest to the people. Based on its close proximity, one would think that the local government is the sphere that opens opportunities for engagement with citizens it governs.

In theory, local government is supposed to be "the implicit casual mechanism consists in giving a voice to groups who have traditionally been marginalised, encourage participation, negotiation and cooperation between various social segments, thereby increasing the trust and coordination, which in turn contributes to the promotion of development projects that could coincide with their needs and interest" (Thompson & Tapscott, 2010: 189). Participatory governance as a concept promotes active citizenship and encourages citizens to engage

government on matters that concern the community. In the apartheid era, black people, in general, were marginalised and did not have a voice under the apartheid regime. In the post-apartheid era; poor people are the marginalised.

Participatory governance encourages its inclusion in decision making in the country. "Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of a democracy-a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone" (Arnstein, 2010: 216). Citizens are encouraged to participate in the governance of the community until they really participate. Active citizenship makes the decision-making process much more democratic; citizens play a role in the decision making of their own demands. This makes the decision made by the government more inclusive as citizens were part of the decisions, creating an environment of quality democracy, where citizens have a voice.

 Citizens must mobilize and organize themselves in their communities and negotiate with the government, creating a level of good cooperation. Since local government is the closest sphere to the people it 'should' be the most democratic sphere of government, in comparison to national and provincial government; local government is intended to involve citizens in the decision making more than national or provincial government, through the introduction of a complementary system of 'participatory governance' that shapes decision-making between elections" (Barichievy, Piper & Parker, 2005: 374). Participatory governance does not wait or rely on elections to hold government accountable; state agents are held accountable because they are within the reach of citizens.

Participatory governance improves the quality of democracy; it encourages participation in the decision-making of government and encourages citizens to participate beyond voting. In this way citizens are able to make elected government officials accountable for the decisions they make, it creates an attitude of active citizenship.

According to Cornwall and Coelho (2007), participatory platforms that open up more effective channels of communication and negotiation between the state and citizens serve to enhance democracy, create new forms of citizenship and improve the effectiveness and public policy. Enabling citizens to engage directly in the local problem-solving activities and to make their demands directly to state bodies is believed to improve understanding and contribute to improving the quality of definition and implementation of public programmes and policies. The local government along with citizens each have a role in creating active citizenship, the government is supposed to open platforms for communities like Ramaphosa to communicate

directly to them, creating a direct link where the citizens have opportunity to contribute to the problems that they are facing.

3.5 Citizen participation: from theory to action

Participatory governance depends on multiple stakeholders for it to be a success, one of the key stakeholders are the citizens. Citizens must play a key role in their government, but more importantly, they must be given the opportunity or platform to play their role. Citizen participation is very key in upgrading informal settlements; the citizens know their struggle better than anyone else. So in defining citizen participation, I will quote Arnstein (2010); "It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parcelled out". This means changing the system that did not include, benefit and consider those that have-not, so they could benefit.

It is important that citizens are afforded the opportunity to be in positions of power, to be able to make decisions, decisions that will change their living conditions or be part of the planning process. What usually frustrates citizens is being included in spaces of power but as mere spectators, watching states officials make plans without their input. At times, the government invite citizens into spaces of power, without redistributing the power amongst government and the citizens. "There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process" (Arnstein, 2010: 216). Citizens are often invited into spaces of power to participate in decisions that have already been made, this is where I think the clash between government and communities happen.

Citizens want the power to make decisions about their communities, and not be passengers in the process. "It allows the powerholders to claim that all sides were considered but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit. It maintains the status quo" (Arnstein, 2010: 216). When communities are not given the power to make decisions about their community nothing changes, there is no redistribution of power, there is no full participation without power.

Citizens are usually informed and consulted by experts from the government of what is going to happen in their community, at times they are asked to express their thoughts on what they have been informed. This opportunity gives the community a voice, they have a chance to hear and be hard, "But under these conditions, they lack the power to ensure that their views will be heeded by the powerful when participation is restricted to these levels, there is no follow-through, no "muscle," hence no assurance of changing the status quo" (Arnstein, 2010: 217). From personal observation I have noticed that the more government excludes citizens from the power of participating in the decision-making, the more frustrated the community get. Which often leads to violent protest, burning and vandalizing of property. Such protest breaks the relationship between government and the community. In the media platforms communities who take part in the protest, that normally turn violent, those communities are always vilified. The spotlight is always on the protest, ignoring the process of the community deciding to take part in the protest.

Normally when the government wants to implement a programme of upgrading, government officials ask the community to elect/select a committee, this committee will oversee the process of the upgrading. The committee is selected in the community, a good example of this is the Breaking New Ground (BNG) programme in Delft, Cape Town. In the programme beneficiaries selected representatives that will oversee the programme and that will monitor the process of awarding tenders. "In the name of citizen participation, people are placed on rubberstamp advisory committees or advisory boards for the express purpose of "educating" them or engineering their support" (Arnstein, 2010: 218). Genuine citizen participation starts long before the programme is implemented, citizens have to be part of the planning of the programme. The reason behind participatory governance is so normal citizens should have power; power to make decisions that will be implemented by the government.

The inviting of citizens into meetings, consulting them on the matter that concerns their community is one of the steps that could lead to participation. A window of communication is opened, where citizens can express their opinions on how things ought to be done. But if the consultation does not lead to transferring or redistribution of power with the citizens, then that is not opening spaces of participation." Inviting citizens' opinions, like informing them, can be a legitimate step toward their full participation. But if consulting them is not combined with other modes of participation, this rung of the ladder is still a sham since it offers no assurance that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account" (Arnstein, 2010: 219). There is a habit from government departments of 'going through the motion', involving citizens to

participate in participating. Government involving citizens just to tick the boxes and not actually involve citizens. "People are primarily perceived as statistical abstractions, and participation is measured by how many come to meetings, take brochures home, or answer a questionnaire. What citizens achieve in all this activity is that they have participated in participation. And what power holders achieve is the evidence that they have gone through the required motions of involving 'those people'" (Arnstein, 2010: 219).

When citizen participation is genuine government forms a partnership with the community they come from, they are equals in the partnership and part of the planning process. "They agree to share planning and decision-making responsibilities through such structures as joint policy boards, planning committees and mechanisms for resolving impasses" (Arnstein, 2010: 221).

3.6 Balance of power

The idea of power is very broad and complex; in the context of the study, Political scientist, Max Webber provides the fitting definition of what power is. "Power is the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behaviour of another person's" (Galbraith, 1983:2). Power is having the ability to make someone or a group do something they would not normally do. It is having control over someone or a group; in the context of the research, this is the stage citizens want to find themselves in. Having the power to make government act on issues they have neglected that are of interest to citizens. `This almost certainly is a common perception; someone or some group is imposing its will and purpose or purposes on others, including on those who are reluctant or adverse" (Galbraith, 1983:2). The local government does impose its purpose on communities, based on its budget without consulting with residents.

What often happens to communities is that they are informed and consulted by the government on plans and decisions that have already been made. This gives citizens a false illusion of power, there is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process (Arnstein, 1969;216). In applying this to the study, the study will examine if the community of Ramaphosa was able to gain power and authority over upgrading in their community?

 It makes it easy for the government to keep the status quo, by just informing citizens of the decisions that have been made, that way they can justify their actions and say citizens took part in the decision-making process. The real power is when citizens are partners along with the government; in a position where their input is considered the same way as public officials.

The idea is to have a redistribution of power, government empowering citizens by redistribution power between the state and its citizens. "It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parcelled out" (Arnstein, 1969;216). One of the negative outcomes of participatory governance is patronage; political figures in prominent political organizations in the country are aware that their proximity to power makes them powerful individuals. "Rather than being held accountable by the electorate based on their capacity to deliver on their promises of providing public goods such as health and education in an impersonal fashion through the formal political domain,

Political leaders are said to derive support and legitimacy by distributing patronage through informal, deeply personalized patron-client networks built upon mutual expectations of reciprocity" (Breresford, 2015:227). This also applies in grassroots mobilization and activism. Ramaphosa is a new community, growing each day and so are the dynamics of the community, including the dynamics of leadership (who leads, why and their agendas). The study will examine the balance of power between the leadership structure in the community and between the leadership and the residents. Paying particular attention to the decision making process, and who has power in this process.

Political leaders use the power than they are supposed to share with citizens to keep them dependent on them. Citizens are aware that these individuals have some sort of political power and authority and are loyal to them based on what they can benefit them. This creates a power dynamic where citizens are voting or electing these leaders based on what they had promised to do for them in return.

The local government is the closest sphere of government to the people; it is at this sphere of government where citizens are encouraged to participate in the political decision-making process. But it is also the sphere of government where power is abused the most, ward councillors, ward committee and street committees are voted in by members of their own community. In most cases, the people that contest these positions represent certain political organizations and have different plans from the community. "In South Africa, there is growing evidence of informal patronage-based political networks working in parallel with, and sometimes in opposition to, the impersonal political institutions of the state" (Breresford,

2015:228). This informal patronage can be seen in informal settlements, where leaders use their power in the community for their personal gain or for the benefit of their political organization.

Participatory governance requires mobilizing from below, it has to start from the people and that is what makes it more effective. But patronage can emerge from those spaces, a very common practice is the "vote for food parcels" political organization rewarding poor citizens with food parcels should they vote for them. "Political patronage can manifest itself in different forms depending on the degree of personalization and competition between different patronage networks and structures, and the interaction between the two" (Dawson, 2014:522). Patronage limits the extent to which citizens can have the power to take control; take control of the governance of their community, the power to negotiate with the state and the power to be able to make effective decisions in the community. It undermines the role of citizens to mere desperate bystanders who need help from the state, organizations and public figures. Rather than, empowering citizens to be able to make a meaningful contribution in their communities.

3.7. Research framework: from theory to the real world

In any research project forming a theoretical framework is imperative; it lays the foundation of the research and gives the research direction. The direction in a sense of what to look for in the field that reflects the theoretical framework. In any social science research theory is important in understanding the specific phenomenon. This research is no exception; the theoretical framework of participatory governance is at the core of the research. Pointing to the direction the research takes. Because participatory governance as a theory is very broad and complex; the theory is broken down to be able to examine it at a much deeper depth.

The theory is broken into small sub-theory that can be examined in the field to test the actual theory of participatory governance. The first sub-theory is active citizenship; active citizenship on its own is very vast and complex. But it is a by-product of participatory governance and will be used in the following way in the research. Through interviews and empirical observation; to what extent are the residents of Ramaphosa active citizens in their community? What I mean by the term active citizenship is, what are the political matters that have to do with governance are the residents involved in. Do they attend community meetings? Are they involved in a protest against the state? Or to seek out the state? Active citizenship takes different forms, depending on the context. Ramaphosa being a new settlement; what role did the residents play

in the formation of the community? These are the different questions relating to the theory that will be examined in the fieldwork.

As mentioned in the theoretical framework chapter, the theory operates in a cycle. Within the cycle there are connections between each stage, for example, participatory governance encourages active citizenship. When citizens are active they create their platforms to mobilize themselves and get organized. That is when citizens invent their own spaces, they create spaces to deliberate matters that are of concern to them. Relating this to Ramaphosa; the research will examine the spaces within the community that residents have invented for their own mobilization and how to organize the community better. As much as it does not happen often; there are times when the government invites citizens into spaces of participation. Where citizens can be part of the decision-making process of their communities. The reason why I say it does not happen often is because of the level of protest and frustration from communities. Communities protest because they are left out of the decision-making process, the government ignores them during the entire planning process, that is if the community is lucky enough to get a project from the government.

One of the themes that will be particularly closely examined is the spaces of participation created by the activism of the community and how those spaces have made an impact in the community on their pursuit for upgrading. In doing so I will seek to answer these questions, are there spaces of participation invented by the community of Ramaphosa? If there is, how does this spaces function ? The next question will be on invited spaces; since its establishment has the local government invited the leaders or the residents of Ramaphosa to a meeting? If so, what are the changes that took place since that meeting. At this phase I will be examining the spaces created by both the community of Ramaphosa and the local government. In terms of the side of the community, are there spaces that they have claimed? And how has that help their bid for upgrading in their community? As the residents of Ramaphosa what spaces that belong to government have they claimed? This is in line with the theory of active citizenship, examine the spaces in which citizens participate and how they do it.

The next theme, participatory governance is examined through asking questions of governance in Ramaphosa. The first question would be assessing the relationship between the residents of Ramaphosa and local government, which is the city.

One of the key elements of activism and engaging the state is knowledge. The saying "knowledge is power" is no understatement when it comes to informal settlement upgrading.

To what level is the community and leadership of Ramaphosa informed about the policies and process of informal settlement upgrading? It is a long process that has seen some communities wait for years with very little development. The knowledge would enable the community to approach the government in a certain way, negotiate with the government in a way that is beneficial to the community. This theme will be examined based on what strategies the community of Ramaphosa have used to engage government and what results have yielded those strategies. What are the plans of the community going forward in terms of engaging local government? The theme explores ideas of active citizenship, for these engagements to take place the community must mobilize itself and become active participants in political engagements.

The themes are crucial in the study as they are drawn from the theory. The theory is the lens through which the study is examined. The themes are questions that test if the theory is working in Ramaphosa, and if it is working, how it relates to the theory of participatory governance. The intention of the study is to examine if through participatory governance the community of Ramaphosa can upgrade their informal settlement. So these themes look at features of participatory governance within the community of Ramaphosa in order to be able to answer the research question.

Chapter Four: Land invasion, Governance and Settlement Upgrading in Ramaphosa

This chapter presents the research findings on research conducted in Ramaphosa informal settlement. The chapter presents the findings in their raw form, by narrating the sequence of events in Ramaphosa. The study is looking at the period of February 2018 - April 2020; February 2018 being significant because the land invasion took place in that period. Furthermore, this chapter examines the 'upgrading' in Ramaphosa, what has been upgraded and the process of upgrading.

This chapter is divided into different sections, the invasion of the land being the first, followed by the creation of Ramaohosa. I then dive deeper into the reasons behind land invasion, particularly Ramaphosa, and look at the leadership structure of Ramaphosa.

4.1. Land invasions in Cape Town

In recent years there has been a sharp increase in land invasions in Cape Town, particularly in the cape flats[5]. Given the history of South Africa, the issue around land and access to land has been a very sensitive subject. It is an issue of social conflict and political division, with prominent Member of Parliament and leader of Economic Freedom Fighter (EFF), Julius Malema, calling on South Africans to occupy the land. "Our people must continue to occupy the land. This land belongs to us and if the [African National Congress] ANC wants to kill our people for rightfully claiming their land, do so." (IOL, 2018). This was followed by a series of land invasions around the country.

Mr. Julius Malema made this state in Parliament in the context of the Land of expropriation without compensation Bill debate. This would see section 25 of the constitution be amended to allow the state to make it possible for the state to expropriate land in the public interest without compensation. Again, given the history of South Africa which has resulted in a significantly skewed pattern of access to scarce resources in favour of a wealthy racial minority (Barry, Dewar, Whittal & Muzondo, 2007). The above sequence of events is crucial in examining land

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[5] The term Cape Flats refers to well, a flat, sandy stretch of land which is located on the outskirts of the city of Cape Town. It has been accurately described as the "dumping ground of apartheid" and it is here that people of colour (non-whites in "old South Africa" language) were relocated to in terms of the infamous Group Areas Act.

invasions in South Africa, particularly in Cape Town. However, this is not to suggest that land invasion did not occur before these events took place.

The point I am putting across is that these two events might have fuelled the wave of land invasions. In the same year (2018) that Ramaphsa was established, the Democratic Alliance Chief Whip in the Western Cape legislature Mark Wiley reported that "We have had 87 land invasions outside the metro and (inside the metro) 176 land invasions, that's already increased the number of times since this report was generated" (EWN, 2018).

Land and shelter are emotive issues in South Africa, and access to these has the potential to create social clashes amongst citizens, communities and the state (Barry, Dewar, Whittal & Muzondo, 2007). The access to land and shelter in South Africa is deeply rooted in our segregated past as a nation. "It is therefore important that the nature of these conflicts be understood and that the conflicts themselves be monitored, and where possible, resolved" (Barry, Dewar, Whittal & Muzondo,172: 2007). Like social clashes between residents of Hazelden, Siyahla vs Ramaphosa residents. The two communities (Siyahlala & Hazeldene) are against the idea of Ramaphosa existing (see Figure 1).

4.2. The creation of Ramaphosa

The invasion of land that came to be known as Ramaphosa was not surprising as the land had been vacant for years. There were rumors that the land is in a waiting process for a project that will see Siyahlala residents moved there while their land is being serviced (installing services). Siyahlala is an informal settlement that is on the opposite side of the road to Ramaphosa. There had been many attempts to invade the land (Ramaphosa) by mostly homeless people. But their attempts were unsuccessful, with law enforcement removing their material from the land in each attempt.

In conducting the interviews in the community I was fortunate enough to interview the "founding group" of Ramaphosa. This was a group of seven individuals who were staying in the surrounding informal settlements. They were all renting backyard shacks. The seven individuals take the same public transport (train) going to work, and on their way to the train station (which is not far from Ramaphosa) they would walk past this vacant piece of land. Until one day one of them came with a suggestion to occupy the land and mobilize other people like them, who struggle to pay for rent, and who constantly have to pay high electricity fees to their landlords, and are treated badly by their landlords (Masixole, 2018).

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The invasion started in February (2018) after a meeting that was mobilized by the seven individuals who had an interest in staying on the land. The land invasion started on the 16th of February 2018. The first shacks were set up and then demolished by the Anti-Land Invasion Unit, known as the 'Red Ants'. The unit was established in 2009 by the City of Cape Town in an effort to stop people from illegally attempting to occupy land. The unit is part of the law enforcement agency in the City of Cape Town, and has received criticism in the manner in which they evict residents. This was a back and forth process, where people would continue to set up their shacks after they have been demolished. One of the leaders, John (ref date), described the process: "they (Law enforcements Agents) would take down the shack and leave with the material, and we would go fetch the material again and start building afresh".

The image below is an aerial Google maps image of the land that came to be known as Ramaphosa. The image was taken before the land invasion; there are no structures on the land. However, the land is surrounded by a number of communities, such as; Siyahlala, Hazeledene and Gugulethu. From the aerial photograph you can see footpaths, and that is a result of people using the land as shortcut to the train station, bus stop and to catch taxis known as "Amaphela" along the main road.
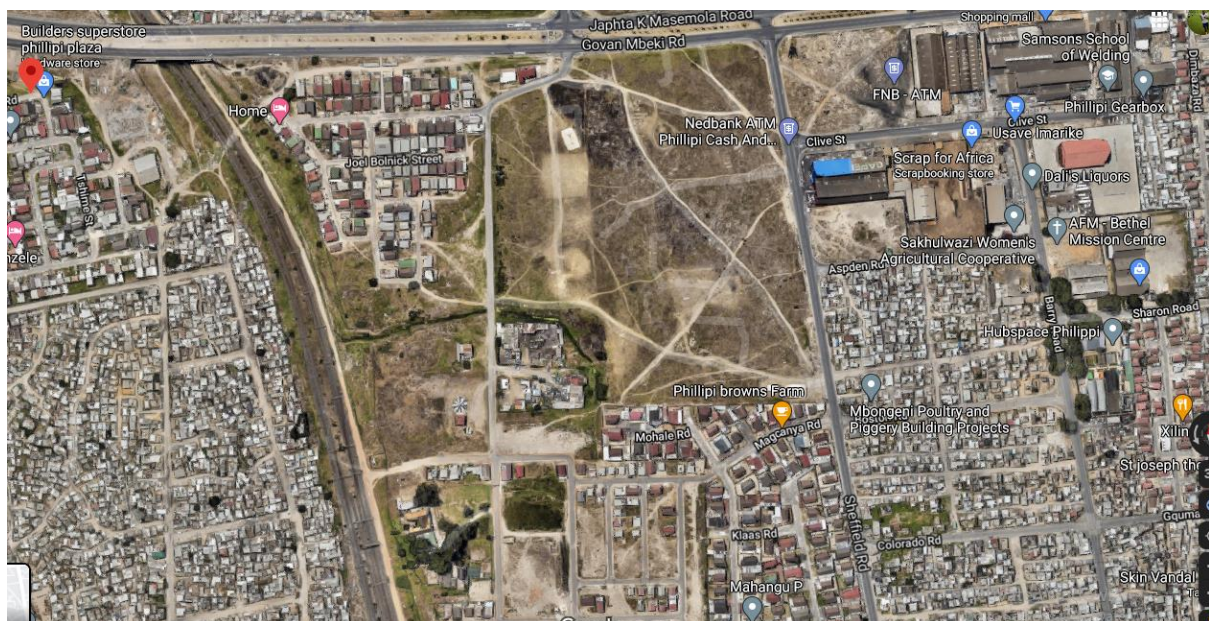

Figure 1: the location of the land before it was invaded. – Google Maps

In the image above there is a patch of land right next to Browns farm in Phillipi, the land stretches up to Goven Mbeki Rd. There is also a patch of land right next to the FNB ATM. That is the land that was invaded by residents, and became Ramaphosa.

In the process of the invasion the number of people taking part in the invasion increased at a rapid rate, more than +300 people were involved. People coming from neighbouring informal settlements, backyard renters, and people who were mobilized by the seven individuals. The word of vacant land being invaded quickly spread to other townships like Delft, Khayelitsha, Nyanga, Gugulethu, and Samora. As mentioned, the process of invading the land was planned and there is evidence that supports that statement. One of the Big Five members, (Masixole, 2018), said: "We had a meeting, and decided that we were going to invade this land". Certain things suggested that details of how to invade the land were discussed in the meeting. Mandla, (2018), reflects on the mobilization strategy they applied. "We planned that people must come in numbers and build their houses here because it was going to be impossible to break down large numbers of houses where people brought their furniture and material. People must bring kids so that it can be seen that we are serious about this place. I brought my kid here, I was breastfeeding in this place", said one of the leaders in Ramaphosa.

The residents of Ramaphosa knew that if they brought their furniture and families, it would be hard for law enforcement agents to evict them. This is all an attempt to get the state to leave them in 'peace' and they knew the invasion of the land would get media coverage. With the land being close to a major road in Cape Town, Lansdown road, residents knew this would attract a lot of attention from media and organizations.

 The residents of Ramaphosa were fully aware of what they were doing was illegal and that during the process of the invasion some might get arrested. Anele (2018) described the situation, "there was violence because this was not legal, so the police and law enforcement got involved to come to remove us here. So after that, there was a Toyitoyi (protest), protesting to stay here forcefully and that is where the law enforcement agents took action" . The land that was being invaded was private, the owners of the land did not want the people staying on their land and after the land had been invaded visited the land and spoke to some of the leaders of the community that had made their land their own home.

 According to John, the owners of the land were two white South Africans who are living overseas, who were willing to sell the land to the City. At that point, the matter was on-going, as the owners of the land had taken the matter to court. They opened a case against the community, requesting occupiers to be evicted from the land. "After people have invaded the land, and set up their shacks; two white males came and said that this was their land. Their father/grandfather left them the land, although they have never been here. They claimed that

this land is theirs; so on the 14th of this month (August) we were at the high court, for this land that we invaded" (John, 2018).

The residents of Ramaphosa were determined to remain on the land after being evicted numerous times by law enforcement, "We would put money together, hire a truck and go fetch our material back and build (shacks) them up again. They would last one or two days then the law enforcement would come to take them down again" (Masixole, 2018). The majority of people that I interviewed expressed their motivation during the process of 'fighting for Ramaphosa' and the most common motivation was "The only thing I don't want is moving into a place where I will have to pay rent, here I stay without paying a single cent. I do not have electricity, I do not have water, but here it is better because there is no money I will pay for rent" (John, 2018). The role played by the leaders in the invasion was crucial, they were at the forefront of the protest and planning of the invasion. During the invasion, some of the leaders were arrested and some were targeted by law enforcement.

4.2.1. What are land invasions driven by? A closer look into the invasion of Ramaphosa.

In conducting interviews in Ramaphosa there was one thing that stood out; that most of the residents were backyard renters before moving to Ramaphosa. Out of 10, 8 residents were renting within the Phillipi area. When the invasion happened, for many this was an opportunity to have their own home. When looking at the motive behind this particular land invasion, much of it is driven by economic suffering. Residents not being able to meet the expenses of the informal renting sector. One of the leaders, (Mandla, 2018), mentioned that "here I have my place, I do not have to pay rent to anyone. I do not have to pay for electricity to anyone". The location of Ramaphosa is also convenient; Ramaphosa is situated near the train station. For those who commute to work there is no need to take a taxi to the station.

However, this is not to suggest that every land invasion in Cape Town is driven by economic reasons or the residents of Ramaphosa only invaded the land for economic means. But to suggest, based on the research conducted in the community, economic means what the common response is. One of the reasons why the invasion gained so many numbers in a short period is that most people were renting in nearby settlements such as Siyahlala. A walking distance from Ramaphosa, this made it easier for residents to move their furniture and valuables to Ramaphosa.

When the leaders of Ramaphosa were mobilizing citizens for the invasion they encouraged them to bring their furniture, valuables, and families, they were aware of the difficulty that this may cause for the state. With land invasions in Cape Town and, around the country under the spotlight and how residents are being evicted under public and legal scrutiny.

The coverage of the Land invasions in Cape Town and other parts of the country have been sorely focused on the implication these land invasions have on the economy and private land ownership. Western Cape government Human Settlements MEC Tertius Simmers' spokesperson, Marcellino Martin, was cited by IOL (2021) saying that "between July 2020 and the end of last week there had been 1 239 attempted land invasions of state-owned land". Martin said this reduction in land invasions was due to proactive steps taken to protect land and properties which had cost the provincial government R400 million in the last financial year, R40m which has already been spent since the beginning of the current financial year.

This neglects the fact that one of the reasons behind land invasions is that citizens are excluded from the economy and development. Citizens have to resort to invading land illegally, fully aware that they may face criminal charges or physical harm. The narrative in the news and media outlets does not reflect the perspective of communities in land invasion cases.

In conducting interviews in Ramaphosa and interacting with the leadership structure, there was one apparent factor; the invasion is driven by neglect from the state. After 26 years of democracy, their lives have not changed for the better and they see no chance of development coming for them in the near future. Zusiphe (date) mentioned she lived in a TRA (Temporary Relocation Area) for years, before she got married and moved to Phillipi. The land invasions are a way to force the state to act and provide them with the houses that they had promised them.

The debate around land invasions is often centred on how these invasions infringe upon property laws in the country and in this manner the plight of the poor and disenfranchised is ignored, instead of looking at the land invasions as an indication of how much things have gotten worse and the state failing at bringing services to the poor. In conducting the interviews one of my opening questions was to ask interviewees where they lived before coming to Ramaphosa and, 13 out 15 respondents lived in other settlements around Cape Town. Moving from settlement to settlement in hope of finding a permanent home.

4.3   The Big Five: Leadership in Ramaphosa

The leadership structure of Ramaphosa was formed around the seven who initiated the invasion. The leadership in the community was made up of 16 members, members were selected based on their leadership qualities. Usually, individuals who stood out; those who were vocal during meetings, were willing to act violently against state agents, were known to be involved in political parties, and those who were mostly present and at the forefront of everything. The leadership structure called itself "The big five". When I asked one of the leaders where the name derives from because they are sixteen members and not five, Zusiphe explained that the name is taken from the ANC; the ANC calls its National Executive Committee (NEC), the top six. The NEC is the chief executive organ of the ANC and oversees the day-to-day responsibility of the political party. Like the ANC NEC, the Big Five was responsible for the day-to-day safety, events, and decisions of Ramaphosa.

The Big Five was established during the invasion and was responsible for the allocation of land to residents. Initially, each resident was allocated a piece of land of a size of 10x10 meters but when more and more people started coming in the size of the land decreased from 10x10M to 7x7M and finally to 5x5M. The process of getting a piece of land was fairly easy, residents had to bring their building material. Register with the Big Five members, they would be allocated a piece of land, they would have to mark it with four (or more) poles or rocks, to indicate where the boundaries of their land were.

Figure 2; Aerial image of Ramaphosa as a community – Google Maps

Ramaphosa changed the landscape of Browns Farm, Phillipi, where there was a piece of land to use for recreation; children would normally play football. Before the land was invaded there

was a large tent, the tent was used as a church by local residents. All of that changed when the land was invaded, the land was turned into this vibrant community of people who came from various settlements in search of a place of their own.

From the image above (figure 2) you can see how that piece of land has been transformed into a community. Although they are not visible in the above image, Ramaphosa has Spaza shops (mini-grocery shops), there are people selling fruit and vegetables, there are people selling braai meat. Within a short space of time (6 months), Ramaphosa was a community with features of a community that has been around for years. The community had a leadership structure that was determined to keep crime out of the community. As a result they did not want any individual who is going to sell alcohol in the community, according to the leadership committee, alcohol is the main cause of crime.

Some of the members in the Big Five belong to political parties of their own, such as the ANC and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). But according to Zusiphe, plitical affiliation is put aside, and their main concern is Ramaphosa and making sure that the residents get the development they deserve. Through observation and interviews with some of the residents in the community, I noticed a big difference between plot (land) sizes between residents and members of the Big Five. Members of the big five had bigger plots compared to other residents, with some leaders having more than one house and having multiple houses in one plot. When asking one of the Big Five members why the plots are not the same size (above 10x10M), her response was "No, it is people who do not have power. As you can see this hand (lifts her hand) you see these fingers are not equal, so it is like that as people, we are not equal" – Zizipho. The difference between the houses from a normal resident and a member of the Big Five was clear, you would not need a measuring tape. Houses of the Big Five members had two to three bedrooms, a lounge, and a kitchen. While most residents were living in a single or two-room house.

As mentioned, the Big Five was made of 16 individuals and through doing interviews with some of the members of the leadership structure I found out that some of the Big Five members do not live in Ramaphosa, but rather have business interests in the community. They have their own homes close to Ramaphosa where they actually live and have houses in the community as well. One of the residents confirmed that "there are a lot of people/families who have multiple pieces of land" (Sandiswa, 2018). When residents were arriving in their numbers in Ramaphosa some were desperate for land and would pay for a piece of land. There were cases where people

who were in the Eastern Cape could ask someone to keep a piece of land for them until they arrived in Cape Town in exchange for R4000.

Some of the members of the Big Five were heavily involved in the selling of land; on the 24th of March (2019) one of the founding members of Ramaphosa and part of the Big Five was shot and killed in Ramaphosa. This leader was at the forefront during the 'struggle' for Ramaphosa and was one of the first leaders I interviewed when I first started researching the community. The leader did not live in Ramaphosa but had a house there, he would usually come to check on.

Ramaphosa has established the community along with its leadership structure and set ground rules for the community. One of them was that no foreigners were allowed in the community, no foreigner is allowed to operate their business in the community. The only people allowed to operate businesses in the community were South African citizens. "There are people who we said we do not want here in Ramaphosa, people from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Somalia (foreign nationals). Because we did not see them when we were protesting with us, they are only appearing now. They only want to come set up their business here, where we will see drugs being sold. We do not want them here; people from Lesotho are our brothers. There are a lot of them here, they were with us in the fight for this place" (Mandla, 2018).

The problem with banning foreign nationals is that some of the Big Five members got greedy and sold the land to foreign nationals. The leader that was shot on the 24th of March (2019) was the same leader that allegedly sold land to a Somali national. A few days after the death of the leader, residents came to the Big Five asking for their money back, money that they had paid to the slain leader in exchange for land. However, there are members of the Big Five that have the interest of the community at heart and have united the community into one common goal and that's development'.

4.4. "We only want development" – Ramaphosa's efforts for Upgrading

While researching Ramaphosa both residents and the leadership structure made it clear that they want to upgrade their community. The Big Five members made it clear that should the City of Cape Town, which is the local government, not respond to their demands or try to negotiate with them, they will damage public property. They will start with the traffic lights at Fezeka Road, Govan Mbeki Rd, and the Fire station (down the road from the community) and make it impossible to drive through that road.

The community would have regular meetings, twice a week. One meeting in the middle of the week and one meeting Sunday to accommodate those who might have missed the meeting during the week due to work commitments. The meeting was used as a way to mobilize the community for development in the community. The meeting is used to discuss various internal community dynamics, such as theft and crime, loud music, and giving direction from the leadership.

Because the community is on unserviced land with no municipal services the Big Five and residents had to come with short-term solutions for the problem of no water, toilets, and electricity. One of the solutions was "There are no facilities in place, but as residents to put R20 together and connect our tap for running water" (Zusiphe, 2019). Each household in the community contributed R20 to buy pipes to connect to the nearest water source. Although this is illegal, it is one of the strategies that the community has come up with to gain access to services.

Figure 3: Water taps installed by the community

The Big Five with the help of the ward councilor, Mr N E Mgolombane, in Phillipi wrote to the City of Cape Town asking the City to upgrade the community, asking for services that would improve their lives and make it more dignified. As they did not have toilets to relieve themselves and had to go to the nearest open field. But because the land that the community invaded and settled is private and the matter is still pending in court. The city could not install permanent services on the land, as that could get the city in trouble with the owners of the land.

In anticipation of upgrading the residents of Ramaphosa put money together to buy marking spray and delegated people within the community to count the number of households in the community. The community was split into sections from A – H, with each section counted, owner registered, and given a house number. The number would start with the alphabet of the section, for example, A123, this is an effort by the community to know how many households are there in the community and to have some sort of database for the officials.

The idea of numbering the houses is a way for the leadership committee to know how many households they represent to the local government. "This is done by the leadership so they can know how many people they represent when talking to the City" (John, 2019). This was also done in an attempt to make the community much more organized, the leadership structure wanted to know who the people living in the community are. This was creating a register, when they were collecting the R20 for water-tap this made it easy to identify the houses that paid the amount.

Figure 3: One of the houses marked by the residents, with a marking spray.

4.5. Is the tide turning? Ramaphosa gets services.

In all the efforts for development in their community, residents of Ramaphosa were involved, with the Big Five giving directions. The community pursued upgrading through various

avenues; there was the legal route. Through the Big Five, the community hired a lawyer (Mr Thwalo), to represent them in court. The mandate was for the City to buy the land for the community, once the City has bought the land they have to provide services (Water, toilets and sanitation). Each household in Ramaphosa had to contribute R100 towards paying the legal fees. There was a book with each household number to check who has paid their R100 towards the legal fees. The lawyer used the list to show the number of people he represented.

When it was time to go to court for the case against the owners of the land that they occupied, the residents would come in their numbers to hear the court proceedings. During the process of the research, I never attended the community meetings based on the time they would start. But speaking to the residents about the meetings, they emphasized the importance of attending these meetings, as you could not miss out, there was a sense of urgency. The meeting could be about being evicted or the meeting could be about upgrading, so the meeting was really important for a concerned resident. Plus, at each meeting there was a register taken, and each household had to send someone to sign the attendance register. All of this created a culture of participation in the community, the residents did not rely on only the Big Five but were with them on the journey.

When the City did not respond to the letter the community leadership wrote to them, the community mobilized itself and marched to the offices of the city demanding a response. The march was followed by a series of protests where the public property was damaged.

A few months went past and the MEC of the Department of Human Settlements met with Zusiphe, one of the key Big Five members near Ramaphosa and assured her that upgrading is coming to Ramaphosa. The community has to be patient, as this process can take time. A few weeks past and the City of Cape Town installed hundreds of portable toilets, and water taps in the community.

Figure 4: Government installed taps & Mshengu's (portable toilets)

According to community leadership, this is a step in the right direction, the City of Cape Town is starting to respond to them, and that makes them satisfied. To the Big Five, the city installing these toilets signals the start of a partnership between the community and the city in the same effort of improving the lives of the poor. But the residents were aware that the local government (City of Cape Town) had used this 'tactic' before and it is a way of silencing them. According to one of the residents who previously lived in a TRA (Temporal Relocation Area) in Delft, "The City of Cape Town does this when it wants to silence communities, it gives you portable toilets in the name of development" (Zusiphe, 2020).

During the community meetings, residents planned different ways to get the attention of the government, not only the local government. But also national government officials, in one of their efforts the community of Ramaphosa marched to national Parliament. This, followed by a series of marches to the offices' local government in Cape Town put Ramaphosa on the priority list for the government.

Through months of protest, lobbying, meeting and writing to the city, the city bought the land from its owners. The land now belongs to the City of Cape Town, they can install services for water, sanitation and electricity. This was a huge victory for the community of Ramaphosa, as this was a step in the right direction when it comes to upgrading. Following the purchase of the land, in a telephone conversation with Zusiphe (2020), she made me aware of plans to install electricity in the community by the City of Cape Town. Zusiphe described this as a huge victory for the community, however, made me aware that this is only one step. The goal of the community is to have complete upgrading, but she is aware that will not happen overnight.

Figure 5: Timeline of events in Ramaphosa

16th of February – April 2018 Invasion of land & Big five established.

Space for community participation opened. Community meetings start June 2018

Legal battle for Ramaphosa starts. Novembers 2018

Leader gets killed – 24th of March 2019.

Series of protest for upgrading – May – July 2019

Eviction & rebuilding phase. Residents vs law enforcements. May – August 2018

Enumeration of households. August 2018

Ward Councillor gets involved. Writes to the City of CT. February 2019

Meeting with MEC – August 2019.

Toilets & water installation – September 2019

Plans for electricity – March 2020

4.6 Summary

The journey of Ramaphosa has had twists and turns, starting early in February 2018. The story of this community has been fascinating, seeing a community come to life and establishing their own leadership structure, to guide the community to informal settlement upgrading. From being evicted from the land, and having to rebuild multiple times, to the legal battles against the owners of the land, and residents having to pay for the legal bill, the community has come a long way. They have organised; having a leadership structures to coordinate with the Ward Councillor. Mobilized, in making their voice heard, marching to the City of Cape Town, and participated, creating a space for deliberation within the community.

Chapter Five: The Mirage of Informal Settlement Upgrading

This chapter engages with the data collected in relation to the theory developed in the framework for analysis. The theoretical framework is participatory governance, with the hypothesis that through participatory governance the community of Ramaphosa can upgrade their informal settlement. The purpose of this chapter is to apply the theory to the data, examine the relationship that exists between the two. Additionally, to test and be able to answer the research question. The chapter will highlight key findings that will assist in answering the question, testing the theory, and deepening the argument.

The chapter will start by examining active citizenship in the community of Ramaphosa, using the data collected and presented in Chapter Four. The study will analyse if the community created an environment of active citizenship and to what extent was that beneficial to their course of informal settlement upgrading. In examining active citizenship in Ramaphosa, the chapter will also examine the spaces of participation and look to answer the question of "What spaces of engagement are there in the community?" and "What do they look like?". The data suggest that there are spaces of participation, the chapter seeks to shed light on whether and how those spaces contribute to the upgrading.

Additionally, using the data collected, the chapter will examine participatory governance in the community. To what extent does active citizenship and the creation of spaces of participation improve it? The chapter will also examine the power dynamics with the community of Ramaphosa, but also in relation to the state. Based on the data collected was Ramaphosa able to have power over the state? If so, is it enough to see them influencing the state to upgrade their informal settlement?

Lastly, the chapter will answer the question; can the community of Ramaphosa through participatory governance, upgrade their informal settlement? Taking the data collected into account, applying the theory and reaching a conclusion.

5. 1. The land invasion: What factors played a role in the invasion?

The journey of the community of Ramaphosa is similar to many other stories of informality in Cape Town, and in South Africa as a country. In general, South Africa has a history of

dispossession, influenced by the history of apartheid. The effects of the policies of that era is still very evident. The Group Areas Act led to the creation of informal settlements in the outskirts of urban areas. Ramaphosa is one of many informal settlements in Cape Town, there are a number of informal settlements that the City of Cape Town has failed to bring services to, let alone upgrading.

Another important factor to consider is the pressure that comes with urbanisation, in the introduction & background chapter; I mentioned urbanisation as one of the causes of informal settlements. The capacity of municipalities is not able to adequately cater for townships, and informal settlements. Through oral interviews and asking participants about their background, the majority of residents I interviewed in Ramaphosa are born and raised in the Eastern Cape, and came to Cape Town looking for job opportunities. Due to not being able to afford the formal renting market, the informal rental market was the obvious option.

The invasion of land by the community of Ramaphosa has to be put into social, historic and political context. The socioeconomic status of the residents played a huge role in them invading the land, I would argue as far saying this was their main reason. The historic context is important factor; the legacy of apartheid is still evident in the way development takes place in towns and cities, historically black communities not getting services. And the political context, during the period of the invasion of the land, there was a debate regarding the Land Expropriation Bill. The constitution would be amended to include the provisions of the new bill, leaders such as Julius Malema were advocating for Bill to be amended, going far as encouraging citizens to "take land" wherever they see unoccupied land (BusinessTech, 2016). This sparked a high number of land invasions around the country, with citizens taking matters into their own hands, criticizing government for failing to redistribute land to Black people.

Conducting the interviews in Ramaphosa, I got a sense that all three factors played a role in the invasion of the land. The majority of residents from the backyard renting market, came to Cape Town looking for a job, and mentioned that they have been waiting for 26 years to experience freedom (in a sense of a home of their own).

5. 1. 1. The power of mobilization: "bring furniture & children"

During the course of the week, the community of Ramaphosa would hold regular community meetings. The community leadership structure would arrange these meetings in this process: an announcement would come from the leadership structure, members would go door-to-door

informing community members regarding the meeting. The meeting would be centred on issues that concern the community, eviction, crime, informal settlement upgrading, governance of the community, and general community updates. This was a space mobilized by the leadership structure in the interest of being transparent in their approach to governance. Also, the space was a platform where the community can deliberate how they can have access to the state resources.

It is worth noting that the community of Ramaphosa did not start mobilizing *after* they settled into the land. The leadership structure mobilized people to invade the land, so there was already a foundation of mobilization to build on. Citizens from surrounding communities, who were renting and backyaders were mobilized and were active throughout the invasion process. The residents of Ramaphosa have been active citizens in their approach to upgrading.

Arnstein gives a fitting description of the purpose of active citizenship, "It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parcelled out" (Arnstein, 2010:216). The midweek meetings were a space to strategize on how to benefit from the resources of the state. The community of Ramaphosa invented their space of participation, a space in which they can come together as a community and deliberate on how to govern their community. This was a community-initiated space of engagement that was invented for community members to play a role in governing their community but also to deliberate how they can upgrade their community.

In theory, "Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of a democracy-a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone" (Arnstein, 2010: 216). However, applauding does not necessarily mean in reality people will support your cause. Indeed the residents were evicted numerous times by the Anti-land invasion unit. The community would use the space they created for themselves to respond. "We would put money together, hire a truck and go fetch our material back and build them (shacks) up again. They would last one or two days then the law enforcement would come to take them down again" (Masixole, 2019).

Due to the fact that the land in which Ramaphosa was built belonged to three individuals, they wanted the residents to vacate their land. The matter was referred to court, the leadership structure found a lawyer to represent the community in court and, as noted in Chapter Four, each household in the community had to contribute (R100) into paying the legal fees. The space

in which they created was used to collect the money from each household member. There was a book with all the names of the names and house numbers of those who paid. This was a direct participation from residents, using their own money and resources to fight for their right to shelter.

In examining the actions of the community of Ramaphosa in their early stages as a community, one could tell that this was not an act of insurgency. Rather, it was a collective cry for help to the state. They were seeking the attention of the state in dealing with their   dispossession. The approach of Ramaphosa went beyond the norm of communities waiting to be invited to spaces of participation by the state. They created their own space of participation, with their own terms and also acquired legal representation.

The community meetings were a space where the community can deliberate matters of internal governance, such as what is allowed in the community. However, the main reason why that space was invented was because of upgrading. The space was for building citizenship in the community so they are able to use it to gain resources, in this case upgrading. The space was going to be important in the pursuit of community- led upgrading. From the meetings the leadership structure could inform the community of any new developments, they could speak directly to the members of the community. Members of the community had a say in what was happening in their community, and could take part in the deliberations.

The community of Ramaphosa was mobilizing for resources from a grassroots level, taking whatever route that may lead to their demands. According to Miraftab (2004) grassroots mobilize within a wide range of spaces of citizenship, making use of what in a specific time and place is effective in presenting demands and gaining results. Such informal practices follow no blueprint but are situated in their specific contexts. Sometimes they do use formal channels (e.g., courts, laws, local councils); at other times their claims rely on informal and directly oppositional forms (e.g., rallies, demonstrations, and picketing). The community of Ramaphosa mobilized itself in a wide range of spaces because they were looking for results. A space where their demands can be listened to, taken into consideration, and put into action.

The advantage of grassroots mobilization is the flexibility; Ramaphosa was able to use various strategies. Including blocking of roads, vandalizing traffic lights, and damage to public property. Some may disagree with their strategies, and in the manner in which they execute them. however, the intentions are clear, and that is to get the attention of the state to their demands.

5. 1. 2 To what extent was active citizenship effective for Ramaphosa?

Active citizenship seeks to create a culture of participation from citizens, for citizens to get involved in the political arena. Furthermore, it seeks to include citizens in the decision-making process, in the governance of their own communities and how resources are allocated. Based on my observation and engaging some of the residents in the community, Ramaphosa is made up by the poor, a group that has been neglected in the city when it comes to service delivery or any other state resources. The residents of Ramaphosa were aware that they had to be active agents of their own, in order to spark change in their community.

The residents created a space of participation at a grassroots level, this is significant, not only for the governance of their community but for democracy in the country. The notion of citizenship is important in terms of connecting individuals and groups to the structures of social, political, and economic activity in both local and global contexts (Walters & Watters, 2010: 473). The space created in Ramaphosa was created due to the active approach and willingness to participate from the residents. Active citizenship is a social construct that needs to be consistently worked on. The meetings, announcements, protests and marches were instruments of refining that social construct.

Active citizenship was effective in the community of Ramaphosa, internally. The community was able to create urgency within the community. The community of Ramaphosa struggled to get a positive response from the state. The state would respond through law enforcement agents, who would block their protest and in numerous times, evicted them from the land.

In theory, active citizenship is encouraged by the state, citizens are encouraged to get involved in the political decision making process. Citizens are encouraged to be active beyond the voting process. In practice, government supresses active participation from the poor. The evidence is the manner they respond to any sort of participation from the poor, protest, and marches.

Each time the leadership structure had to appear in court for the case of Ramaphosa, the community would mobilize, in great numbers and picket outside the court. This was not only a great measure of discipline from the community but also showed their level of organization. It was clear that they were capable of mobilizing themselves, organizing, and were not afraid to confront the state. After court appearances the community would march to the offices of the City of Cape Town, expressing their desire for development, but first, for the City to buy the land from its owners. The community of Ramaphosa imposed themselves on the state, as there

was no direct line of engagement. There were no 'invited' spaces of participation, instead the state responded through its agents: law enforcement and anti-land invasion unit. The residents mobilized themselves on the streets, for protest, in the courts, to earn the right to live in the land and in the picket lines, demanding the City upgrade their informal settlement.

There is no one way of being active citizens, citizens can make use of the multiple spaces of participation available, and should that fail, invent spaces outside of the norm. Ramaphosa did just that, they challenged the City in the courts. Faced the state in the street through protest and approached the City head-on, by going to the City offices and submitting their list of demands. Ramaphosa was fertile ground for active citizenship and knew how to use the space that they have invented.

According to Diamond & Morlino (2005), a good 'quality' democracy accords citizens' ample freedom, political equality, and control over public policies and policymakers through the legitimate and lawful functioning of stable institutions. In the interviews, the residents of Ramaphosa reference the number of years South Africa has been a democracy, and their lives have not changed for the better.

5. 1. 3 Balance of power: Plot size, political agenda, business interest and private meetings.

The power of the community of Ramaphosa was their ability to mobilize and organise themselves. The residents would mobilize resources for the legal fees, mobilize neighbours to come out in their numbers when it is time to protest. During their invasion of the land, their ability to mobilize themselves gave them the upper hand against the state, the state would normally react after the community has organised itself. At the centre of the mobilization of the community is the leadership structure; the Big Five. The Big Five was made up of leaders from various political parties and community leaders.

The Big Five played a huge role in the invasion of Ramaphosa, members of the Big Five mobilized backyard renters in the surrounding areas, instructing them to bring their furniture and children to Ramaphosa. This was a strategic move by the leadership group, they were aware that the eviction of the community would get the attention of the public, however, an eviction of families with children will bring backlash to the City of Cape Town.

The Big Five was responsible for the allocation of land, when people arrived in Ramphosa, the first person that they should consult is a member of the Big Five. Initially, the process of

allocating of land was as follows; residents would have to come with their building material (wood, zink and cardboards) and furniture. They would be allocated a piece of land; the initial size was 10x10 mitres of land. The more people came to Ramaphosa, the smaller the size of the land. So they moved from 10x10M to 7x7M, and finally to 5x5M. What I found to be very interesting was that the land of members of the Big Five was significantly bigger than the rest of the residents.

I asked one of the Big Five members have larger plots (land) then the rest of the residents. Her response was, "No, it is people who do not have power. As you can see this hand (lifts her hand) you see these fingers are not equal, so it is like that as people, we are not equal" – (Sisi, 2019). The response gave me an indication of the power dynamic within the community. The members of the Big Five clearly held the power within the community, and it was evident that they set the political agenda in the community.

Any concern that the residents had was brought to the attention of the Big Five. Matters that revolved around loud music, crime, evictions, meetings and disputes around land, were reported to the Big Five. This is by no means to suggest that the community did not have a voice of its own. The community was active, attending meetings, contributing to legal fees, came in numbers when it was time to protest. However, the Big Five held the power in the community.

In conducting the research I had spent a lot of time in the community of Ramaphosa, to a point where the residents felt comfortable in talking to me. In the conversation, the selling of pieces of land by members of the Big Five would seldom pop up. I would probe, but I could tell this was a sensitive matter. In an interview with Mandla, (2018), when I asked about members of the Big Five selling the land for their own profit, he responded by saying "there are a lot of people/families who have multiple pieces of land".

One of the members of the Big Five, who was part of the initial leadership structure that mobilized backyaders for the invasion of Ramaphosa, was brutally murdered. For allegedly selling land to multiple people, and not being able to provide that land.

5. 1. 4 Invited and invented spaces in Ramaphosa: A space of our own

Invited spaces are important in the governance of any municipality, there needs to be a direct link of the municipality with the citizens. Unfortunately, the City of Cape Town is notorious

for excluding the poor and centralizing the decision-making. Based on the history of apartheid, community participation is very important in South Africa, power needs to be centralized in citizens, "community participation is often driven by specific socio-economic goals that seek to ensure a 'better life for all', especially for those who have been historically marginalized during the successive colonial-cum-apartheid regimes in South Africa" (Williams, 2006: 199). The participation in Ramaphosa is driven by the desire to have upgrading, for the City of Cape Town to radically change their living conditions for the better. This is rooted in how communities participate in the country; community participation is driven by socio-economic conditions.

There are existing, institutional spaces of participation for citizens. These spaces are created by government, in an attempt to include citizens in decision-making at the local level, particularly for those previously marginalised under the apartheid regime. "The post-apartheid government has implemented a wide range of participatory schemes. At the municipal scale, the flagship Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) represent a participatory process whereby the city and its residents meet to collectively agree priority areas for the city's five-year budget" (Lemanski, 2017:16). This is one of the invited spaces of participation established by state. However, Lemanski (2017) argues that state-initiated participatory mechanisms of governance have been largely ineffective in bringing greater decision-making and influence to citizens.

However, there is an alternative, Miraftab (2004), refers to these alternative spaces of participation as "invented" spaces of citizenship, and has underlined the significance of expanding the arenas of practicing citizenship to include both invited and invented spaces of citizenship. In the context of Ramaphosa their mobilization, frequent meeting and their financial contribution to matters that concern the community led to an invented space. A space outside of the state but seeking the intervention of the state, the resources of their state, and lastly, recognition of Ramaphosa as a legitimate community.

The community of Ramaphosa, since the day it was established has never held or been invited to any formal meeting with the City of Cape Town. This is significant because the community of Ramaphosa was seeking the attention of the state. Their efforts in creating a space for participation is rooted in them being excluded from the formal space. The theory of participatory governance is flawed in a sense that it assumes that government, particularly local government has invited spaces of participation. South Africa is democratic country, with Chapter 9 Institutions that are supposed to protect the interest of the citizens. We have a vibrant

civil society, to act as watchdogs for the citizens and make sure the state is inclusive and democratic. The community of Ramaphosa is under the ward councillor of Philippi, the ward has a ward committee in place. The ward committee was established to provide a localised space for citizens and the state (via councillors) to communicate about issues relating their local area that can be channelled to sub-council and city structures (Lemanski, 2017:16). However, this mechanism of participation does not guarantee any meaningful participation or decision-making for the citizens. Therefore, the community of Ramaphosa took it upon themselves to invent their own space of participation.

The residents of Ramaphosa invented an inclusive space of participation within their community to address matters that concern them. A space determined by them, as citizens. Through engaging with Zusiphe, I asked about the intended outcome of this space, what their general goal is and how it fits into their plans of upgrading. She responded, "the meetings (space) intend to attract the government into having talks with us, we are also citizens of this country and we deserve their attention. They must come to speak to us" (Zusiphe, 2019)

The growth of Ramaphosa in terms of numbers, that is the number of people and houses, and also the growth in forms of governance, how they managed to have leadership structures in place to govern the community, is extraordinary. In a space of 6 months, Ramaphosa was a community with a dynamic community and established leadership structure in the community. The leadership structure played an integral part in arranging where people build their houses. They had a huge impact on the community, and as much as the residents were active participants, the leadership structure gave direction.

It is no surprise that the meetings (space) were facilitated by the leadership structure. The meetings were held in an open space in the community, in between the houses. People would bring their own chairs to sit on. They attended the meetings with the lawyers, they attended the meetings with the ward councillor and they attended meetings with organizations that will help Ramaphosa on how to mobilize and organize themselves better. From my own observation and of course, through conducting interviews, there was a huge level of trust. The residents trusted the leadership structure.

Through a community meeting, the leadership structure established rules that the community will govern itself by. These rules applied to every member of the community, and one of those rules was that no alcohol will be sold in the community. The leadership structure was determined to keep crime out of the community. As a result, they did not want any individual

who is going to sell alcohol in the community, as, according to the leadership committee, alcohol is the main cause of crime.

The leadership of Ramaphosa had the support of the community and would use that power to deal with members of the community who got out of line. One of the ways in which the leadership structure maintained power in the community was through extreme violence. People who were found to be committing crime in the community were burnt to death. Through my observation, mob justice was how the leadership dealt with crime.

5.1.5. Navigating spaces of participation

Through inventing their own space of participation the community of Ramaphosa could move across or occupy both kinds of citizenship spaces (invited and invented). "Those spaces of practicing citizenship are not mutually exclusive. Grassroots collective actions move between them, and at different points in their struggles use different sets of tools, and spaces of mobilization" (Miraftab, 2004:3). The City did not open a space for direct deliberation with the community, instead waited for the court process to conclude. The City being the local government did not extend an invitation to the community. So for the community, it made more sense to invent their own space when the state does not invite them to dialogue.

The Big Five (Leadership structure) members made it clear that should the City of Cape Town, not respond to their demands or try to negotiate with them, they will damage public property. Starting with the traffic lights at Fezeka Road, Govan Mbeki Rd, and the Fire station (down the road from the community) and make it impossible to drive through that road. This is a common approach in South Africa when it comes to service delivery protest, job-related protest, and political protest. Citizens do not think that the state will listen to their demands unless there's violence involved (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2011).

In a Mail & Guardian (2016), David Bilchitz wrote that "violent protests are a symptom of people being ignored by politicians". He makes an example of residents of the Limpopo town of Vuwani, where the schools were recently vandalized. They are quoted as saying that violence is the only way to ensure that politicians listen. This view is widespread and points to a major problem with the participatory aspects of South Africa's democracy. There is a great sense of alienation and dissatisfaction with the functioning of representative and participatory democracy in South Africa. The residents of Ramaphosa were aware of that, hence their protest would turn violent. The intentions are not to destroy state property but rather to get the attention

of the state. For the state to acknowledge them, listen to their demand and initiate a process of dialogue.

In the case of Ramaphosa, the state responded by sending law enforcement officers, residents being arrested and some injured, after being shot with rubber bullets. The space for participation, from the state, was not opened. There was no direct inviting space for the community of Ramaphosa to interact with the state. This drove the community to become brazen in their protest. This led to neighbouring communities turning against the community of Ramaphosa and them living in that land. This illustrate that, differences in perspectives can be a by-product of socioeconomic status or classism. "Struggles over the meaning of citizenship are at the same time struggles over rank, status and power" (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2011: 12).

However, there is one aspect that people seemed to overlook. Ramaphosa is a result of historic and contemporary blunders by the government in addressing informal settlements. The government has failed to address the legacy of apartheid, post-apartheid implemented policies that failed, poor governance, cadre deployment and corruption deepened the rot, and that has led to poor development and service delivery. Grassroots participation is encouraged but the government is not doing enough. Participation should lead to some form of interaction between the state and citizens.

When the government does not open invited spaces of participation, citizens find various ways to participate. As Miraftab explains, "their rigid separation of informal political actions implicitly establishes a bifurcated civil society: an "authentic" one associated with the invited citizenship spaces and an "outcast" and "extremist" one associated with the invented spaces. As binary constructs are known to do, such dichotomist positioning of the different citizenship spaces within the informal arena risks criminalizing the latter by designating the former as the "proper" space for civil society participation." (Miraftab, 2004:3).

The community of Ramaphosa faced a number of challenges, before the community could possibly think about upgrading they had to fight for the right to actually live in that land. This meant dedicating time and resources to legal battles, attending court cases, and mobilizing the community for paying for the legal services. This is a process that a majority of communities living in informal settlements struggle through. There is a disconnect between the state, at the local government sphere, to the extent that citizens are unable to access them. When communities revolt and use violence, it is because of the dilemma they find themselves in; the

invited spaces are regulated by the government and often reflect the perspective of the state. However, citizens are aware the state values its property, and should they damage their property in any sort of way the state will give them an audience.

The citizens are not revolting against the state as an institution, but rather against the officials, who are applying the constitution of the state. The South African government is selective in applying the constitution; they say every citizen has a right to access to proper housing. This is no ignoring the challenges faced by the state in reversing the apartheid legacy and the housing backlog in the country.

Citizens are forming spaces of participation outside of the traditional spaces the government created. "As concerns about good governance and state responsiveness grow, questions about how citizens engage and make demands on the state also come to the fore. As traditional forms of representation are being re-examined, new more direct and deliberative democratic mechanisms are proposed to enable citizens to play a more active part in decisions which affect their lives" (Gaventa, 2002:1).

This chapter has reflected on the nature of active citizenship and participation in Ramaphosa. The next chapter will conclude by looking at whether residents used participatory governance to achieve informal upgrading.

Chapter six: Conclusion

This chapter concludes the study by bringing different parts of the study together to answer the main question, "Can the residents of Ramaphosa, through participatory governance achieve informal settlement upgrading?" The research is done from the perspective of the residents of Ramaphosa. In most cases, informal settlement upgrading is examined from the perspective of government, what their budget is, the challenges etc. Furthermore, this chapter aims to critically examine the effectiveness of participatory governance in informal settlement upgrading. Particularly, in the community of Ramaphosa, and reflect on some of the challenges and milestones of the community.

The study starts by giving the context of South African democracy; drawing on the policy of the apartheid government and how it has contributed to the formation of informal settlements. The study then focuses on the ANC government, their policy towards upgrading and service delivery. This chapter laid the foundation and background context for the study, introduces the research problem and what the study intends to do.

In chapter two, the study further explores the research problem. This chapter explains the methods used in conducting the study, the kind of data used, how that data was gathered and explains how the data, the background context and the theoretical framework, will be used to answer the research question.

Chapter three focuses on the theoretical framework for analysis. The point was to carefully select theory, which would be tested against the data and give the necessary explanatory answer to the research question.

Chapter four is dedicated to the findings, the chapter presents the findings in their raw form. Narrating the story of Ramaphosa, highlighting key finding in the study. The study was conducted using various methods, such as interviews and empirical observation.

Chapter five is closely linked to chapter four but not limited to it, as it triangulates the study and makes an analysis of the findings. Taking into consideration the context of the study, the theoretical framework and the findings. Chapter five makes an analysis of the raw data, applying the theoretical framing of the study, to be able to answer the research question.

The end of apartheid was a significant moment in South Africa, the majority, Black citizens who were oppressed and marginalized by the apartheid regime, were full of hope. Hope for a better South Africa, with equal opportunity for all, but more importantly, they had hope that their lives were going to change for the better. Their living environment, access to proper housing, sanitation, and communities were going to improve. 26 years later into democracy and citizens are still living in poor conditions, on the outskirts of the City, with little to no access to basic services.

One of those communities is Ramaphosa, a community in Philippi, Cape Town. The majority of residents from Ramaphosa mentioned the number of years the country has had democracy and their lives has remained the same or they have gotten even poorer. As much as the ANC-led government is trying to improve the lives of the citizens, the legacy of apartheid in Black and Coloured neighbourhoods is embedded in their foundation. The community of Ramaphosa being a new and vibrant settlement is mobilizing and organizing itself for upgrading. The community has created spaces of participation for residents, that takes into account what residents have to say and takes them into consideration. The community of Ramaphosa wants upgrading, and are active in their pursuit of development.

The community of Ramaphosa is a dynamic community that is rapidly growing. The study examines their attempt to achieve informal settlement upgrading through participatory governance. From the evidence gathered, the conclusion is that community of Ramaphosa was able to achieve upgrading through participatory governance. The community gained a huge milestone, through participatory governance. Services such as water, sanitation and toilets, this proves that in this context participatory governance is effective. However, the theory does have flaws. It assumes that government creates spaces of participation that are meaningful for citizens.

This is does not mean that the demands of the community of Ramaphosa have been met, but this is evidence of some success regarding the participatory governance approach. The community of Ramaphosa was able to gain these services through participatory governance approach.

6.1 Past and present: Batho Pelle (People First)

When apartheid was abolished in 1994, local government assumed an important role, as the institution of transformation. Policies were formulated to create 'people centred development',

as they called it 'Batho Pelle' (people first), the policies were formulated on values of equity, transparency, accountability and respect for the rights of citizens, especially ordinary people – the poor, homeless and destitute (Williams, 2006: 200). Those were the values people voted for and had hopes the government would operate in, however a lot has changed since then. The South African Constitution seeks to make a difference in the lives of ordinary people, especially those who denied political rights, and who had no say in the outcomes of development planning at local level (Williams, 2006: 200). Under the watch of the same government that took over from the apartheid regime, formulated a progressive Constitution, however citizens are facing similar conditions they faced under the apartheid regime.

The study produced evidence that show the community of Ramaphosa was active in creating grassroots spaces to deliberate for their internal governance and the desire to have a process of deliberation with the City of Cape Town, regarding their informal settlement upgrading. In this case the theory of participatory governance lead the community of Ramaphosa into the City of Cape installing services in their community. Barichievy, Piper & Parker, commend the attempt to institute participatory governance, it is remarkable and brings about many questions. Like "how do the requirements for participatory governance sit with the requirements for tighter financial management in local government?" (Barichievy, Piper & Parker, 2005:371).

6.2 Participatory governance critique: The generic nature of participatory governance

The theory of participatory governance does not consider the cost or the resources required to invent spaces of participation. Creating invented spaces requires resources, monetary resources and non-monetary resources. The residents of Ramaphosa were able to raise funds for installation of taps when they moved into the land, they were also able to raise money for the spray marker (to number their houses). This is active citizenship, from the grassroots level.

In theory, the state should include citizens into the decision-making process; community would be able to interact with local government officials and should enable local government to transfer part of its governing powers to the citizens. The purpose of participatory governance is so that communities, particularly poor communities develop a partnership with government. A partnership without equal power is meaningless, Arnstein (1969), argues that "power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power holders (government). They agree to share planning and decision-making responsibilities through such structures as joint policy boards, planning committees and mechanisms for resolving impasses. After the ground

rules have been established through some form of give-and-take, they are not subject to unilateral change". The theory of participatory governance is flawed in sense that it assumes that government, particularly local government, has invited spaces of participation or room for dialogue with citizens.

6.3 Participatory governance: Effective at grassroots level

In the context of Ramaphosa, the theory of participatory governance was successful in creating internal spaces of participation. Citizens were part of the decision-making process in the community; they were consulted, informed and briefed by the Big Five in all community developments.

The residents of Ramaphosa were successful in inventing their own space of participation within the community. This enabled them to organise themselves in much orderly manner and deliberate their intentions of upgrading. After more than a year of protest, evictions and rebuilding and court process the community was able to get water and sanitation, the basic services that any community should have access to.

A significant point to add is that through participatory governance the community was able to get the land. This is a significant victory for the community. The theory of participatory governance is effective at grassroots levels, because of the dynamic nature of grassroots activism and participations. There are multiple approaches that citizens utilise in initiating dialogue with government.

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