WARD POLITICS AND ANGRY COMMUNITIES IN A CAPE TOWN SLUM: THE CASE OF IMIZAMO YETHU, 2016 TO 2019

MINI-THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Administration (MPA) in the School of Government, University of the Western Cape

by

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DECLARATION

I, Nomtha Ndoni-Andrews, declare that **WARD POLITICS AND ANGRY COMMUNITIES IN A CAPE TOWN SLUM: THE CASE OF IMIZAMO YETHU, 2016 TO 2019**

is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Signed: ....

NOMTHA NDONI-ANDREWS

UNIVERSITY *of the* WESTERN CAPE

i

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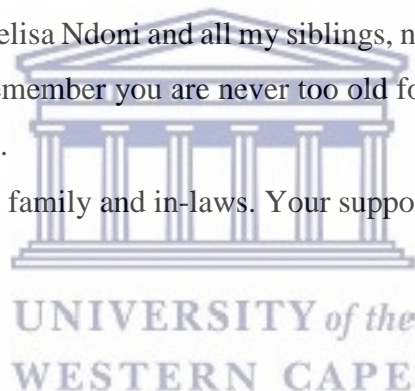
ABSTRACT

The democratic system of the South African Government motivates and engages the citizen to partake in governance at each level and especially at the ward level. Governance in a democratic country is complex because several unelected participants are involved, and power relations surpass the narrow confines of the local ward leaders and invited participation channels. Some wards are diverse; therefore, the question arises of how one person represents various communities. In this mini-thesis, councillors' roles at the local government level are examined in an 'angry community' about competing interests and leaders' backgrounds and priorities. Most often in South Africa, the most vulnerable populations are last in the queue. Ethical leadership in the neoliberal context often prioritises the advantaged, leaving underprivileged communities to resort to service delivery protests to have their voices heard. This study explores ward politics and the functions of elected councillors in service delivery and leadership in one of Cape Town's most unequal and complex areas: Imizamo Yethu (IY), an informal settlement in Hout Bay Cape Town. While Cape Town appears stable, significant areas hold deeply angry communities. The study aims to understand the disjuncture between the ward councillor (a white male Democratic Alliance (DA) member) and the 'stranded' black IY community who strongly voted for African National Congress (ANC) (two IY voting districts with 76.9% and 72.7% for the ANC) in 2016. Data were collected by accessing ward committee minutes and in-depth interviews with the local ward councillor, ward committee, and community members. Emerging themes are identified and discussed for further scholarly investigation since this was not a representative sample. The findings indicate that the ward councillor must serve widely diverging interest groups from the rich of Hout Bay to the impoverished. The Democratic Alliance (DA) councillor, who comes from the wealthy side of Hout Bay, has a slender voter support base in IY and lacks the characteristics of the group he supports to represent. The inequalities within Ward 74, Hout Bay, are stark, with the impoverished of IY opposing the party winning the ward. The underprivileged are inadequately represented, therefore, the persistent protests and the necessity to motivate their issues and requests directly to the municipal council. In socially diverse wards, such as Ward 74, local democracy is ineffective and needs to be reconfigured to allow the impoverished their own councillor rather than speak through the rich.

Keywords:

Democracy, representation, power, leadership, service delivery, Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay, protests.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACMS   African Centre for Migration and Society

A-G   Auditor-General

ANC   African National Congress

APES   Academic and Professional Editing Services

BRT   Bus Rapid Transport

CoCT   City of Cape Town

CSJ   Coalition for Social Justice

DA   Democratic Alliance

EFF   Economic Freedom Fighters

EL   Effective leadership

EPHP   Enhanced People's Housing Process

EPWP   Expanded Public Works Programme

GDP   gross domestic product

HB   Hout Bay

HBLF   Hout Bay Leadership Forum

HBRRA   Hout Bay Rate Payers Association

HR   human resources

IDP   Integrated Development Plan

IRIS   Incident Registration Information System

IY   Imizamo Yethu

IYSBCC	Imizamo Yethu Informal Settlement Block Committee Council
LED	local economic development
LG	local government
LGES	local government equitable share
LPC	least preferred co-worker
MPA	Master of Public Administration
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
NGO	non-government organisation
NPM	new public management
PFMA	Public Finance Management Act
PHP	people's housing process
POPIA	Protection of Personal Information Act
PP	Public Protector
PSC	Public Service Commission
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SAPS	South African Police
STEEP	social, technological, economic, environmental, and political
TI	Transparency International

UCT   University of Cape Town's

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme
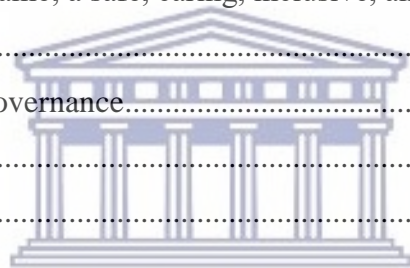
YADA   Young Adult Development Agency

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

LIST OF FIGURES

UNIVERSITY of the

WESTERN CAPE

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1   Introduction and background

The Constitution (Act No. 108 of 1996: 81) emphasises "the local government ward-based democracy as a critical element in South Africa's democracy". Its responsibilities are outlined in the municipality's mission as an "accountable and democratic government in sustaining public service delivery. This enhances a healthy and safe living environment for the people, allowing the communities to participate in the management and leadership functions in the municipality while fostering efforts to reduce poverty levels (Maloba, 2015). The elected local government is best for the communities to obtain the best public services directly and sustainably for all in a ward (Naidoo, 2012). The Constitution also insists on "equity laws and a representative civil service that reflects the demographics of South Africa".

The councillor is elected by all the local voters to the first post. She chairs the neighbourhood committee and should act as an intermediary by passing on information and grievances from the community and its representatives to the municipality. The District Councillor is therefore essential to communicate, and track service delivery needs at the local level, where appropriate. The mandate of ward councillors is to "promote developmental local government and facilitate socio-economic development at the local municipal level" (Paradza et al., 2010, p. 6).

Ward committees should not be partisan and should not be influenced by partisanship. They should enable the local community to communicate with officials and councillors and hold them accountable for their actions, regardless of party agendas. Neighbourhood committees are advisory bodies for neighbourhood councillors. They should establish formal and unbiased lines of communication between the community and the board. This includes helping the Ward Councillor respond to local needs, issues and policies, and sharing information from residents with Council. They should interact with other fora and organisations about issues affecting the ward, increasing participation (Piper & Deacon, 2008, p. 65).

Ward councillors are frequently undervalued. The personality and leadership of neighbourhood counsellors are often at the heart of peace and violence in the regions they represent. Ward councillors' personalities and leadership are frequently central to the peace and violence in the areas they represent. Ideally, Neighbourhood Councillors should be responsive to the needs of

1

their residents and share this information with City Council to avoid protests about the provision of services (Harrison, 2018). Ward committees and councillors are at the centre of a system intended to provide a voice to communities to articulate their demands, aspirations, and grievances. They allow local spaces and ordinary citizens to be an integral part of discussing challenges, such as poverty, underdevelopment, and unemployment. Some wards are politically and socially polarised, and some communities in a ward might benefit more than others.

In a perfect world, a councillor's ideas and actions should be considered when voting and considering relevance; however, In South Africa, with its history of racial and class exploitation and oppression with continued inequality, voters may carefully consider whom they vote for provided this long history. Councillors might matter to several voters about race, gender, and class.

Recently, violence in democratic processes has amplified as ambitious and corrupt cliques increase the fight to know who goes to election conferences. The apparent violent factionalism of the African National Congress (ANC) especially, became a notable problem (Von Holdt, 2013). Likewise, the participation of the ANC's civilian allies, such as SANCO and Cosatu, proved complex. In KZN, local elections have become violent, and political killings have ravaged (Phakathi, 2019).

The municipality is one of six metropolitans, according to the Municipal Structures Act of 1998. It is divided into 111 wards to manage service delivery throughout the City. With a population of 3.7 million, Cape Town is South Africa's second-largest city (November, 2012, p. 34). The City's population has increased by 21% in the last decade and is expected to reach 4.2 million by 2031. Its rapid growth is attributable to 'in-migration' of mostly poor and young South Africans pursuing employment from other parts of South Africa. When most migrants arrive in the city, their relative poverty prevents them from purchasing or renting formal housing. This factor raises the number of people living in informal settlements. (Overy, 2013).

Cape Town (CoCT) is a politically complicated city with constant changes in the governing regime since 1994. Since 2000, various political parties and political alliances have shifted in and out of municipal government, with significant implications for community and service delivery (Okecha, 2011, p. 95). The CoCT's vision is to foster economic growth and job

2

creation by assisting those in need, providing services to community members, and serving the citizens of Cape Town as a well-governed and corruption-free administration. (City of Cape Town, 2017).

The ANC does not govern Cape Town—the party that rules nationally, but by the official opposition, the Democratic Alliance (DA). The DA also appreciates a substantial degree of financial independence from the national treasury, attributable to its particular history, mostly from the scale and relative wealth (Anciano & Piper, 2018).

South Africa is home to certain of the world's largest informal settlements, including the CoCT. Based on the 2016 community survey, South Africa has 16.9 million households, with 13% (2.19 million) residing in informal settlements and 0.71 million residing in backyard shacks. In 2011, the Western Cape Department of Human Settlements confirmed 51224 informal dwellings spread across 230 informal settlements. (Kahanji et al., 2019). [1]

Since 2011, the population growth rate has declined from 2.7% to 2% in 2019, consistent with all metropolitan municipalities; however, this was higher than the provincial and national average, indicating that the CoCT remains an inward migration magnet. In 2019, there were 2 016 021 (45.9%) million people living in poverty, using the upper poverty line of R 1227 per person, compared to 1 495 601 (43%) in 2019; therefore, marking an increase of 2.9% (520 420) over 10 years (City of Cape Town, 2020). Despite these challenges, the CoCT reported relative success in service provision and infrastructures, quoting a 97% provision of sanitation coverage (McFarlane & Silver, 2017, p. 139). The Coalition for Social Justice (CSJ), though, contends that the figure ignores the reality of sanitation access, conditions, and maintenance.

The DA has been a major "political party" in the Western Cape and Cape Town for over 15 years. The CoCT's fundamental values, taken directly from the DA's 2009 Manifesto, are a "caring *society,* an open opportunity society and an inclusive city". It rejects affirmative action, wants to roll out the "red carpet" for investors, advocates deregulation, and is openly hostile to left-wing ideas. It has a reputation for clean administration and claims to deliver better services than other ANC-controlled cities. Since the mid-2000s, it has been "regarded by the white and

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[1] [1] Statistics South Africa defines an informal settlement as unplanned settlements on land which has not been surveyed or proclaimed as residential, consisting mainly of informal dwellings (shacks). In 2011 13.6% of all South Africans lived in such areas.

coloured community as their party". The DA can only garner around 5% of the black African vote (Southern and Southall 2019).

This research focused on Cape Town Ward 74: Hout Bay and ImiZamo Yethu (IY). As the local newspaper *Sentinel* noted, in the most recent elections in Hout Bay (2021), more than half of its 17,235 registered voters stayed at home on election day. The turnout of 44.9% was much lower than the 65% turnout in 2016. There was a clear black versus white split. DA took three of Hout Bay's voting districts (mainly white) with over 90% of the white vote. The ANC took the two IY voting districts with 76.9% and 72.7%, down from the 88.6% and 85.6% it polled, respectively, in 2016. Very few blacks voted for DA. The DA managed only 5.7% and 7.5% in the IY voting districts, receiving third place behind the EFF, which garnered 12.69% and 14.59%. The DA won half the "coloured vote". (Hangberg with 51.5%, followed by the ANC with 16.59% and the Cape Coloured Congress with 11.7%).

Councillor Quintas noted significant concerns around trust.

> I am excited by the many opportunities that can now be taken to continue improving the lives of all our residents and our environment and shared spaces. I must thank all of those who voted for me, and hope that in time I will secure the faith and trust of those who didn't (Sentinel News, 2021e).

This study was inspired to understand these schisms and what it means for democratic representation and leadership and governance of ward councillors and committees when a major constituency (the impoverished black voters, 98% of whom live in shacks) is represented by a (white) DA male whose voter base is mostly white and wealthy. It establishes whether this implemented structure allows the communities' voices to be heard and how neoliberal policies are misaligned with the country's needs. In identifying the challenges Cape Town encountered in applying good governance, the study considered factors influencing service delivery protests, particularly in poorer areas, such as IY. Ward councillors' functions are identified in conversing these challenges and gestures to possible broader challenges. The research relates to local service delivery, leadership, public accountability, and broader democracy, in particular, the debate on representation and 'Service delivery' is a popular phrase to denote the distribution of basic communal needs and services in South Africa. These services include housing, water, sanitation, land, electricity, and infrastructure. Since the passing of the Constitution, regardless of the enormous effort and funding for new policies and institutions

4

for improved service delivery, services to the most disadvantaged people remain a challenge. In South Africa, the delivery and ongoing upkeep of these basic services proved unreliable, inconveniencing, and compromising local communities.

The South African Government is under scrutiny because of service delivery protests in all provinces. The resultant response, particularly in the past decade, increased service delivery protests demanding improved service delivery (Reddy, 2016). The function of local government as the focal point of public service delivery is undeniable. Mbecke (2014) contends that the scope and quality of service delivery are the most critical areas that have tinted the credibility and institutional image of local authorities. The councillors' interference in administration and the lack of political leadership are among the main causes of poor service delivery (Mbecke, 2014, p. 98).

The ward systems were in the Sunday Times article in 2009 "as a new cog in service delivery machine!" Along with this vehicle for ordinary people to shape local development priorities, local protests (especially around service delivery) became endemic as a means of politics, with violent standoffs, suggesting an escalation rather than a diminution of the resort to disruptive protests (Malabela & Ally, 2011, p. 3).

Public participation entails the direct involvement of ordinary citizens in significant processes, such as planning, budgeting, expenditure reviews, and activities in the governance of their city. The people, therefore, in theory, control municipal decision-making processes through equal votes, and representation of the population from each region where the representatives are people's choices.

1.2   The problem statement

Imizamo Yethu is an exceptionally dense black township in a white-dominated Hout Bay (HB) in the Western Cape, experiencing extreme service delivery and humanitarian disasters, such as fires, floods, and violence. By 2011, the black population mostly living in shacks had grown to 16,000 inhabitants (Roth & Becker, 2011) but blacks were still a minority in the ward. By 2013, 16,000 black residents (close to half HB's population) occupied a mere 2% of the total HB residential land. HB is an extreme example of inequality, but the poor live cheek-by-jowl with the rich (unusually so in SA, where apartheid forced blacks to live far from whites and workplaces). The shack settlement provides most of the labour needed by the wealthy class,

including domestic work, services and local restaurants and retail. The fishing industry and harbour are also sources of employment and sites for the craft market. Many African foreign workers live in IY, although open xenophobia is infrequent.

Ward 74 (HB) has a single ward councillor required to take up issues of ultra-rich and poor. He takes issues to the municipality and implements policies to meet all the citizens' needs. A stark disconnect exists between the IY community, the ward councillor, and city officials. This divide was demonstrated in 2019 by a group of angry and alienated demonstrators from IY, marching to the HB library, demanding a meeting with their ward councillor (Mortlock, 2019).

Effective democracy and service delivery, and fostering socio-economic transformation are crucial. Local nodes of governance and power favour the wealthy, and the impoverished need to have the capacity and competence to participate as equals. Promoting democracy and good governance requires effective pro-poor leadership at a local level (Naidoo & Thani, 2011), but local leadership is often constrained by broader policies (Bond, 2017).

The research problem is to understand the service delivery and representational difficulties encountered by the IY community, the local issues at the level of ward politics and democracy, and broader transformation challenges affecting service delivery in this disadvantaged community.

1.3   Research objectives

Based on the research problem, the research objectives are to identify underlying reasons for challenges with democracy and service delivery in IY. The study considered how local democracy could fail a significant minority, such as the residents of IY. This research aimed to:

- Provide an understanding of representative leadership and governance of local government and the function of ward councillors
- Determine the relationship among municipal services, service delivery protests, and good governance with the status of IY as a case study
- Understand the neoliberal discourse of service delivery
- Understand the interaction between the ward councillors and the IY community and how to produce adequate service delivery

6

1.4   Research questions

With a focus on IY, the function of ward councillors in discussing service delivery difficulties needed to be identified. In response to this query, the research needed to answer sub-questions, including:

- What are the service delivery concerns in IY and why are residents angry?
- How have the ward councillor, committee, and municipality attended to these concerns?
- Does the ward councillor's background as a white middle-class person and his experience matter in taking a leading role in articulating the black community's problems?
- What complexities arise in ethical leadership and good governance in polarised localities like Hout Bay?
- What is the importance of representation in a democracy, and do elected political parties consider issues of effective representation of communities they serve

1.2   Rationale and significance of the study

This study is topical in the South African public sector landscape a country marked by elevated levels of inequality, poor representation, weakening democracy and protests. The contribution to the research is multifaceted, and intended to raise long-term issues of democracy:

- Research results provide a framework for communities and ward councillors to engage constructively on democracy and service delivery issues before the onset of violent protests
- The research raises awareness of ethical leadership and good governance as an effective and efficient measure for delivered services
- It should enhance and strengthen social cohesion within local communities
- Most importantly, this research can extend to good governance and policies, particularly within the South African public sector context and legislative framework

1.3   Study limitations

This study had potential limitations. The sample selection was conducted through the snowballing method. The participants had to identify who could be included in the study; not all participants had an equal chance to respond to the interview questions. The sample size was, however, determined by the 2011 census report; the population has grown since that period.

COVID-19 restrictions also affected this research period, resulting in delays in the fieldwork and interview process of participants. The ward committee minutes cannot be shared because of the new Protection of Personal Information Act (POPIA) that came into effect on 1 July 2021.

1.4   Research methodology

According to Kothari (2004), "research methodology is a way to solve a problem systematically. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is conducted scientifically". "The steps adopted by a researcher in studying his research problem and the logic behind them are analysed". "The researcher must know the research methods and techniques, including the methodology" (Kothari, 2004, p. 8).

A description of how the inquiry should proceed is the methodology. Commitment to the methodological framework of reference informed the study in specific ways. "There should, therefore, be a synthesis of the theoretical framework, research strategy, methodology, and the chosen methods to collect and analyse data" (Schurink, 2009, p. 817). For example, a constructionist who believes that reality can be known only by those who experience it personally and that social reality should be constructed through a process of self-conscious action conducts and analyses, interviews differently than an individual who believes that the real world would be discovered through a systematic, interactive methodological approach using symbols of discovering meaning.

A qualitative research approach was chosen as the methodology, reinforcing an understanding and interpretation of human interaction's meaning and intentions. According to Creswell (2017), qualitative research is a resource for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The research process involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participants setting, data analysis inductively built from details to general themes, and the researcher's interpretation of the data (Creswell, 2017).

In pursuit of the study's objectives, the research methodology included theoretical assessment and analysis and an empirical study. Data were collected from sources, such as individuals and leaders in the IY community, elected ward councillors, minutes of ward committee meetings, interviews with ward committee members, and relevant studies. This governance study

8

employed qualitative data, collecting data about how the ward councillor, ward committee, and community perceive challenges. A qualitative research methods approach helps investigate experiences and perceptions.

1.4.1 Research design

Kumar (2011) confirms that "a research design is a procedural plan adopted by the researcher to respond to questions validly, objectively, accurately, and economically". Research design is "the arrangement of conditions for collecting and analysing data in a manner, aiming to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure". Through research design, "decisions are communicated to others", identifying the proposed study design. This includes identifying "ways to collect information from the respondents, selecting respondents, how the information is analysed, and how to communicate the findings" (Kumar, 2011).

Creswell (2017) collaborates with the observation that research designs are plans and procedures for spanning the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed data analysis methods. These plans involve several decisions; these decisions involve identifying the design employed to study a topic. Informing decisions should be the researcher's worldview assumptions about the study, the procedure of inquiry (strategies), and specific methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Research design selection is also based on the research problem or concern discussed by the researcher's personal experiences and the audiences for the study (Creswell, 2017).

The study choice was to focus on the qualitative method. This allowed exploring and understanding of the major participants' functions, identifying concerns or challenges the IY community encounters about service delivery, and where attention could be focused on resolving these problems and concerns.

Qualitative studies are significant when a proper account of the main variables interacting at each step is needed (Bekker & Clark, 2018). The study attempted to understand rather than measure variables' relationships.

1.4.2 Case study

The case study method was employed in this study because it is well-suited to answering the research questions appropriately and adequately. Case study research allows for exploring and

9

understanding complex concerns. It can be considered a robust research method, particularly when a holistic, in-depth investigation is required. Recognised as a device in several social science studies, the case study method in research becomes more prominent when concerns regarding education, sociology, and community-based problems, such as poverty, unemployment, drug addiction, and illiteracy, are raised. One reason for recognising a case study as a research method is that researchers became more concerned about the limitations of quantitative methods in explaining the social and behavioural challenges in question. A researcher can surpass the quantitative statistical results and understand the behavioural conditions through the actor's perspective through case study methods (Zainal, 2007, p. 1).

Auriacombe and Mouton (2007) note that a case study is field research, investigating a specific phenomenon holistically or systematically, such as the focus on the single (or few) case (s) in its entirety rather than on aspects of variables thereof. The unit analysis study can be individual humans, organisations (such as a political party), institutions (municipal councils), or collectives (the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region). A case study as a research strategy comprises an all-encompassing method covering design logic, data collection techniques, and specific data analysis approaches (Auriacombe, C., & Mouton, 2007, p. 445).

The strength study method allows for examining the phenomenon in depth, employing various kinds of evidence obtained from interviews with those involved, direct observations of events, and analysis of documents and artefacts. The case study was employed as the focus of the study was on describing and explaining rather than predicting. The variable studied is easily unidentifiable or embedded in the phenomenon to be extracted for study (Yin, 2003, p. 4).

1.5   Data collection

According to Muhammad and Kabir (2016), data collection is collecting and measuring information on variables of interest, therefore, enabling a response to the research questions, testing hypotheses, and evaluating outcomes (Muhammad & Kabir, 2016). Draper (2009) observes that the primary methods of collecting qualitative data are in-depth interviews, focus groups, observation, and open-ended questionnaires.

This study collected primary and secondary data. Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with primary sources. These are members of the IY community, the ward councillor,

and members of ward committees. Ward committee meeting minutes were also regarded as primary data. Secondary data were based on books, journals, online news, and additional relevant sources. An analytical study of the secondary data provided direction for the patterns and trends in creating and structuring questions for the in-depth interviews and interpreting primary data. It enhances the scholarly work by providing information from research relating to the topic. All data collection methods in this study presented the consent form (Annexure A) to participants to ensure permission was obtained to use the information acquired.

1.5.1 In-depth interviews

The study employed in-depth interviews with community members, the ward councillor, and ward committee members to collect data and enhance the research engine. It requested access to ward committee minutes for the period under discussion, indicating 2016 to 2019. The interviews were employed to understand crucial factors, such as service delivery, leadership, and good governance within the municipality. Interviews needed to be strategical to enable the facilitator to obtain all the information needed for the study. Most individuals will not disclose the information if they do not feel secure about the interview or observe that the interview could be used against them, provided that good governance and service delivery protests are serious challenges in South Africa. The study, therefore, facilitated the respondents' interest while being flexible to accommodate their environmental requests within the realms of the possible to make them comfortable to offer the information needed for the study (Maloba, 2015).

In-depth interviews were conducted as an instrument to collect primary data. According to Nieuwenhuis (2007), "interviews are a two-way conversation where the researcher seeks answers from participants by directing questions about the phenomenon under investigation, pursuing insight into the participants' beliefs, ideas, experiences, views, opinions, and behaviours" (Nieuwenhuis, 2007, p. 87). Draper (2009) continues that in-depth interviews can be described as "conversations between an interviewer and interviewee. The interviewer's main function is to listen carefully to the interviewee and frame questions around the interviewee's response" (Draper, 2009, p. 27).

Interviews were based on questions in the interview schedule (Appendix A, B, and C); however, the participants were allowed the freedom to converse about their experiences

11

comfortably. The interviews were conducted in English, but provision was made for those participants preferring their home language of either Afrikaans or IsiXhosa. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed for five minutes per interview.

Field notes were taken during and immediately after the interview, detailing observations, thoughts, and ideas about the interview. This process assisted with the data analysis. The recordings are kept in a locked cupboard, secured with the field notes. The interview technique has limitations. It is an adequate method for collecting first-hand information from sources, enabling a more reliable and authentic study.

Conversely, the study could oversee the main objectives because of structured questions, inhibiting the flexibility of the respondents to offer their experience about the topic in discussion (Mle & Maclean, 2011). This can occur even if a section for the respondent's further observations is added. These aspects had to be considered when setting the questions and analysing the responses to the interview questions.

The minutes of the ward council meetings were examined to corroborate statements by interviewees and for additional data that could be relevant. These minutes are public documents and are available for the study on request.

1.6   Sample methods

Sampling is "choosing a part of the population to represent the whole". Snowball sampling is a "convenience sampling" method. This method is applied when it is "problematic to access subjects with the target characteristics". With this method, the study subjects recruit "future subjects among their acquaintances". Sampling continues until data saturation. This method is also called the 'chain method'. It is efficient and cost-effective to access individuals who would otherwise be difficult to find. Using this method, the researchers present the first few samples, usually selected through convenience sampling; if they know anyone with similar observations or situations to participate in the research, they should be referred to (Naderifar et al., 2017).

Snowball sampling is the most commonly used sampling method in qualitative research across multiple disciplines. If other contacts are inaccessible, it is sometimes used as the main means of contacting informants or as an auxiliary means, assisting researchers in enriching sampling clusters and accessing new participants and social groups. Snowball sampling has been shown

12

in numerous studies to be an effective method for obtaining information on and access to hidden populations such as non-institutionalised drug users, unemployed males, AIDS carriers, and elders. Snowball sampling is occasionally used to gain access to populations not stigmatised or marginalised but enjoy the status of social elites. People are 'hidden by choice'. Hegemonic forces do not exclude them, but as part of the hegemony, they exclude themselves from public scrutiny (Noy, 2008).

1.6.1   Study area

Based on the 2011 Census for the CoCT, IY is a community with a population of 15 538 and 6009 households in HB. The population of predominantly black Africans split according to Table 0.1, presents a demographic profile.

Table 0.1: IY Demographic profile—2011 census

Imizamo Yethu Population	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Black African	7 729	49.7	6 505	41.9	14 234	91.6
Coloured	244	1.6	333	2.1	577	3.7
Asian	23	0.1	5	0.0	28	0.2
White	9	0.1	10	0.1	19	0.1
Other	520	3.3	161	1.0	681	4.4
Total	8 525	54.9	7 014	45.1	**15 539**	100.0

Source: CoCT (2013).

According to Dworkin (2012), "the sample size of qualitative research methods is often smaller than that of quantitative research methods". Qualitative research methods often concern "garnering an in-depth understanding of an issue, process, situation, subculture, scene, or social interactions". Several debates exist about identifying the correct sample size for such attempts; however, considering all perspectives, the recommendation is that "25 to 30 participants have the minimum sample size required to reach saturation and redundancy in grounded theory studies, employing in-depth interviews". The sample size was based on a "census-guided selection procedure, not a non-probability sample" (Dworkin, 2012, p. 1319). Shetty (2018) affirms that "the recommendation for in-depth interviews is a sample size of 20 to 30, for

13

building similar segments within a population with 30 a good number for the most comprehensive assessment"(Shetty, 2018, p. 2).

This study adopted snowball sampling. With this sampling method, the researcher can determine the characteristics of a community. It is possible to collect data by sampling or census reports. Snowball sampling is an approach for locating information from rich main informants. With this approach, potential respondents are contacted and asked whether they know of anybody with the characteristics, knowledge, or skills needed as part of a committee or consultative process. The aim is to use community knowledge about those with skills or information in areas. The first interviewee recommended another, from tavern owners, street committees, spaza/shop owners, youth fora, domestic workers, unemployed males and females, employed males and females, and age consideration.

Based on the recommendations of the two authors stated above, the study chose a sample size of 30. The study only observed two ethnic groups—black Africans and coloured, and one foreign national reflected as "other" based on the foreign national demographic. It is emphasised in the literature that IY has foreign nationals living in the community.

Table 0.2: Calculations of demographics

Imizamo Yethu	Male		Sample Size	Female		Sample Size	Total		Total Sample Size
Population	NUM	%	30	NUM	%		NUM	%	
Black African	**7 729**	49,7%	**15**	6 505	41,9%	**13**	14 234	91,6%	**28**
Coloured	**244**	1,60%	**0**	333	2,10%	**1**	577	3,7%	**1**
Asian	23	0,10%	**0**	5	0,00%	**0**	28	0,2%	**0,1**
White	9	0,10%	**0**	10	0,10%	**0**	19	0,1%	**0,0**
Other	**520**	3,30%	**1**	161	1,00%	**0**	681	4,4%	**1**
Total	8 525	54,80%	**16**	7 014	45,10%	**14**	15 539	100,00%	**30,0**

Based on **Error! Reference source not found.**, calculation interviews were drawn on a sample size of 30 participants. This sample size was from a suitable combination of 16 males and 14 females, identified as employed or unemployed groups, diverse age groups, and within the African, coloured, and foreign nationals' ethnic groups, as follows:

Table 0.3: Sample size of participants in the study

GENDER	Split accordingly	Sample size
Male		16
Female		14
Total Participants		**30**
EMPLOYMENT STATUS	Split Accordingly	Sample Size
Unemployed	7 African females 7 African males	14
Employed	6 African females 6 African males 1 White Male 1 Coloured Male 1 Coloured female 1 Foreign national male	16
Total Participants		**30**
AGE GROUPS	Split accordingly	Sample size
Ages between 18-35	6 African females 7 African males	13
Ages between 35-60	7 African females 6 African males 1 White Male 1 Coloured Male 1 Foreign national male 1 Coloured female	17
Total participants		**30**
SUB GROUPS	Split accordingly	Sample size
Black African		28
Coloured		2
White		1
Foreign national		1
Total participants		**30**

The chosen sample was appropriate for this study. All participants have the knowledge and diverse observations providing valuable insights about service delivery difficulties and the

16

leadership of the ward councillor and ward committees in the community of IY. The data selection considered gender issues, employment status, age, and ethnic groups. Fieldwork was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic; therefore, it was challenging; however, it was ensured that the regulatory requirements were adhered to. The interviewer and the participants wore masks, were sanitised and followed social distancing protocols to comply with the COVID-19 regulations. Online or video interviews were impossible as the participants from the community were from disadvantaged backgrounds, with limited resources and access to the Internet and data.

1.7   Data analysis method

Cloete (2007) describes data analysis as all forms of analysis of data collected, employing qualitative techniques, regardless of the pattern to oversee the research. In qualitative research, data analysis involves constant processing, contrast, and assessment procedures. The process commences when the researcher collects literature on the subject or becomes involved in the field to collect empirical data. After the researcher wrote the research report, they may experience divergences or ambiguities established during the analysis, requesting further data collection, processing, and assessment (Cloete, 2007). Maxwell (2012) remarks "that a basic principle of qualitative research is that data analysis should be conducted with data collection". This allows for a progressive focus on interviews and observations, deciding how to test emerging conclusions (Maxwell, 2012, p. 235).

Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the data collected in this study. According to Harper and Thompson (2012), "thematic analysis is a method to identify and analyse patterns of meaning in a data set. It illustrates which themes are important in describing the phenomenon under study". The end of a thematic analysis should emphasise "the most salient constellations of meanings in the dataset". Such constellations include "affective, cognitive, and symbolic dimensions". Thematic analysis refers to themes; a theme must be examined more closely. The theme refers to a specific pattern of meaning established in the data. It can manifest content of aspects directly observable, such as mentions of stigma across interview transcripts. It can be more latent content, such as "references in the transcripts, referring to stigma implicitly through mentions of maintaining social distance from a group, such as certain mental health professionals" (Harper & Thompson, 2012, p. 209).

17

Cloete (2007, p. 515) remarks that "the thematic framework is the initial coding framework developed from prior assumptions and theoretical models, including emerging issues in the data familiarisation stage. This thematic framework is developed logically from the problem statement and research objectives and refined during the subsequent stages of analysis". "Codes are tags or labels that attach meaning to the raw data or notes collected during the fieldwork to retrieve and organise chunks of text to categorise them according to themes. This involves applying the thematic framework for the data, employing numerical or textual codes, categories, or classification systems to identify specific groups or data clusters". These should correspond with similar or varied themes (commonly called coding in some qualitative analysis approaches).

1.7.1 Validity and reliability

The most crucial factors in a qualitative study are validity and reliability, considered ensuring that valid and reliable information ensures accuracy. The researcher, therefore, needed to ensure that qualitative studies were carefully analysed and interpreted.

According to Mohajan (2017), reliability and validity are the two most fundamental features in evaluating any measurement or device for adequate research. Validity concerns what an instrument measures and how well it is measured. Reliability involves faith in the data obtained from an instrument, indicating how much any measuring device controls for random.

Validity assesses "how well a study measures what it claims to measure. Alone, reliability is insufficient because, for a study to be reliable, it needs to be valid. Reliability is the standard to which an assessment device produces stable, consistent results". The study was conducted professionally. "If a similar study had to be conducted, similar findings would have been established" (Stone, 2017, p. 37).

Guion et al. (2011) maintain that validity in qualitative research refers to whether the study's findings are true and certain; true because the research findings accurately reflect the situation and certainty that the evidence supports the research findings. The authors stipulates that triangulation is a "method qualitative researchers employ to check and establish validity in their study by analysing a research question from multiple perspectives" (Guion et al., 2011, p. 1) also caution regarding a common misconception that triangulation attempts to arrive at consistency across data sources or approaches; such inconsistencies may provide the relative

18

strengths of various approaches. These inconsistencies should not be observed as weakening the evidence but should be regarded as an opportunity to uncover meaning in the data. These five types of triangulations are presented:

- Data triangulation
- Investigator triangulation
- Theory triangulation
- Methodological triangulation
- Environmental triangulation

This study observed data triangulation as it involves employing various information sources to increase the study's validity. These sources involve stakeholders in a programme, participants, other researchers, programme staff, and other community members. In this study, the research began by identifying community leaders, ward committees, ward councillors, and foreign nationals. The data were validated throughout the collection period by returning them to the participants to verify if they represented what they disclosed. This included returning transcripts and field notes to all participants to review and comment on during the two days following the interview.

1.8   Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were important in the study. An effort was made to facilitate debate and collaboration rather than exacerbate tensions. Participants were accorded respect, autonomy, and full informed consent before the research. The participants understood the study and that they would provide information voluntarily. The study offered adequate confidentiality of data. Anonymity for all participants was ensured in interviews with community members. All data were anonymised by replacing the participants' names with ascending code numbers in the order of the initial interview.

The participants were not subjected to any harm. The participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study without questions. The ward councillor was only expected to respond to questions relating to their public office, not personal questions invading their privacy. Ward committee minutes were employed accurately and cited in context. The ward councillor and ward committee provided an opportunity for consent for their responses and participation in this research. Anonymity cannot be offered to them as community leaders.

1.9 Summary

The background preceding this study briefly discussed the leadership and service delivery difficulties of IY, referring to the relationship between service delivery protests and the lack of good governance within the local government. The ward councillors are vital as there is contact between the community and local government; however, the ward councillors hold inadequate power for decisions about service delivery difficulties. They ensure that the policies to discuss communities' requirements are implemented.

This chapter also covers the research methodology adopted for this study. The chapter outlines how the research was conducted, the participant selection and the method employed to collect data. The effectiveness method, indicating snowball sampling, is also discussed. Data collection methods, such as in-depth interviews and thematic analysis's effectiveness, are evaluated. Preventive measures were taken to ensure that potential limitations are visible. The best alternatives were chosen, ensuring that the concepts under consideration in this study were rationally conceived. The final findings and study conclusion left little room for interpretation and misjudgement. The study aimed to understand the participants' construction of their reality of service delivery difficulties confronted by illustrating one way where leadership becomes the concept under investigation in the same context.
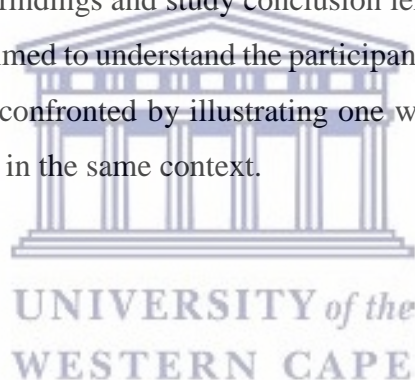
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW—LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH AFRICAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the background literature and theoretical perspectives on local elections, leadership, governance, and state service delivery in low-income communities and informal areas—cultural and economic minorities. While the democratic value of good governance guides the South African public service ethos, it has become complex in polarised local wards. This literature review on South Africa's public institutions identifies leadership crises contributing to mis governance (Anciano & Piper, 2018; Bonga, 2021). What happens to the meaning of representation and accountability when we make the class, gender or ethnic composition of elected body or councillor in a council a fundamental concern?

South Africa is reaching a state of crisis—the shortage of ethical leaders providing services to the nation ahead of power and self-enrichment (J. Reddy, 2017). Good governance relies upon ethics. A leader's character is, therefore, central to management and service delivery. Leaders operate through the influence of socio-economic policies, often imposed by their superiors. Most African countries have been plagued by challenges since independence from European colonial masters, resulting from poor leadership and their countries' location as primary product suppliers within the world economy. These difficulties include "poverty, hunger, corruption, economic and social insecurity, illiteracy, unemployment, violence, armed conflicts, inequality, and discrimination" (Ilevbare, 2018).

In these cases, including South Africa, local leadership is not the only problem; the hegemonic development discourse has for decades been neoliberal. This philosophy is based on the state serving corporate power, imposing austerity, and employing market mechanisms to converse its mandates, including service delivery. Neoliberalism seeped into the divergences governing daily life in South Africa. The resulting hardship is evidenced by large numbers of community struggles around basic services in the country (Narsiah, 2007, p. 34).

The function of ward councillors in advocating for and monitoring service delivery in their jurisdictions includes mediating between local government and communities (Bénit-Gbaffou,

2008). Functions of the governance in the local government involve creating, monitoring, and authorising strategies to enhance the service delivery among the country's population. The significant function of the country's local government is to present an accountable and democratic government to the local communities of the country, ensuring effective service delivery to the community. Additional functions are to improve economic and social development and build a healthy and safe environment for the country's population.

This study identified the need for greater ward committees' voices on behalf of communities. Ward committees should be a participatory mechanism to achieve democracy and good governance (Qwabe & Mdaka, 2011). The importance or significance of EL and governance in the Local Government of South Africa is briefly explained. In government relations, it is crucial to understand modern governance systems and the effect of traditional leadership in achieving and obtaining service delivery. The traditional communicator or leader assists their community members in obtaining all basic services. Essential services may provide food and crucial commodities to the needy by implanting in the community areas that the food is secure.

2.2   Leadership and governance

2.2.1   Local government leadership

Since 1994, transforming "local government has focused on providing local government with more accountable, financially sustainable, and the ability to deliver essential services to communities". Chapter 7 of the Constitution and the *1998 White Paper on Local Government* place the local government at the core of service delivery. For these objectives to be met, leadership in the local government must demonstrate innovative competencies to shape future visions and direct actions to converse a strong external focus and responsiveness towards the inhabitants (Kroukamp, 2007).

Leadership and governance challenges are becoming increasingly complex. A lack of good governance is attributed to a lapse in administration and politics. In most South African municipalities, service delivery protests are increasingly based on dissatisfaction with governance. Annually, the Auditor-General (A-G) raises concerns about the administrative governance quality in most departments, including municipalities, with audit outcomes ranging from qualified to disclaimer of audit opinion (Mafunisa & Khalo, 2014).

22

According to Argyriades (2006), fundamental elements characterise good governance, such as equity (inclusion of the poor and marginalised in government processes), participatory governance, legitimacy, transparency, effectiveness, and accountability. In 1995, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) provided seven measures for identifying good governance:

- The person occupying the public office should do so legitimately
- Participation should be free to all people and well-displayed even within the media
- The legal structure should be fair, just, and impartial in dispensing with its duties
- A framework enhancing strong accountability and high transparency should be promoted
- Information in the public sector should be free, valid, and available whenever needed
- Service delivery in the public sector should be effective and efficient
- Maximum cooperation between the public sector and civil societies should be demonstrated at all governance levels (Maloba, 2015)

Good governance judged by the above criteria, however, minimises voice and presence. Leadership concerns developing responsibility. "This involves various individuals taking responsibility; forcing people to take responsibility; influencing the community or society to confront its problems; and mobilising people, communities, or society, to confront severe challenges". "Leaders have powerful personalities and empower others with an unobstructed vision". "Leadership can, therefore, be observed as an interpersonal relationship where followers comply because they must—not because they want to". "A leader should convince others to contribute to attaining aims and objectives willingly"(Naidoo, 2005, p. 23).

A leader should be "a source of vision, an activator of processes, and a trust builder. Leadership effectiveness with the participation of various stakeholders in public service delivery will, therefore, constitute effective governance". Naidoo (2005) remarks that, "for governance to be effective in the South African public service, the state's role should be matched to its capability, which can be enhanced by reviving leadership". Promoting good governance requires EL at a local level (Naidoo, 2011), but local leadership is often constrained by broader policies (Bond, 2017).

2.2.2 Challenges of good governance

Dlalisa (2009) "contends that bad governance created a crisis of confidence and service delivery problems in the South African Local Government. Society does not trust that its government will keep its promises to deliver social services. Most people encounter inadequate health services, unclean water, poor educational services, badly maintained infrastructure, inadequate housing, and starvation because state institutions have become corrupt; they cannot deliver on their promises"(Dlalisa, 2009, p. 105).

Good governance requires trust between the elected and the electors. It is the only mechanism to support the basic social needs of communities within a normative and ethical paradigm. "Governance became a key concept within the study of public administration, development, administration, and political science". The government is crucial in most main junctures of individuals' lives. In a democracy, governance should be a concern for all individuals. A high level of legitimacy, trust and citizen understanding, cooperation, and participation are essential for the success of a democratic government (Silima, 2016).

2.2.3 Understanding ethical and authentic local leadership

Local democracy is motivated by the slogan, it is closest to the people; however, sometimes, this proposition is severely tested. Ethical leadership is grounded in ethical norms and practices. A leader should understand the constituency and emanate from the general body of the citizens. Two significant variables hinder good governance: social distance between elite representatives and constituents, indicating a lack of authenticity and possible unethical conduct. Governance and ethics became common words in South Africa (Sunny et al., 2015).

"Governments globally are compelled to promote democracy of decision-making while discharging their duties and responsibilities in organisations reflected by their well-defined value system. Public managers encounter increasingly complex ethical dilemmas, responding to the media and society's expectations while creating a service-oriented local government. The South African Constitution mandates public officials not to abuse public trust with ethical and responsible conduct" (Matsiliza, 2013, p. 1).

Ethics is critical in leadership and any organisational setting (Sunny et al., 2015, p. 30). Ethics refers to the values and principles guiding right and wrong behaviour. Leadership demands

24

ethics because of the involved responsibilities. Leaders in a democratic government—in all forms of government, need to be ethical as they pilot the affairs of their organisations and societies (Sunny et al., 2015, p. 30).

Public officials use their official positions to serve and enrich themselves and those close to them in the local sphere of government. This unethical behaviour reduces public trust and confidence in appointed and elected public office bearers (Mle & Maclean, 2011). The consequences of unethical leaders are often displayed in the media about tax evasion, falsifying qualifications, acquiring tenders through illegal means, cadre deployment, bribery, money laundering, and financial manipulation. Fundamental changes are essential. The country needs new leadership (Reddy, 2017). To enhance the effect of ethics, five fundamental behaviours are required in an ethical leader:

- "Understand and live values: crucial values in the workplace are honesty, integrity, fairness, respect, responsibility, and accountability. Living these values entails a personal commitment to the values, not merely superficial compliance, evident in all leaders' decisions and actions"

- "Live the organisation's culture: leaders incorporating the organisation's culture offer visible behavioural support for how things should be conducted in the workplace". This prohibits the leader who does not link "what I do and what is being seen and what I say"

- "Follow and support legislation, rules, and regulations: this considers the law as a minimum standard". "Leaders should aspire to do more than the minimum, excluding a tick box approach"

- "Follow the golden rule to do to others as you would like them to do for you: the philosophy of reversibility is a well-recognised approach and a principle at the centre of most religions, which includes considering the effect of actions and decisions on others"

- "Leads to empower others—not just for self: leadership aiming to empower others and enable them to be leaders represents the optimal leadership purpose". "This contrasts with leadership, primarily for personal gain" (Knowledge Resources, 2016).

Chief Justice Mogoeng alluded to that:

> Ethical leadership is not an option but a national imperative because when you are a
> leader, you have the authority to influence those that you lead, and it is what you do

25

that determines what those who follow you are likely to do, provided that ethical leadership is a critical trait (Raborife, 2016).

Mogoeng confirmed the importance of leaders, both in the public and the private sector, to espouse the characteristics of ethical leadership. This ensures that the country advances in a direction attempting to undo past wrongs. He also warned against the influence of business in the political realm: "Elected leaders needed to be honest and act for the common good rather than those who were funding their campaigns". Ethical leadership prohibits corruption; ethical leadership does not permit the manipulation of politicians by the corporate world. Mogoeng noted that "this was the leadership the country needed" (Raborife, 2016).

2.2.4   Leadership in local government

The government's democratic system motivates and engages the participation of the people at all levels. The function of the local government is defended based on the crucial aspect of democratisation and involvement of the masses in decision-making—the local government functions with twofold purposes. First, the common administration's purpose is to supply goods and services to the people. Second, it involves the specific representation of the people as the democratic part of the government (Palmer et al., 2017). In South Africa, there are 278 municipalities, including eight metropolitans—44 districts and the local municipalities, 226. The local municipalities focus on developing local economies and supplying a significant infrastructure. As the director of the Constitution, the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act 117 of 1998) includes the criteria identifying the area in this category. Category B represents the local municipalities serving the local areas (Ndevu & Muller, 2017). Local government is not merely technical but is about enhancing citizenship and empowering people. J.S Mill contended it was a school for democracy. Everyday life issues are encountered, and opportunities exist to provide experiential democracy at the grassroots.

Local government also performs great recreational and cultural work, such as building libraries, parks, halls for popular assemblies, natural enrichment, tree plantation, and property maintenance—this help to create a social space convivial for citizenship.

26

2.2.5 Municipal service delivery and informal areas

According to Reiter and Klenk (2019), the new public management (NPM) system emerged with the general administrative trend in the 1980s, promoting the changes in South African LG services. The provided municipal services were injected by the technologies employed in private sector management. The market-oriented initiatives were based on performance-related contracts rather than careers. Performance management functioned as a crucial element of the public sector and political constitutions. It, however, goes against citizenship in favour of seeing citizens as customers. "Affordability is the primary concern. Access to services is of little consequence if households cannot afford the costs of using them" (Mcdonald, 2002, p. 5). The ability to pay is a condition of affordability. The state continues to encounter difficulties in basic municipal service delivery to townships, even after over 20 years of democracy. The country still encounters serious challenges of social harm, such as "unemployment, poverty, and inequality". These factors culminated in angry "citizens taking to the streets to express dissatisfaction with poor service delivery" (Managa, 2012, p. 1).

Cole (1987) has documented the case of Crossroads in the 1970s and early 1980s when 'illegal' Xhosa- speaking 'squatters' settled on the land, but "were constantly exposed to arrest and 'repatriation' to their 'rural homelands'. The state responded to such land invasions by systematically demolishing shack settlements. The establishment of Khayelitsha was meant to be a solution to these 'problems' of urban land invasions and the mushrooming of informal settlements" (Robins, 2002, p. 594). After 1994, there was a period when the ANC government took a softer line on illegal settlements by upgrading them or relocating residents to more suitable formal RDP houses (Robins, 2002).

Some scholars contend that the government should recognise informal housing as this is often better suited to low-income residents. Smit (2000) noted several disadvantages of formalisation, "such as higher rates, transfer and building costs and the requirement of obtaining business licences and the costs of building (formal) business premises" Yose (1999) suggests that "formal housing means pressure to acquire electrical appliances, expensive furniture, and other household goods while noting that risks of fire and flooding in informal settlements might constrain consumerism".

Huchzermeyer notes incisively that:

The problem of informality and illegality in human settlements should be defined from the perspective of those needing to cope with this phenomenon on a daily basis. The legal focus then would not be on the contravention of laws, but on the lack of formal rights, or rather the lack of protection from the infringement of rights by others, including the state. This focus would not lead to a condemnation of the practice of informally occupying land (in the contravention of laws), but to a condemnation of the exploitative and repressive practices that such informality enables. It is the lack of formal rights that allow for exploitation by politicians, by irresponsible or even repressive bureaucracies, and by informally operating groups or individuals in the control over land, access to services, commercial activities, etc. In the final section, the paper asks whether an alternative intervention approach may lead to the recognition of informality as the lack of rights, rather than the contravention of laws (2004, p. 334).

South Africa is a state encountering multi-fold disparities because of its colonial and oppressive history (Bohler-Muller et al., 2016). The government had an immense responsibility to undo the apartheid legacy of policies affecting poverty, inequality, and racial segregation of services to create a single, efficient public service, delivering the basic needs of all citizens. High unemployment and poverty exacerbate dissatisfaction with poor service delivery, particularly in informal settlements, where unemployment and poverty are endemic (Managa, 2012).

Kemp and Vyas-Doorgapersad (2020) confirm the enormous challenge of improving the conditions of several communities afflicted by unprecedented, elevated levels of unemployment and poverty, historical backlogs of infrastructure services, and the uneven spread of economic resources. Service delivery problems affect citizens in the mini suburbs of various socio-economic and institutional challenges.

The societal transformation was also a major challenge for the government. Some observe that provided "a legacy of repression and discrimination, systematic destruction of black family life and social capital, and distorted service delivery and societal structures under colonialism and apartheid, the democratic state encountered a formidable challenge". This includes establishing new democratic forms of governance and the fundamental transformation of society (Kotze & Taylor, 2011, p. 199).

The service provision quality often fails to meet citizens' expectations. The sluggish pace and quality service shortage led to country-wide protests, causing attention to LG. These protests

signified elevated anger, xenophobic assaults, plundering, and police violence. Service delivery dissatisfaction is noticeable in informal settlements and metropolitan areas, such as the Western Cape and Gauteng (Bohler-Muller et al., 2016).

2.2.6 Summary

This chapter discusses the phenomenon of the state of leadership, governance, and service delivery in the South African LG. Leadership and governance cannot go into isolation, especially with the country's service delivery difficulties. Leadership effectiveness enables ethical behaviour, accountability, and service delivery.

This chapter recognises that a lack of leadership and governance affects basic service delivery. It also indicates that leadership is the most crucial factor in the LG of South Africa. The challenges associated with ethical leadership lead to corruption in the government departments, distorting government employees. Corruption is the outcome of poor ethics in leadership because of poor service delivery.

CHAPTER 3: REPRESENTATION, RATIONAL VOTERS, AND LOCAL DEMOCRACY

3.1   Introduction

This chapter will proceed by discussing the importance of representation in a democracy, and whether elected political parties consider representation to the communities they serve. The chapter will continue by examining the ward councillors and committees' representative functions and conclude on the public participation approach to hold them accountable with a balanced view on the subject matter.

Representation is a critical element in a democracy, but on what basis are representatives elected and whose group interests do they represent? Although democracy is about individuals choosing a representative, individuals also belong to groups. Do leaders have to reflect the characteristics of the groups they purport to represent, the group's experiences and life circumstances, and what about the losing groups in a winner takes all system? Should women leaders represent women and black communities have black persons represent black voters or neighbourhoods? Does this matter in a non-sexist, non-racial democracy? What does authentic representation mean? Are marginalised groups not entitled to more representation to compensate for their lack of power? What might substantive representation (as opposed to formal) mean in a South African context (Dovi, 2015)?

Most individuals want to be represented by someone who can speak their language and emanate from a similar background. A woman's movement, for example, should be led by women. This raises the ethics of representation and other issues: should representatives in a democracy mirror the demographic character of a jurisdiction? Should wards or electoral districts allow under-represented groups to have a voice or leaders? In South Africa, where there are deep racial legacies, can whites represent blacks? What does non-racialism mean for how ward boundaries are drawn for elections? What is the function of the party leadership and the ward committee as part of the leadership team? In this chapter, I review theories of representation and presence to shed general light on these questions to understand politics and representation in Ward 74.

This chapter explores these issues through the lens of "presence", which, as Anne Phillips contends, means that the experience of membership in a specific group is not minimised; the "god-like" observation of the representative who somehow can all consider groups' interests is dismissed as arrogant. Take the example of DA leader James Selfe, who not only uses the term "black voter" but also divines the needs of the "black voter": "If you polled black voters, you would find that land itself is not the issue. … the real need of black voters is skills and jobs" (News 24, 2018). This illustrates what (Rosaldo, 1994, p. 405) defines as a "culturally conditioned tendency to make authoritative pronouncements… (it) would be like hearing somebody say that he or she felt thirsty and then trying to convince him or her that they were mistaken".

The DA also insists on "forgetting, getting over, moving on, wiping away the terms of reference" (Goldberg, 2009, p. 21). It attempts to bury race. "Burying race", as Enck-Wanzer (2011, p. 25) puts it, "becomes the modus operandi of contemporary public discourse" Racism is also evident in the ways DA liberals advocate "an active suppression of ''race'' as a legitimate topic or term of public discourse and municipal policy. The DA denies widespread structural racism, limiting it to incidents of intentional action by a few ignorant "bad apples" (CCT 2017, IDP: 121). The DA officially holds that race is not a proxy for disadvantage (Coetzee et al., 2020)[2].

3.1   What is democracy?

According to Young (2002), "democracy is the best political form of restraining rulers from the abuses of power that are their inevitable temptations". Only in democratic political systems can all members of a society in principle can attempt to influence public policy to serve or protect their interests. She also adds that "democratic equality entails a principle that everyone whose basic interests are affected by policies should be included in making them; however, individuals and groups often claim that decision-making processes are dominated by only some interests and perspectives in society" and that it often marginalises individuals and groups because the norms of political discussion are biased against some forms of expression (Young,

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[2] The 2019 DA Commission into its poor performance in 2019 elections (Coetzee et al 2020: NP) noted that racial identity should not be essentialized: "every person is an individual in that each of us has a unique perspective on the world". Moreover, "anyone who sees themselves primarily as a representative of a group should not feel at home in the DA".

2002, p. 3). According to Phillips (2000), "simple democracy was a society governing itself without the aid of secondary means. By ingrafting representation onto democracy, we arrive at a system of government capable of embracing and confederating all various interests and extent of industry and population"(Phillips, 2000, p. 7).

According to Lovenduski (2019), "democracy may be placed on a continuum from a minimal arrangement of choosing leaders to a complex system involving freedom, rights, accountability, equality, representation, and security". Contemporary democracies from an ideal type are political systems, sets of an institution that claim to guarantee and protect the agreed ideas; however, it is embedded in the structures we know as democracies with the privileges of elites protected from their responsibilities (Lovenduski, 2019, p. 18).

3.2   Representation

As developed by Hanna Pitkin (1967), representation is a complex structure with multiple dimensions hypothesised to be closely interconnected with four distinct dimensions, including formal representation, referring to the institutional rules and procedures through which representatives are chosen; descriptive representation, referring to the compositional similarity between representatives and the represented; substantive representative or responsiveness, referring to the congruence between representatives actions and the interests of the represented; and symbolic representation, referring to the represented emotions of being fairly and effectively represented (Schwindt-Bayer & Mishler, 2005).

Contemporary representation democracies have evolved from a political system conceived by its founders' opposing democracy or government by the people. What we now call representative democracy has its origins in ideas and institutions that have developed in the wake of the English, American and French revolutions (Hamilton & Viegi, 2009) historically the design of democracy and representation excluded women. The great revolutions mentioned above hardly meant the access of women to govern the nation (Tremblay, 2007).

The value of political equality is central to normative theories of democracy that women are equal citizens and, therefore, should share equally with men in public decision-making; otherwise, there is a democratic deficit. Empirical theories define democracy by institutions, such as the freedom to form and join organisations; freedom of expression; the right to vote in elections and to stand for public office; the right of political leaders to compete for the support

of votes; freedom of information, and availability of alternative sources of information; free and fair elections; and institutions for making government policies that depend on votes and other expressions of preference.

The author adds that "empirical democracy is a complex concept encompassing a range of practical realities, including cultural, socio-economic and political factors. For instance, how can democracy function if the population lacks resources to satisfy basic needs in health and education? How can democracy function when most people live in poverty? How can democracy deliver its virtues when the cultural, socio-economic, and political contexts are hostile to the principle of gender equality" (Tremblay, 2007, p. 534)?

> The term representative democracy conveys the complexity, richness, and uniqueness of the political order of the moderns, an original synthesis of two distinct and, in certain respects, alternative political traditions. Representation is the focus on the dynamics that keep modern democracy in motion and the political process that activates the communication between state institutions and society (Urbinati, 2011).

"If democratic representation is to be understood as more than a division of labour between political elites and citizens, the representation must be understood as an intrinsic part of what makes democracy possible" (Urbinati & Warren, 2008).

Modise (2017) "contends that representative democracy is a form of democracy where citizens allow others, usually elected officials, to represent them in government processes and where they are not necessarily directly involved in law-making or decision-making. Representative democracy allows citizens to elect individual members of the community who will deal with the responsibilities and tasks of governance and decision-making on their behalf. In several cases, however, representatives are often elected based on shared beliefs and opinions of certain segments of the populace, regardless of those representatives' education, knowledge, integrity, or ability to solve problems. Some observe this as a weakness of representative democracy in that the representatives might place their own needs and preferences before those of the people" (Modise, 2017, p. 3).

Representation in the mainstay of modern democracies and the study of descriptive representation based on shared social characteristics has often been at the centre of attention.

descriptive representation has been crucial in supporting the principles of democracy: Citizens are more willing to accept a political decision made by a representative body that descriptively reflects society, have more trust in such institution, feel symbolically represented by it, see the institution as more responsive and more inclined to seek political participation in it (Arnesen et al., 2019).

An expressive portrayal deficiency links to policy outcomes more biased against, for example, women and children. The mechanism where descriptive representation may exert such positive effects is well theorised: in contexts where politically, disadvantaged groups distrust elected officials, or the interests of such groups are not clearly articulated, a descriptive representation politician may better gain trust, communicate with the group, and mostly through shared experience, comprehend and represent the groups' interests.

According to Pitkin, descriptive representation is inherently linked to substantive representation and political representation based on shared political preferences (Arnesen et al., 2019). He adds that political representation based on social characteristics is more important to voters when differences among groups within a country are substantial and descriptive representation matters most in countries with a significant minority group politically under-represented.

3.3   In whose interest?

The essence of the representation of identity is who is representing whom? This observation is based on a conception that social representation, for example, gender, ethnicity, and race, cannot be separated from the representation of interest. According to Phillips (2000), the social background of an individual affects their actions today and in the future, including their actions as a political representative; however, it is difficult for political parties to present a fixed political programme, foretelling the voters exactly how their representatives will act, as Pitkin contends.

"Political representation is required to take the initiative. Their political programme may not be extensive enough to provide support in the current situation. A shared social background and position in society can lead to decisions and initiatives closer to the interests of the represented, formed by and living in the same social conditions" (Falasca, 2008, p. 5).

The momentous occasion of 27 April 1994, "brought hope, aspirations, and opportunity to the historically oppressed, excluded, and disadvantaged black South Africans to practice their democratic right for the first time. This presented an opportunity for most South Africans to vote for a leader of their choice, who they believe will provide leadership in transforming the country from an apartheid regime to a democratic state" (Masipa, 2018, p. 2). The election system in South Africa is based on proportional representation with a party list and no thresholds. This system allows for the electorate to choose their political representative from the list presented by various political parties.

By designing this electoral system, ethical voting would be prevented since representatives are elected based on the party and not their personal characteristics (Falasca, 2008). "With no thresholds, all parties receiving enough votes will have the ability to access a seat in Parliament, allowing small groups to be represented and representing the diversity of South African society". "Representation then becomes a simple reflection of the election result. Several parties provide the electorate with the possibility of choosing the party representing them in the best way" (Falasca, 2008, p. 10).

Several observers globally, predicted that, "once the heavy hand of white minority rule was lifted, ethnic and linguistic divisions within the African majority would gain new salience, resulting in widespread conflict in a divided South Africa". These predictions have not been corroborated. South Africa remains a highly diverse and unequal society (Murray & Simeon, 2007, p. 699). After three decades of democracy, it is threatened globally by growing inequality and mistrust of democratic institutions. The Human Science Research Council (HSRC) conducts a "South African social attitudes survey" annually, indicating that "South Africans are increasingly dissatisfied with democracy". In 2004, when the country celebrated a decade of democracy, 59% were satisfied with democracy; only 32% were satisfied with how democracy functioned.
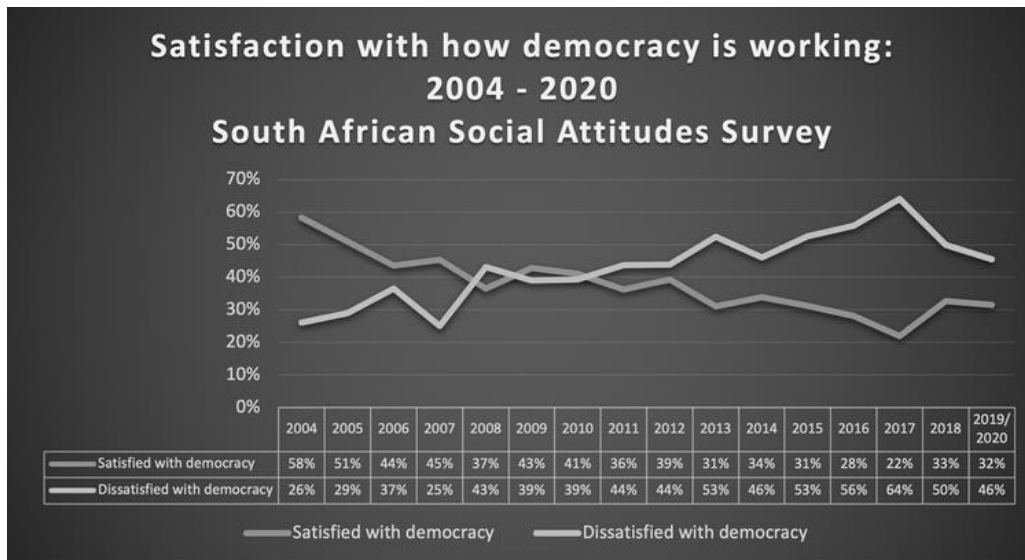
Figure 0.1: Democratic satisfaction—South African social attitude survey

Based on the research and results in Figure 0.1 above, South Africans feel disempowered. This disempowerment is premised on the observation that their voice, life choices, and sense of freedom are undermined by a lack of equality of opportunity. This inequality of opportunity is a form of continued oppression informed by the observation that living standards have not improved for most South Africans (Kotze, 2022). Citizens place a high value on equality as an essential democratic principle, provided that South Africa is still an unequal society globally.

3.4   Ward councillors' representative function

Ward councillors are "political leaders whose primary duties include representing the voters' wishes". They should also "lead their constituencies without losing sight of the need to ensure services are delivered". During this process, they should "not interfere with municipal administrators". They should also align with "their party's political beliefs and values because they were elected as ward councillors to represent the interests of everybody in that ward on a party ticket (Taylor et al., 2015, p. 17). A single ward may have diverse economic classes and racial groups.

Taylor and Mfene (2015) remark that the function of ward councillors as mediators between LG and residents is becoming increasingly important. Ward councillors were absent from the public scene for municipal decisions and debates and were the target of several service delivery protests. The representative function of ward councillors requires performing satisfactorily to

https://etd.uwc.ac.za/

their sub-constituencies, but debatably, an ideal representative should be of and close *to* the people.

The *Handbook of Municipal Councillors* was developed to further promote and encourage an efficient and effective governance system in the local sphere because of the challenges encountered by councillors. The handbook defines "the functions and responsibilities of councillors. The objective is to equip them with the knowledge and skills that will enable them to conduct their work and understand their function" (Mle & Maclean, 2011).

Municipality service delivery, however, depends on the capability of municipal officials and workers. Any underperformance by municipal officials will harm the performance of ward councillors. Ward councillors should, therefore, display firm leadership, understanding, and good governance (Taylor et al., 2015). In informal settlements, councillors represent entire wards (including formal and informal areas):

> … tend to originate from formal settlements. Even where they are residents of informal settlements, they represented the formal technically driven system of resource allocation and service delivery rather than the social realities of informal settlements. In this sense, coping with informality implies coping with a system of representation that seldom identifies with the concerns of those living in informal settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2004, p. 340).

According to Benit-Gbaffou (2008) "councillors are increasingly the targets of mass protests while being absent from the public scene about municipal decisions and debates, provided that ward councillors have limited power in the council". "It solicits whether they are mere scapegoats of public discontent when government policies deviate from the majority's expectations or seem to fail, even with good intentions, to discuss the needs of the poor. Councillors cannot change socio-economic conditions". Ward councillors are the major links between residents and LG, but cannot fulfil their function (Benit-Gbaffou, 2008, p. 26).

The "positing of further measures must remedy the situation". Such measures could include "political will, exemplary leadership, and integrating service delivery". "The reasons for the innovation of participatory governance" include "redressing the remoteness of national and provincial governments, improving the responsiveness of LG", especially service delivery and

LED, and an expressed ideological commitment to deepening democracy (Piper & Deacon, 2009, p. 416).

Piper (2015) examines the puzzle of why black voters keep voting for the ANC when the ANC-run areas provide little in return. He also confirms a "popular protest against poorly performing local government by the very same citizens who regularly return these governments to office". He coined the terms "party-society" and "popular incompetence"– "the fact that voter support for ruling parties, especially the African National Congress (ANC), remains high in areas where the performance of municipalities is widely regarded as dismal". He answers the ANC has a:

> … set of ideas about democracy and nationalism inherited from liberation politics that enables local practices to contradict the model of democracy encoded in the design of local governance. It is also informed by forms of patronage politics, …. a critical factor in understanding the informal politics of the 'party-society' is the normative privileging given to the ANC as the sole legitimate representative of the nation. This idea is part of a historical discourse of bounded pluralism drawn from Marxist-Leninist thought that informed the political practice of both the ANC in exile and its allies inside South Africa prior to 1994 (Piper, 2015, p. 22).

Piper has made several claims about South Africa and HB with little direct evidence. First, he has no evidence that the people who protest also vote for the ANC. Protests are often led by youth who tend not to vote. Almost half the electorate does not vote.

Second, Piper disregards the context and problem of white privilege, remaining the norm and where hardly any white voter has voted for the ANC since 1994. Do white voters "reward competence"? Are white voters rational, but black voters not? The pathologising of the homogenous "black voter"—loyal to the ANC, no matter what—is evident here.

Third, the fact that so few black voters trust the DA needs to be explained. Instead, he attempts to extrapolate from Leninist ideology (which the ANC, even as an underground banned movement, has no point endorsed) conventional norms that all nationalist movements attempting to build a movement against the colonial divide and rule strategies have used the slogan of unity of the oppressed (Jordan, 1997). The contention that the ANC was an instrument of the Soviet Union and was "communist" was used extensively by the apartheid propaganda machine during the cold war. Piper explains his observation:

A key claim … is that the liberal-democratic conception of democracy established in the constitution sits at odds with the liberation nationalism of the ANC and its allies. Further, the practice of liberation nationalism in a liberal-democratic context helps understand many of the features of the dominant party system evident today. In what follows I will argue that liberation nationalism entails a conception of political community or nation and representation that legitimates exclusionary practices. Key here is homogenisation or bounded pluralism, and a conception of leadership that constructs the ANC as the only legitimate representative of the nation. In important ways these ideas reflect the impact of the close merger of ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) in exile from 1960 to 1990 (Ellis 2012). Exile saw most of the party elite trained in Marxist beliefs, including the practice of democratic centralism, in the ideological schools of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, East Germany and Cuba.

"The DA characterises the ANC as a "racial nationalist" party rejecting the ANC's claims of non-racialism and the words of the Freedom Charter that" "South Africa belongs to all who live in it". The DA claims that racism in Cape Town is a 'myth' (Zille, 2009).

In a DA pamphlet headed "The ANC wants to stop you from getting a job", the DA accused the 'racist' ANC of trying to "prevent thousands of coloured people in the Western Cape from getting jobs" (DA, 2014). This spin was repeated by Patricia de Lille, Zille's successor: "The CoCT is non-racial, unlike the ANC … who seemingly only have the race card left to play" (Korte, 2014).

The DA claims its increasing electoral performance and proof that its messages are reaching voters lies in its ability to deliver tangible improvements and operate a clean administration. The DA contends that the ANC uses:

… identity' politics, which makes it easier to whip up grievances and target scapegoats. The only thing that is currently holding the fragile and fractured governing alliance together in South Africa is their joint focus on race and history (Helen, 2015, Mexico address to Liberal International).

Similarly, (Piper, 2015, p. 24) contends that black voters are blindly loyal to the ANC because "the decline in voter participation is relatively small". This is incorrect.

Several black voters voting EFF are ignored because this shows what black voters think. A more plausible explanation that black voters might not trust white-led parties provided a long history of white racism and European colonialism is not explored in Piper's paper. Corruption and competence in Piper's observation are largely confined to black people. Bond (2020) notes "that the accounting firm, Price Water Coopers, regularly names Johannesburg's corporate elite as the world's most corrupt city in South Africa with corporate rulers, especially procurement fraud, money laundering, asset misappropriation, and bribery"(Bond, 2020, p. 60). They acknowledge that 80% of these managers engage in crime. DA-led Cape Town, similarly (Olver, 2019) demonstrates the corruption built into the property-led growth regime in CCT.

As De Lille "has alleged that conservative members of the DA caucus in the city "used a cocktail of rich ratepayers, environmentalists, and heritage and planning regulations to prevent the development of public spaces for the public good—in Clifton, the city centre, Woodstock, Salt River, Hout Bay, Rondebosch, Plumstead. "The conservatives in the party will tell you that there is virtually no available land in Cape Town suitable to accommodate poorer people …".

Dovi (2015) contends that "substantive representation might require limiting and taking away power from historically privileged groups within democratic institutions". Structural corruption in South Africa is built into the white business as a culture inherited from the past sanction's era. Elements of that DNA persist 23 years later (Bond, 2020) through fronting. Masenya (2017) reveals that clientelism and neopatrimonialism, which Anciano and Piper (2018) endorse, damage the long-term development of democratic accountability in a country by eroding the effectiveness and credibility of democratic institutions. Neo-patrimonial systems, therefore, provide limited accountability for resource distribution to a small group of constituents. It also creates a lack of trust and a low level of legitimacy in politics, eventually damaging democratic accountability mechanism development (Masenya, 2017).

The reflects the importance of participatory democracy, including ward committees, sub-councils, the budget, and IDP processes.
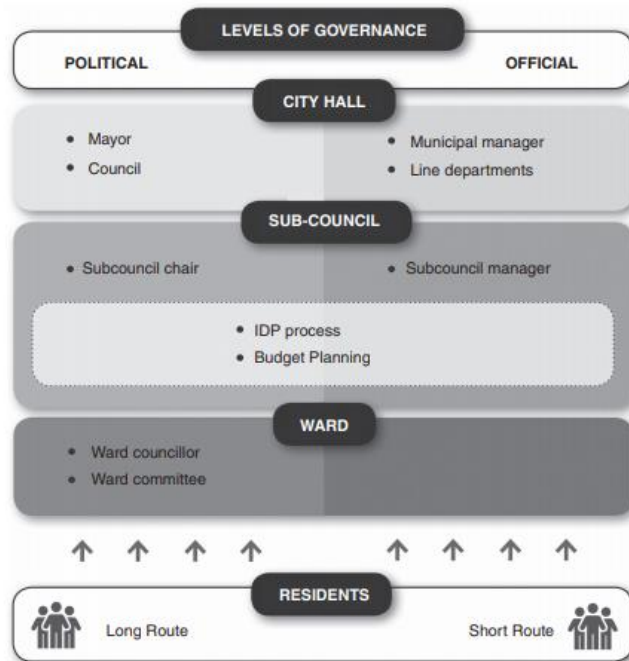
Figure 0.2: City of Cape Town simplified diagram of political and official channels of engagement

Source: Anciano and Piper (2018).

The government's keenness on ward committees is indisputable. Major contributing factors exist in why the state emphasises ward committees and why a drive for public participation exists in local governance, ideology, international best practice, and LG responsiveness:

- Significance ideology would be a national liberation movement opposed to apartheid oppression, the ANC, which has long affirmed democratic governance and participatory democracy, or people power as the preferred version of democratisation. Public participation expresses the slogan, 'the people shall govern', a primary tenet of the ANC's most important ideological document (the Freedom Charter, 1955).

- Government and its currency in governance globally is that municipalities came to appreciate that the relationship between government and those governed is as important as the government. This is meant when people mention the shift from government to governance. Governance is a way of governing. It takes the observations and interests of those affected by the government more seriously than in the past.

41

- "It promises a way of making poorly performing municipalities more responsive to communities. Implementing the ward committee system must be against the backdrop of substantial community protest deficiencies in LG. Ward committee now enjoys the affirmation to improve the responsiveness and accountability of an LG" (Piper & Deacon, 2009, p. 420).

"After government keenness, the reality remains that practically ward committees are effective. Will they enable a more informed LG on responsiveness to local communities? Will they enable local communities to affect the council's decision-making process meaningfully? Will they assist deepen local democracy in South Africa"? Both (Piper & Deacon, 2009, p. 416) observed that basic service delivery is implausible. This is based on their research on two municipalities of KwaZulu-Natal; "the ward committee system was feeble and poorly developed, incapable of affecting processes. The functioning of ward committees depends overly on":

- Performing ward councillors
- The political will of the local party
- The support of the municipality

3.5   Ward committees
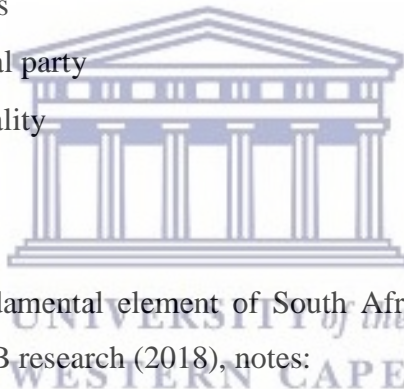
The ward committee is a fundamental element of South African participatory democracy. Anciano, who reports on her HB research (2018), notes:

> The formation of a ward committee can be done in several ways; however, the ward councillor often has significant discretion in influencing which representatives are selected. In an interview with a ward councillor elected in the 2016 LG elections (Ward Councillor, personal communication, February 21, 2017), he explained how he chooses which portfolios would be represented on the committee as "it is the councillor's prerogative to select portfolios. He specifically allowed three seats for organisations involved with security, for example, so all his preferred members would have a place. While some seats were drawn by a lot, he had nine of the 10 ward committee members that he wanted.

> Ward committees are inherent(ly) clientelistic. Anciano and Piper (2018, p. 103) contend, which is an outstanding feature. Evidence shows that clientelism is a form

42

of civic engagement that can do what civil society organisations do when engaging in democratic participation.

In South Africa, a case study by an organisation, the Peace and Mediation Forum (PMF) in HB, Cape Town, shows clientelism can perform tasks, such as building social capital. The PMF was formed through the mandate of the court to represent all the residents of Hangberg, in HB. After 39 leaders were elected democratically to the forum, becoming the "only recognised legal entity within the community that may liaise with the City" (Interview with PMF leader, 2015. Interview Conducted by Fiona Anciano, March, Cape Town). This structure facilitated ongoing clientelist relations between the DA and PMF brokers, an observation reinforced by research with Hangberg residents, describing resources and opportunities selectively channelled by PMF 'brokers' to compliant members of the community. The CoCT has also, over time, prioritised support for PMF 'leaders' more amenable to its observations (Anciano & Piper, 2018, p. 103).

The ward committee system also relies on certain main individuals, political parties, and the municipality to underwrite public participation in local governance (Piper & Deacon, 2009). Combined with the Municipal Structure Act, ward committees may not include executive powers, emphasising their role in communication, mobilisation, and advisory. The system attempts to balance offering residents their fullest space to participate in municipal affairs and ensuring the right of councillors to govern ultimately.

Anciano and Piper (2018) remark that ward committees have been observed to deepen democracy effectively. Research across the country attests to this, illustrating that ward committees do not engage large, representative numbers of citizens; flaws exist in the design of the committees, and they can be exclusive partisan spaces. Research in the Cape confirms committees as an avenue for vying for political visibility and leadership positions.

Ward committees and sub-council meetings are open to the public, but formal representation and written permission to speak give little meaningful voice to residents. Even if ward committees were democratically elected, they still would not link residents' interests with bureaucratic planning systematically. Even if the community would receive significant support from the ward committee, their issues will not escalate into meaningful political action, therefore, the challenges communities encounter (Anciano & Piper, 2018).

43

According to Khumalo et al. (2011), the source of corruption in South Africa is "rooted in the country's bureaucratic traditions, political development, and social history". Corruption thrived, first because of institutional weaknesses. Factors undermined the normal motivation of public sector employees to function productively, such as declining civil service salaries and promotion, unconnected to performance. Public services were demoralised by dysfunctional government budgets, inadequate supplies and equipment, delays in releasing budget funds, and loss of organisational purpose.

The motivation to adhere to good governance has further weakened because of senior officials and political leaders using public office for private acquisition. Second, corruption arises from social tensions. The new social forces governing South Africa were historically excluded from the economy; now, control state power handles service delivery to excluded and marginalised individuals (Khumalo et al., 2011).

Corruption was parallel to disease among the citizens because of the significant loss it caused them. One of the most visible items harmed by corruption indicates a slagging development rate in related public projects. The quality of services the people receive from the government is also poor (Ababio & Vyas-Doorgapersad, 2010). South Africa attempted various efforts to bring sanity into public service and eradicate corruption since 1991. Legal structures and independent bodies ensure that corruption does not prevail. Corruption still thrives, even in major cities, such as Cape Town (Maloba, 2015).

Studies indicate that corruption undermines good governance, places strong constraints on developments, and threatens the ethics of society. The government, therefore, reduces public trust in its acceptability and credibility. These aspects contradict the rule of law, and accountability enhances (Argyriades, 2006).

Cape Town is the oldest city in South Africa, hosting legislative functions in the country. This study recognises the City. The City is, therefore, expected to be among the best regions in South Africa regarding public service. Good governance is a significant challenge in the City, as experienced by the rest of the country. Public services deeply emerged in corrupt deals in most sectors (Pillay, 2004).

3.5.1 Lack of public participation and the wrong type

Public participation is an important mechanism for enhancing local citizenship and life quality. The official, people-centred approach of the post-1994 South African Government established public participation as a Constitutional imperative. This encourages public engagement in policymaking, developing a citizenry of active participants rather than "consumers of services". Formal and informal initiatives have been undertaken, including ward committees, public hearings, Imbizo, and citizens (Vivier & Wentzel, 2013, p. 240); however, participation in elections has been declining and even in Cape Town, participation became a tick box exercise, as a recent HSRC report suggests.

The South African Government introduced the Batho Pele principles as an acceptable policy and legislative framework to strengthen service delivery plans. Batho Pele is a 'tool' nested in strategies to enhance community or public participation and service delivery. Public participation can be defined as a process where potential interested and affected parties are presented with an opportunity to comment on or raise issues relevant to an application (Naidoo & Ramphal, 2018).
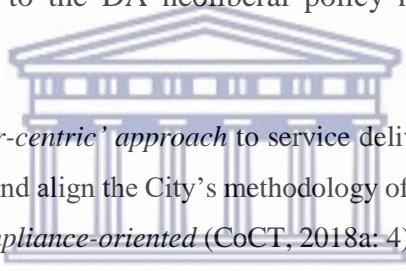
South Africa experiences massive backlogs, poor skills base, and persistent service delivery protests often characterised by violent destruction of public property. One major reason for such protests is the exclusion or inadequate participation of the society to be served by the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) process. Dissatisfaction exists with services, such as running water and sanitation, electricity, roads, housing, and schools. There is inefficient public participation, unlike what is promised by municipalities. Participation often works best for all concerned when each major interest group is satisfied with the participation level where they are involved (Naidoo & Ramphal, 2018). With an effective functioning public participation system for residents to express their needs and for the needs and concerns to be heard and acted upon by the municipal administration, residents have more trust in the ability of the LG to discuss their needs. They are less frustrated with the service delivery shortfalls (Vivier & Wentzel, 2013, p. 242).

The actual execution of public participation helped to hold the public functionaries accountable to the communities they serve. South Africa, however, encounters challenges in allocating scarce resources, especially public capital, to provide basic services. Public participation is,

therefore, adopted to ensure the prioritisation of services by the beneficiary communities because of the scarcity of funds earmarked for service delivery. It is accepted that genuine public participation engenders public support and ownership of the processes (Nembambula, 2014).

A DA political party machine aspires to distribute standardised messages; however, a divergence exists between desire and reality (Clelland & Coetzee, 2018). Public engagement is "not championed by the leadership and senior management of the City at a *corporate level*" (CoCT, 2016b). The CoCT admitted it is "not embracing engagement beyond legal compliance. (It) is perceived as a 'tick-box exercise' (CoCT, 2016b). Even in its neoliberal bias, the CoCT admits that "there is little to no sharing of experience, … Often multiple departments will conduct engagement in the same area without coordination, causing confusion and conflict' (CoCT, 2016b).

Despite this internal observation of disorganised participation as a tick-box exercise, there is, I contend, a strategic coherence to the DA neoliberal policy narrative. In 2018, the CoCT reinforced this:

> This plan drives a *'customer-centric' approach* to service delivery across the City.
> … it is necessary to update and align the City's methodology of Public Participation
> which … had been very *compliance-oriented* (CoCT, 2018a: 4).

The CoCT observes democracy as a marketplace where public participation is configured as a delivery to the 'customer' rather than the citizen. In line with third-way neoliberalism, the CoCT also encourages localised kinds of participation within a community according to 'their areas', their resources and desires remarkably similar to the much-maligned separate development rather than the City. Neoliberal separate development is justified as 'co-creation':

> Co-creation within a community is a way people can take *responsibility* for
> developing their communities while investing their time and resources into their
> areas. The City encourages local communities to consider what they see as the
> *desirable future for their areas* (CTC, 2019).

Township protests have been dismissed as politically motivated to weaken the DA. The CoCT often feels overwhelmed when the poor participate, albeit in unauthorised ways (Makhubu, 2017). Over the period 2017-2018, there was a 53% increase in land invasions recorded and a

46

249% increase in protests (Business Tech, 2018). From the beginning of October to the end of December 2018, the Cape Town local authority has responded to 148 protests (CTC 2020). Khayelitsha has, since the late 2000s, become the epicentre of the local protest through official and unofficial channels. According to the Social Justice Coalition (SJC) leaders, Notywala:

> Last year (2015), with assistance from the SJC, 502 residents from Khayelitsha, mostly from informal settlements, made submissions on the 2015-16 draft budget. The City had never had so many budget submissions. The previous year there were 38, and 23 of them were from the (mostly white) public. In fact, since 2007, there hadn't been more than 57 submissions (Notywala, 2016).

Councillor JP Smith labelled the SJC as illegitimate and as "splendidly funded but politically devious" (Social Justice Coalition, 2019). Many other movements have sprung up–from *Total Shutdown, STOP CoCT, Dear Cape Town,* and *Gatvol Cape Town, Ndifuna Ukwazi* to *the Housing Assembly*.

3.5.2   Lack of accountability

The major challenges municipalities in South Africa encounter are quality service delivery and a lack of accountability. Public accountability is an important component of local governance, promoting community involvement and participation (Sikhakane & Reddy, 2011).

> Accountability is an obligation, in its broader sense, to explain and justify actions by politicians and officials. Accountability demands that the actions of LG institutions be published to encourage public criticism and debate. Public accountability compels municipal officials and councillors to debate openly and justify their actions, empowering legislative institutions to exercise control over public resources on behalf of their citizens (Maropo, 2014, p. 3).

Accountability focuses on good governance demands, aiming to strengthen the citizens' voice to demand greater accountability and responsiveness directly from public officials and service providers. Accountability is defined as answerability or responsibility for actions. Good administration requires accountability. It contends that associations and organisations are liable to those influenced by their choices and deeds (Rana et al., 2019).

> Accountability links result directly from the actions of an individual, section, department, or business unit. Despite the popular rhetoric, public accountability

47

remains an elusive concept and a challenge for politicians, officials, and citizens. It is an important democratic device for ensuring that public needs, legitimate demands, and entitlements are discussed. Good governance demands accountable politicians, officials, and civil society (Sikhakane & Reddy, 2011, p. 86).

The mechanisms aimed to ensure public accountability in South Africa had a beneficial effect, but divergence remains. A good policy framework exists, including the 1996 Constitution, the Public Finance Management Act 1 of 1999 (PFMA), and the LG Municipal Finance Management Act, 2003 (Act 56 of 2003). The challenge is the practice of what is in the legislation. Even when providing the legislation is clear, implementation is challenging.

The powers of the Public Protector (PP) as an accountability mechanism were in question, particularly regarding the enforcement of the remedial actions. The Auditor-General also has a pivotal and effective function in producing audit outcomes for public institutions. Parliament often relies on those findings to hold the executive to account. Several political and public office bearers have contravened legal prescripts like the PFMA, but they are yet to be punished years after such actions (Munzhedzi, 2016). It is concluded there is a lack of commitment to punish the immoral.

The Auditor-General's observations include identifying a lack of consequences for continued mediocre performance. The PP identified that "lack of accountability and lapses in leadership are some causes of governance failures". According to the experience of the Auditor-General (A-G) about successful public institutions, successes are based on a leadership tone, indicating a willingness to accept accountability. This establishes a controlled environment conducive to accountability and sanctions, and decisively discusses weaknesses within a specified timeframe while continuing with performance monitoring (Ndevu & Muller, 2017, p. 19).

Even if citizens cannot control governments by obliging them to follow the mandates, citizens may do so if they can induce the incumbents to anticipate that they must render accounts for their past actions. Governments are "accountable" if voters can discern whether governments are acting in their interest and sanction them appropriately, so those incumbents who act in their best interest win re-election and those who do not suffer electoral loss.

The South African responsibility procedure in government is impervious and distorted. Citizens do not vote for their preferred councillors to serve the municipal councils. Instead, a

particular party, which eventually wins elections, may appoint their favoured as mayor. The ruling party often exerts pressure on municipal managers' appointments. This practice compromises accountability since positioned councillors and officials remain obliged to the "whims of party bosses" rather than to the "wishes and aspirations of the communities they serve".

"This comes in the context that opposition parties in Parliament and other civic organisations have been vocal and unanimous in their calls for electoral reform in the local sphere of government". "Electoral reform advocates come in the aftermath of frustrations by communities where municipal officials account for political parties (ANC) or (DA) respectively, as opposed to their constituencies or voters. It has been difficult for municipal councils and members of Parliament (MPs) to be held accountable by the citizens" (Sebola et al., 2013, p. 117).

"Democracy remains a cliché if those in power cannot be held accountable to the public for their acts or omissions, for their decisions, their expenditures, or policies". "The concept of accountability is closely tied to concepts of democracy and government legitimacy". "Those who govern have to answer for their actions to a wider public directly, when politically elected or appointed, or indirectly as subordinates of politically elected bodies. LG allows for public participation, which will benefit development and enhance democracy".

 "Chapter 10 of the Constitution of South Africa, 1996, ensures that citizens have direct access to elected LG representatives and can participate in local governance". "Ward councillors encounter double accountability, therefore, to the electorate and their political party. Some observers contended that accountability to the political party wins out in most cases; therefore, ward councillors are loyal to their political parties and account better to them than to the citizens for them to retain positions and support from the party" (Sebola et al., 2013, p. 92)

3.5.3   Lack of leadership capacity and corrupt behaviour

The corrupt behaviour of LG leadership is reflected with an adverse influence on challenges in individuals' capacity, becoming a cause for cadre deployment in South Africa. LG is focused on serving the population with better services. Violation of leadership capacity transforms the entire scenario into a negative. Surveys on South African leadership function and effect

revealed that political appointees failed several times to perform as expected, providing efficient work because of the ignorant nature of recruitment based on their required skills.

Ndebele and Lavhelani (2017) maintain that the municipal services enhance the range of corruption, showing an unreliable and untrustworthy scenario for the financial amendment. Daily performance reports and the integrated graphs are declining rapidly as leadership morale is lowering the public morale—not expected in such a public government department. A lack of public trust influences low public engagement and discussion of the causes, forsaking the demolition of a strong civil society.

The ANC has been spreading a sphere of politics, attracting several innovative, motivated members to obtain the requirements of a democratic society. The ANC is determined to contribute a sense of gaining public trust for attaining the best transformation of LG services. According to Lannegren and Ito (2017), corruption is established because of opportunities. These individuals are interested in meeting their personal advancement and earnings only. In the South African public sector, leadership capacity is depicted with passing the time, resisting them to create an integrated culture where organisational behaviour is dependent.

The encompassing of the value system in leadership performance is crucial to evaluate the service delivery critically at its efficiency level (Cheteni & Shindika, 2017). Because of high corruption, the originality of public service approaches, and relevant, and innovative solutions for future prevention became vital challenges. Surveyors are, therefore, focusing on the corruption activities regarding other measures for obtaining a rational concept of the root cause. They denote (before an audience) how public leaders' unethical behaviour presents a socio-economic transformational barrier to the population.

According to Fagbadebo (2019), "the scourge of corruption in the African continent is a phenomenon "gnawing at the progress that the continent could be enjoying". "Corruption in Africa grew from a negative colonial legacy, poor leadership, belly politics, omnipotent state, greed, and selfishness". "Clientelism and patronage nepotism, absence of popular participation of the public in government, weak institutions of governance, lack of accountability and transparency, lack of political will, weak ethical values, centralist nature of the state and concentration of the state power, weak judicial system and constant insecurity and conflicts are also causes of corruption" (Fagbadebo, 2019, p. 15).

"When South Africa attained independence, most people were optimistic that the leaders who immediately replaced the colonial rulers would enthusiastically and creatively use the resources to embark on a massive programme of change and transformation". "Undoubtedly, failing to tackle corruption within LG is expressive or symptomatic of the dismal failure of leadership". "Several problems associated with the leadership crisis in municipalities significantly contribute to the cauldron of corruption". "These include lack of discipline by political elites, lack of meaningful participation in the policymaking process, poverty, underdevelopment, and bureaucratic inefficiency" (Sebola et al., 2013, p. 138).

Corruption is multifaceted with consequences difficult to analyse. Corruption reduces the state's ability to provide high-quality services.

> Since fiscal resources depend on economic activity, the negative effect on growth has a fiscal influence, reducing resources which might improve services for poor people. In South Africa, municipalities around the country are in crisis. The national government has declared that 136 out of 284 municipalities cannot fulfil their basic functions. The growing prevalence of fraud and corruption at LG contributes to a loss and wastage of scarce resources at a local level, harming service delivery. Because of all this, LG has been under the spotlight in recent years owing to a wave of protests, which brought clashes between protesting residents and law enforcement authorities (Lekubu, 2013, p. 121).

"Corruption in municipalities, if not addressed, might contribute to the failure of governance". "An increase in municipal service delivery protests and the level of violence displayed by protestors illustrate a crisis of governance in the South African municipalities". "A growing political intolerance against leadership exists, often leading to bloodshed and the destruction of property during service delivery protests". "These signs have revolutionary potential, which can be a threat to democracy. Amid all this is the absence of leadership to curb or manage corruption appropriately" (Sebola et al., 2013, p. 134).

"While organisational approaches to combat corruption as a global phenomenon have succeeded in other parts of the world, leadership involvement in the abuse of office in Africa has remained an obstacle to continental anti-corruption mechanisms". "Democracy, in its generic conceptualisation, connotes the institutionalisation of a government for service delivery to promote the general interest of the people rather than the leaders". "Democratic

principles and processes establish functional expression in institutional designs that guarantee good governance through an accountable and transparent government with limited powers assigned to leaders". "Citizens' representation, constitutionalism, and protection of the rights of the minority are key issues of governance". "The emphasis is on the need for accountability measures affording citizens the power to benefit from government policies" (Fagbadebo, 2019, p. 12).

"Any discussion of ways to improve LG's finances and service delivery would be incomplete without a focus on leadership, its style and substance, and actions and utterances". "History and experience demonstrate that leadership is the glue that holds it all together; it is the crucial pillar around which all else revolves". "Without collective leadership and agreement on principles, strategies and details, there will be no success". "It is essential to achieve alignment between the political and administrative leadership, devoid of contradictory corrupt practices and internal in-fighting for self-enrichment". "Leadership armed with the devices and surrounded by expertise is a central factor in exercising continuous oversight over activities in a municipality" (Mantzaris, 2014, p. 90).

3.6   Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to provide context and debate the issue of the nature and character of representation in a democracy. What does well represented mean? The discussion also highlighted unequal and a divided nature of South Africa even after two decades of democracy. The chapter discussed the leadership representative function of a ward councillor.

CHAPTER 4: CAPE TOWN, HOUT BAY, AND IMIZAMO YETHU

4.1   Introduction

This chapter begins with an overview of the City of Cape Town and the study area. The City has seen rapid in-migration and despite the efforts that the City to provide emergency services, the demands of informal settlements remain substantial.

Hout Bay is an area which is predominately white middle-class property owners who enjoy the services provided to them by the City. Contrast to this, is the Imizamo Yethu (IY) informal settlement in which the majority black African population reside, where issues of service delivery are always lacking. The divide between IY and Tierboskloof with expansive wealth is significant. The chapter investigates ward 74 which showcases the inequality within the ward: the affluent Hout Bay and Tierboskloof area and the poor living conditions of Imizamo Yethu. Lastly, we discuss the fire disasters in IY.

4.2   Service delivery to informal areas in the City of Cape Town

The CoCT, like other municipalities, is mandated to provide clean drinking water, electricity, sanitation, and basic services to all its citizens. After the 2016 elections, the CoCT embarked on a journey to build on the achievements and successes of the previous five-year term in office. Part of this journey involves changing where the organisation functions to improve and excel in service delivery and the City's other legislative mandates (City of Cape Town, 2017).

The City observes a rapid increase in the number of newly formed households; the rate of new household formation outpaces population growth. Between 2011 and 2016, the population increased by 7%, but households increased by 18.4%. Households in Cape Town are shrinking; the average household size decreased from 3.92 to 3.17 people in the last 20 years. The increase in the working-age population influences the rate of household formation. An increase in the number of households—and changes in population structure have a considerable influence on housing supply and demand, affecting the number and housing. Housing demand increased from around 15,000 annually in 2005 to 20,000 in 2015. The formal housing market will need

to supply 35,000 accommodation opportunities annually to eliminate the official backlog over the next 20 years while meeting new demand (City of Cape Town, 2020).

Cape Town has consistently provided b residents, including informal settlements, basic services. With urban residents enjoying access to municipal services, they can attempt the other factors affecting their life quality. This was illustrated by responses in the 2016 community survey, where the five top concerns raised by households—violence and crime, the cost of electricity, a lack of employment opportunities, inadequate housing, and drug abuse, including housing, were the only ones falling within the LG mandate. Cape Town is challenged by expanding informal settlements and the escalating number of households living in backyard structures; however, the City provides services to informal settlements and increasingly backyard dwellings. It remains a challenge to keep pace with service delivery demands.

The City is exploring improving service delivery to backyard structures as part of the broader strategy for increasing housing opportunities for Cape Town residents (City of Cape Town, 2017). The City recognises that basic services are delivered through interacting systems, motivating vitality and human well-being. Prioritising excellence in basic service delivery means the City will attempt to deliver services at a level that actively improves residents' living conditions and health while promoting individual and community welfare (City of Cape Town, 2017).

The City has embarked on a new service delivery improvement project with 64 people divided into eight teams—walking at least 16 wards per week to identify and record basic service delivery concerns in the streets of the formal areas to be addressed. It indicates the City's commitment to a quicker way of solving these challenges (City of Cape Town, 2021a). Cape Town also partnered with the private sector to resolve service delivery concerns.

A digital innovative "My Smart City" platform "aims to assist with service delivery difficulties the municipality is struggling with". The "My Smart City" platform allows "citizens to engage with all service providers directly from their mobile phones. They could log, manage, and track reported concerns". Citizens encounter frustrations, such as the ease of logging issues, having to sit waiting on call centres, and having to email the municipality or visit their website. These measures are not always convenient, involving feedback from the municipality on their concerns. "The innovative platform automatically and immediately routes logged faults and

issues to the CoCT". The logger receives a confirmation message and reference number from the municipality with status updates (Engel, 2021).

4.3   Service delivery difficulties in the City of Cape Town

Despite the efforts of the cast on plans to improve service delivery, various service delivery difficulties. The City experienced transformations, creating opportunities and threats for the residents. Like other cities in South Africa, Cape Town has several residents living in informal environments. As long as urbanisation continues and demand for formal housing exceeds the supply, informal living conditions will remain a reality of the urban landscape (City of Cape Town, 2017).

During an incident of a lack of service delivery in 2009, the City installed, open toilets in an informal settlement of Makhaza. After a public outcry in May 2010, the CoCT enclosed the remaining open toilets with corrugated metal sheets, but they were ransacked after a community protest (Reporter, 2011); the ANC youth league conducted the instigation as they believed that the dignity of the disadvantaged will continue until the inequalities of the marginalised are addressed (Reporter, 2011). Sanitation directly affects the wider post-apartheid urban crisis as toilets and sanitation are intimately tied to basic rights and questions of dignity related to the Constitution of South Africa (McFarlane & Silver, 2017).

In 2013, Cape Town's contemporary sanitation syndrome was publicly and controversially protracted by so-called 'poo protests. Residents of informal settlements were throwing faeces into targeted sites of the City—including the airport, a main arterial road, the provincial legislature, and the mayor's car. This dispute followed the Barcelona informal settlement (in Khayelitsha) receiving portable flush toilets—after a month that buckets were not collected, posing a risk to the community and children. It is further complicated by identifying whether the main problem is sanitation, resource distribution, cultural politics around inequalities, political will, or capacity.

The main sanitation challenge in Cape Town is the lack of state simplification of what people should expect as state provision. The principal factor is 'progressive realisation'. In South Africa, socio-economic rights, such as housing, adequate standards of living, and health, are susceptible to a progressive realisation where "access is not always provided as universal from the outset" (McFarlane & Silver, 2017, p. 129). A regressive realisation exists that over 5.3

55

million and 21 million people lack clean water despite the budget spent on dams and pipelines to deliver water to 95% of the population (Kings, 2020).

4.4   Hout Bay: the rich side

Hout Bay is a contradictory place, reflected in everyday conflicts and life. The councillor is also caught among various powerful interest groups. White middle-class property owners and super wealthy Llandudno bourgeoisie contrast with concentrations of poor black people in insecure refugee-like conditions, often worse than horse stables. White property owners in the CoCT perceive IY as illegal and a direct threat to property values. Mr Quintas (the councillor) refers to "land grabs" and that the City is considering pressing trespassing charges when new shocks are erected (Beerwinkel, 2019a). An angry property owner exemplifies the NIMBY sentiment:

> I live in Hout Bay, Ward 74. We are next to the illegal informal settlement, Dontse Yakhe. Over many years the cost has allowed this place to flourish with zero controls, but lots of empty promises. We have raw sewage running down our road because the residents of that township throw their night soil into our road. There is no waste plan in that township. So, all the garbage from them, is deposited into our suburb along with the effluent. We have met with Dan Plato the Mayor, Roberto Quintas, our ward councillor, Matthew Kempthorne, Malusi Boy and many others. A fence was supposed to be erected between me and this township, but they have left openings for gates. So essentially, it's not a fence. It's an abysmal municipality and I would certainly not choose to live in Cape Town because of their gross incompetence but have no choice but to stay here as they've driven the value of my property down below zero as nobody in their right mind would live in this slum created by dysfunctional City of Cape Town (Henriette, 2018).

Whites and tourists mostly love HB beaches and Chapmans Peak, and local walks. A thriving beach culture exists with surfers and dog walkers. House and rental prices are high in former white parts of HB, especially on the mountain slopes, where prices range from R5 million upwards to R20 million. Llandudno is also in the ward and is even wealthier and more exclusive.

Major real estate agent groups operate in HB. There are also extensive gated estates and more under planning. Several small holding owners have horses, private schools, and day-care. A

56

considerable proportion of whites are recent foreign immigrants from Europe who bought the property; the demand is high at the local international school. It is estimated that at least 15% of the trades involve white foreigners.

Figure 0.1: Hout Bay neighbourhood watch

Security is a crucial concern for the wealthy and the poor. The wealthy and middle-class are especially active in property security.

Figure 0.2: Opulent residence

This HB Home sold for R35 million (Private Property, 2020).

4.5   Imizamo Yethu

Imizamo Yethu in Cape Town was established in 1991, housing 455 "squatter" households from the HB Valley. As Robins (2002, p. 528) put it, "The political reforms of the early 1990s had created a window of opportunity for the legalisation of urban land invasions in a few Cape Town middle-class suburbs such as Milnerton and Hout Bay". The apartheid government removed them, relocating several individuals from informal settlements in and around HB. There have been five small settlements involving small fishing villages and villages near the affluent suburbs and the waterfront (Matibane, 2010). The original 455 relocated households were provided with brick houses on individual serviced sites; however, not all households were granted a brick house on a serviced site. Once established, IY experienced a major unplanned influx of new residents. IY adopted the characteristics of an informal settlement (Harte & Hastings, 2006).

58

4.6 Housing challenges

Access to adequate housing is a contentious concern in South Africa's democratic society. The government is still dealing with existing housing backlogs with increased demand. Simultaneously, urban populations take to the streets to express their outrage and frustration with the slow progress of service delivery, including housing and other basic services. This is a significant concern in the country, inciting extensive public debate and increased engagement between the government and the people. This dissatisfaction persists even though South Africa's post-apartheid government discourse on state-society relations centred on greater participation—particularly at the LG level, as reflected in the South African Constitution's commitment to participatory democracy.

It should be acknowledged that the apartheid planning in the new South Africa remains. It is often represented blatantly through residual apartheid planning codes, policies, practices, or other subtle or not-so-subtle means. These include creating gated villages, the architecture of feared creation of high-walled-in mansions surrounded by electric fencing and 24-hour security services, neoliberalism, and the Constitution of South Africa entrenches and protects property rights (Williams, 2009).

Conversely, the affluent society members—remaining mostly white, often invoke the provisions for public participation in the affairs of LG to maintain their privileges (Figure 0.3) image of IY in HB, depicting the stark inequalities between the township and the affluent surrounding residential areas (Huysamen et al., 2020). IY comprises the slum, characterised by severe infrastructural deficits and poor living conditions. The 2006 to 2007 conflicts around the plight of the poor people in HB, Cape Town, must be observed to understand how the everyday experiences of ordinary people about homelessness remain largely ignored by local authorities (Williams, 2009).

59

Figure 0.3: Slums of hope: unequal scenes of Imizamo Yethu in Hout Bay

Source: by photographer Johnny Miller, part of his Unequal Scenes photographic project (Huysamen et al., 2020).

The Dutch settled HB in the 1600s "with the historical roots of the persistent problem of homelessness. They used the forested ravines to build and repair boats; therefore, the apt name 'Hout Baai' translated to English as 'Wood Bay'". HB, like the rest of South Africa, comprises "an unusual combination of residents living side by side in the little bay surrounded by mountains. On the one side, some live comfortably, while on the other side is the IY township with 16,000 residents—mostly black Africans, in poverty-stricken conditions" (Williams, 2009). In the Cape Town 2011 census, keynote results show that 92% are predominately black Africans; 67% of the labour force (aged 15-6) employed; 38% of households have access to piped water in their dwelling or their yard with 6000 households. IY has expanded significantly over the years and is now more recognised as a township (City of Cape Town, 2013).

Table 0.1: Hout Bay demographics

	Black African	Coloured	Asian	White	Other	Total
Population	15391	6345	162	9797	1173	32868
	47%	19%	0.5%	30%	3.5%	100%
Unemploy ment	31.7%	32%	8.8%	3.3%	17%	23%
Formal housing	28%	73%	80%	99%	38%	57.5%
Water	29%	85%	71%	99%	48,5%	60%
Flush toilets	62,5%	88%	92%	99%	94,5%	79%
Refuse	63%	96%	96%	99%	80%	80%
Electricity (light)	80%	98%	100%	99%	96%	89%

(Piper et al., 2017, p. 11).

As the table shows whites have only 3% unemployment compared to 32 for blacks. Hout Bay embodies the diversity of South Africa in identity, socio-economic, and spatial terms, demonstrating the enduring racial character of post-apartheid South Africa, although with these two major differences typifying the post-apartheid city:

- Rapid urbanisation and informalisation of urban settlements. Most of the informal settlements in the CoCT are post-apartheid creations

- Increased migration from outside South Africa's borders, mostly but not only from the rest of Africa

It is apparent how, in these ways, HB is a microcosm of the wider society, especially when considering the full range of social concerns confronting the area (Piper et al., 2017, p. 13).

Suburbs of HB can break down the census 2011 data. From Figure 0.4, with the same population of (15391 vs 17 239), HB Valley comprises 3,000 hectares of land. Conversely, residents of IY are shoehorned into 60 hectares.
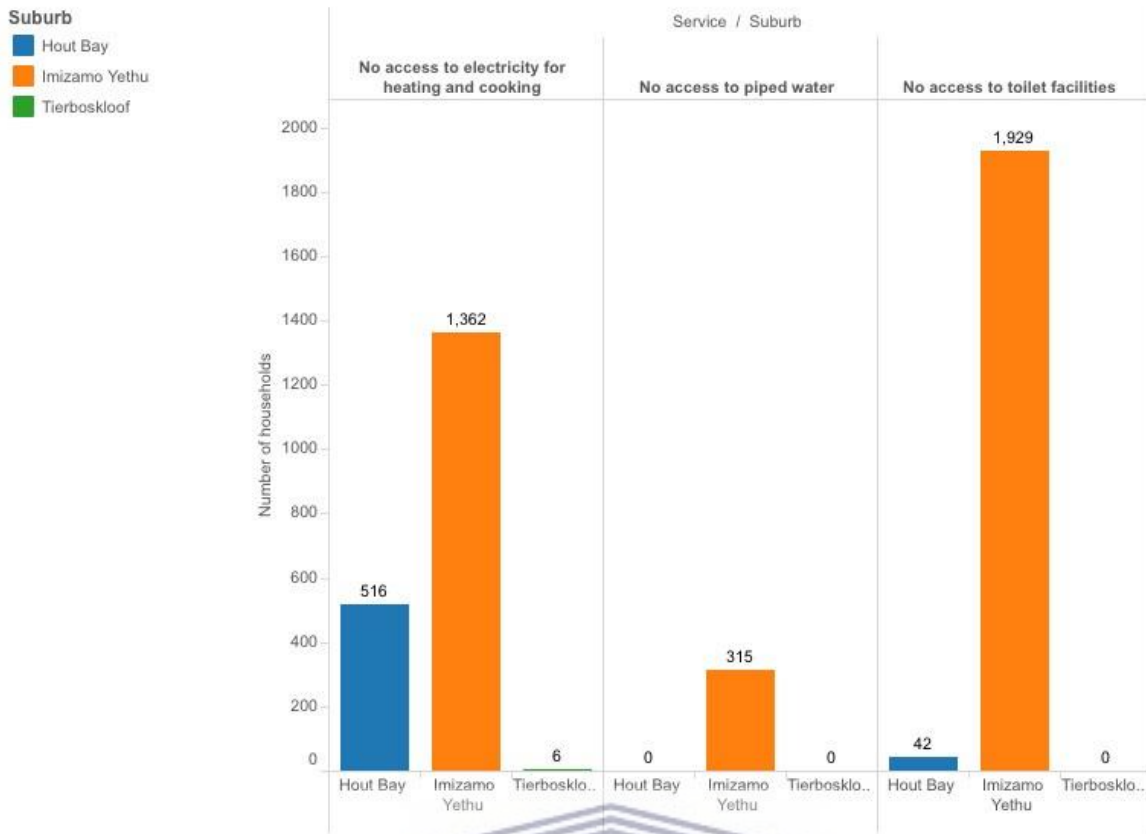
Figure 0.4: Service delivery to households between the three suburbs

Source: Joseph (2016).

A large disparity exists concerning service delivery failure between the greater HB, Tierboskloof, and IY; 2000 households in the township lack access to toilet facilities, and 1400 lack access to electricity for heating or cooking. Thousands of people lack water and proper sanitation. Thirty-seven per cent of households in Ward 74 are shacks—more than double the rate across South Africa; 83% of the population has "flush or chemical toilets"; 13% have no toilets: 2% use "bucket toilets". Households with no access to proper sanitation and sewerage facilities are on the township's borders on the wealthier suburbs, such as Tierboskloof. In a province with expansive wealth and widespread but profoundly overpopulated townships, the divide between Tierboskloof Estate and IY is signified.

A shortage of housing in IY remains a major concern. With only a few brick houses clinging to a steep sole, IY is still a dense cluster of shacks. The majority IY population is black African and Xhosa speaking, several from Eastern Cape, with IY becoming the largest community in Ward 74, comprising 42% of its population (Kretzmann, 2016). IY is a dense cluster of shacks

62

interspersed with a couple of hundred brick or concrete block homes—housing shortage remains a major issue.

The first 2 800 people were accommodated in 417 serviced sites on 18 hectares of land in 1991. In the 25 years since then, according to figures provided by City Mayco members for human settlements—Benedicta van Minnen, only 864 houses have been built; 303 of these were constructed in 2003 before the DA administration of the City". This was conducted by the Niall Mellon Foundation, run by an Irish businessperson and philanthropist. They observed the plight of the people of IY and assisted the community in building houses. This assistance was made by the state and South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) in collaboration to progress the project (Kretzmann, 2016; Sikota, 2015).

Issues have been reported of a lack of sanitation services and water soiled with raw sewage flowing down the slopes through people's yards. As indicated, IY originally housed only 450 families; however, now, there are 1268 informal structures in IY1 and another 487 shacks in IY2, known as Dontse Yakhe informal settlement above the original development line in IY. The community reported several broken promises from the city authorities. These broken promises started with former ANC mayor Nomaindia Mfeketo in 2004, who promised that the 16 hectares of old forestry land, which acted as an apartheid-style buffer zone between IY and the main road, would be developed for housing (Kretzmann, 2016).

According to Anciano and Piper (2018), civic organisations, such as Sinethemba, contended against the growth and densification of the settlement, desiring 16 hectares for community facilities rather than housing. Sinethemba was supported by the middle-class, and white-dominated Hout Bay Ratepayers Association (HBRRA), who also wanted to contain the growth of IY, as HB was too 'full' already, and the poorest residents were associated with higher crime rates, diseases, and environmental pollution (Anciano & Piper, 2018).

Against this observation, the SANCO lobbied for land to build more houses, partly because of the clear shortage of such provided at the high rate of immigration, but also in the name of racial integration. SANCO contended that building specific facilities for IY would merge rather than challenge the racial segregation of HB (Anciano & Piper, 2018).

The City announced that 900 housing units foreseen to be built, "comprising a mixture of subsidised houses and community residential unit flats, would be built and received by

qualifying beneficiaries from the IY informal settlement" (City of Cape Town, 2016). This advancement, however, failed to progress (Kretzmann, 2016). The finishing point was for June 2019. Van Minnen explains that an additional 143 units are "pending completion" in the Masakhane Bantu Phases 1 and 2 projects.

The residents of IY still experience housing challenges, with several on the waiting list for the spatial planning process in IY called 'superblocking'. Discussing the non-government organisation (NGO) iKhayalami with the community introduces a re-blocking approach. This approach would involve building fire- and flood-resistant shacks in informal settlements. It is reasoned that while they wait for RDP houses—that might never come, they can wait in dignity in an upgraded shack with a better layout, enabling them access to toilets and taps in their homes, with safer public open spaces for women and children.

As described by the NGO iKhayalami, re-blocking is a spatial design intervention enabling "the creation of demarcated pathways or roads, public and semi-public spaces, all of which open access to emergency vehicles". It involves providing infrastructure and basic services (Robins, 2020). Most shack dwellers opposed the superblocking process because they lost rental income from the immigrants and alleged rumours that some residents would be moved to various areas because of the small plots not being enough to accommodate everyone. Some observe this initiative as detrimental to the autonomy, rights and interests of the people (Robins, 2020).

Imizamo Yethu continues to experience fire disasters. According to Gary Samkelo, the Chairperson of the SANCO in HB, as a community leader, he has long been waiting for formal housing during the settlement, compared to government flats built in Hangberg, a predominately coloured township; asking why the City does not build the same structures? "All they receive are promises", especially as the area was only earmarked for 450 families because of space issues; "if the government wanted to help, they would build flats" (Stent, 2020). Superblocking and re-blocking could be an alternative to housing, presenting a solution with a pragmatic policy and programme, drawing civil society and state collaboration (Robins, 2020).

The IY residents are experiencing housing challenges; however, in their shack dwellings, they have more infrastructure problems about inadequate sanitation and water. In response to their inadequate water and sanitation services, the University of Cape Town's (UCT) School of

64

Architecture, Planning, and Geomatics helped introduce innovations to improve daily life for residents while also providing students with hands-on design and construction experience. According to the senior lecturer, Michael Louw:

> The initiative is incorporated into both the second-year design and theory course and the technology course, where students design and then manufacture physical prototypes of components. They have created distinct types of infrastructure over the years, including furniture, tiles, wash tops, and shade structures. They used recycled materials whenever possible, such as the shade structure made from wood salvaged from the architecture studio floor after the building was flooded. Every year, a collaborative design is selected based on its feasibility and innovation. It has to have some aesthetic value to improve the quality of the space- Louw remarked (Middleton, 2018).

In 2021, a housing project was delayed by a group of 20 IY residents accused of intimidation tactics to disrupt work at two CoCT project sites. The ward councillor Roberto Quintas of HB claimed that:

> These projects, one in IY for housing and the other adjacent to the informal settlement at the sports complex, were being severely disrupted by a group of residents who were demanding immediate employment.

The group approached workers and threatened them with rocks demanding they stop work on the project's phase three housing site (Viljoen, 2021). The local community was advised to register on the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) databases for local labour and subcontractors. The contractor awarded the tender for the housing project met the criteria and legislated labour quotient; the number of employees hired for this project reached its maximum (Viljoen, 2021). Quintas indicated concern over the delay in the housing project owing to fires, protest actions, vandalism, additional scopes of work, and the Covid-19 provisions; the budget reallocations in response to day zero and more recently because of the lockdown (Viljoen, 2021).

"Basic municipal service is necessary to ensure an acceptable and reasonable life quality. If not provided, it would endanger public health, safety, or the environment". The question arises: when should the people of IY await reasonable accommodation and basic services? It is understood that" municipalities are regarded as the custodians of public funds and tasked with

using these resources to discuss the basic needs of local communities". LG's investments have "not yielded the anticipated returns expected from the national economy. They add that collectively, poor governance, unsuitable spatial planning, deficient social infrastructure, and massive service backlogs emerged as constraints to poverty reduction and economic growth".

The Western Cape Government issued a statement confirming their commitment to IY community housing development. In August 2021, the three spheres of government with relevant stakeholders and community leaders convened. The meeting aimed to "accelerate human settlement delivery while promoting social inclusion through the development of integrated, resilient, safe and sustainable human settlements in an open opportunity society" (Maphumulo, 2021).

In IY, Ward 74 (Figure 0.5), 38,2% of households are informal dwellings (shacks) with "a population density of 1034,60 people per square kilometre as compared to the older township, Khayelitsha, Ward 95 (Figure 0.6) with 82% of households are informal dwellings with 5241.80 people per square kilometre (Wazi Map, 2016)". It should be acknowledged that even though IY is a newer township than Khayelitsha, there is a balance between shacks and houses built. Khayelitsha was built in the last decade of apartheid in 1983, owing to the rapid migration from the Eastern Cape (Sikhula Sonke, 2019).

In observing Masiphumelele, a township with similar battles and challenges, such as fires, Ward 69 (Figure 0.7) has 41,2% informal dwelling households, with a "population density of 855,2 people per square kilometre". Masiphumelele was established in the1990s by those who found work in the Fish Hoek area and moved from Khayelitsha, 30 kilometres away; 8000 people built their shacks and simple homes and establish up their own communities (South African History Online, 2021).
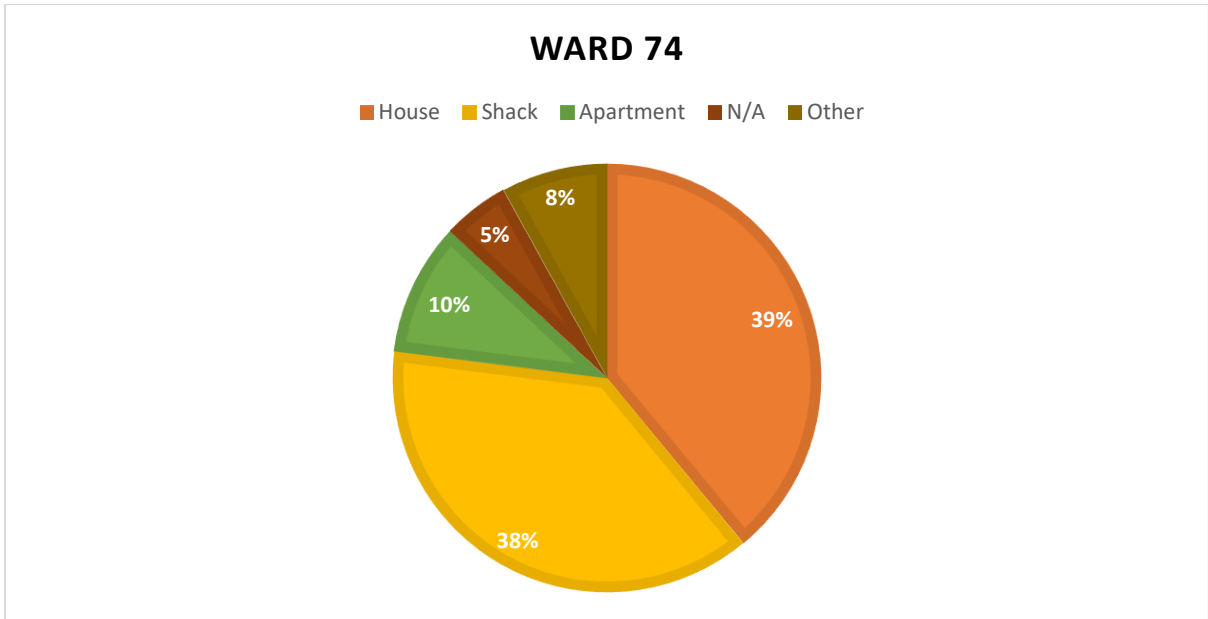
Figure 0.5: Imizamo Yethu Ward 74: households by dwelling type
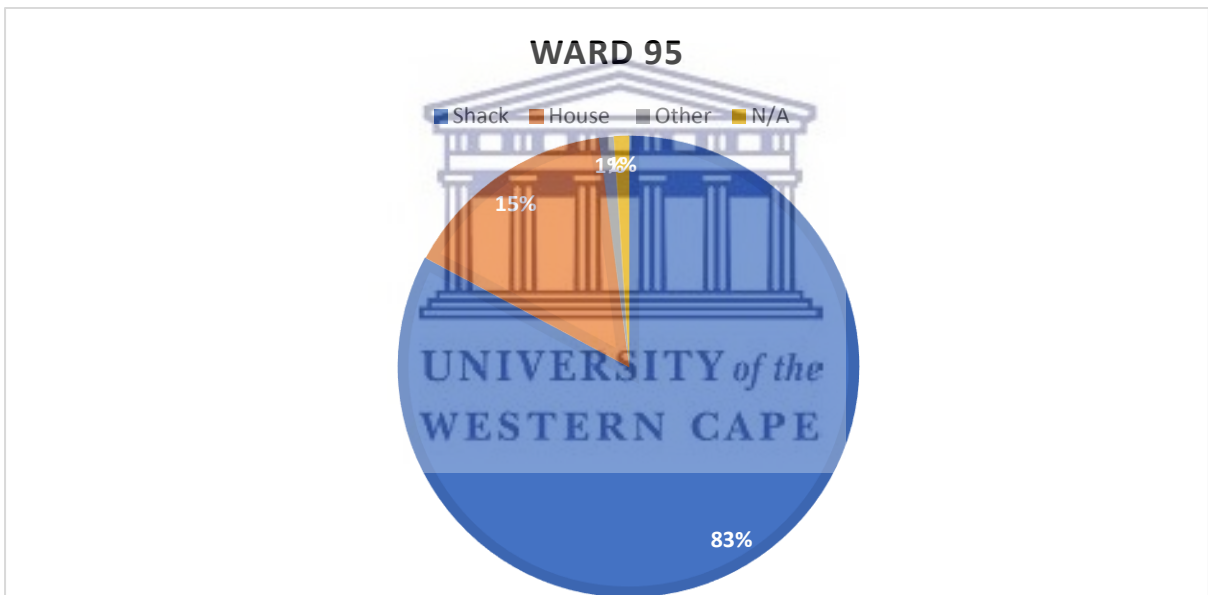
Figure 0.6: Khayelitsha Ward 95: households by dwelling type
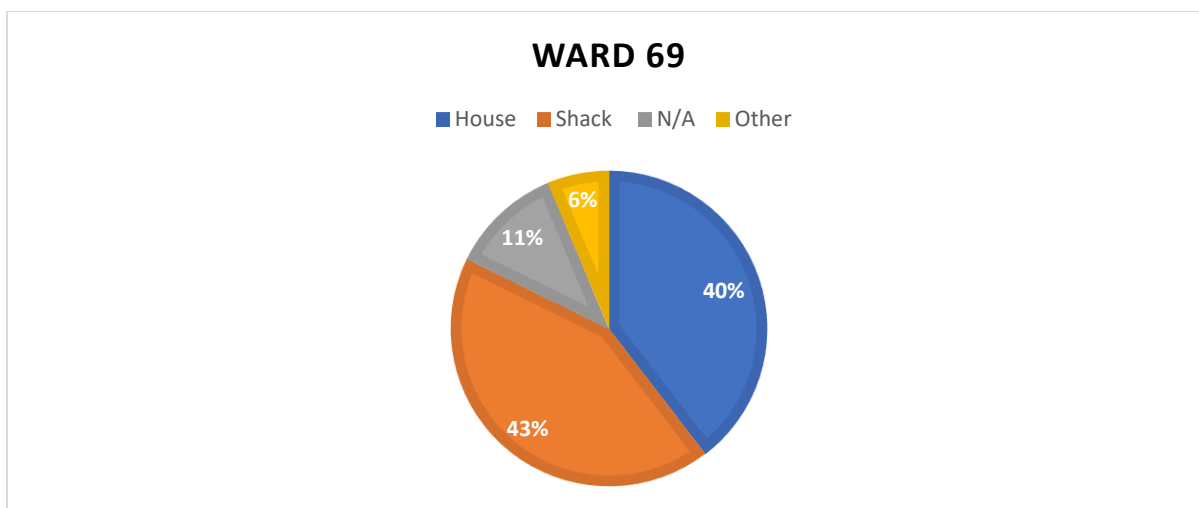
WARD 69

Figure 0.7: Masiphumelele Ward 69: households by dwelling type

Source: Wazi Map (2016).

4.6.1   Fire disasters

"Cape Town is the most fire-prone city in South Africa. In Metropole, fire brigades frequently respond to informal settlement fires. According to a 2016/17 annual report released by the Provincial Disaster Management Centre, the fire service attended over 17000 fires that year". "Two thousand of these were reported in informal settlements, damaging 5900 dwellings and resulting in 142 people losing their lives" (Kahanji et al., 2019, p. 1). "IY is one of 230 informal settlements in and around Cape Town". "Over the previous years, there have been 11 major fires in IY, each resulting in widespread destruction of homes and loss of personal possession").

Table 0.2.).

Table 0.2: Imizamo Yethu fire events

Date of fire (Month/Year)	Location	Houses destroyed	Deaths/Injuries	Estimated homeless
May 2007	Imizamo Yethu	30	1 dead	100
November 2006	Imizamo Yethu Shooting Range	100	n/a	500
August 2006	Imizamo Yethu	4	n/a	15

June 2006	Imizamo Yethu	5	3 dead	25
February 2006	Imizamo Yethu	52	1 serious injury	Dozens
February 2006	Above Imizamo Yethu on the mountain slope	n/a	n/a	n/a
April 2005	Imizamo Yethu	100	None	300
January 2005	Imizamo Yethu	3	n/a	n/a
February 2004	Imizamo Yethu	1200	n/a	5000
September 2003	Imizamo Yethu	82	None	Hundreds
Christmas/New Year 2002/2003	Imizamo Yethu	53	n/a	300

Source: Harte et al. (2009).

"In March 2017, IY had the most destructive fire incident; 2194 informal dwellings were destroyed, leaving 9700 residents displaced and claiming the lives of four people, including a child". "A week later, another fire followed, destroying 112 informal structures and leaving 425 people homeless" (Kahanji et al., 2019, p. 3) (Table 0.3).

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Table 0.3: A summary of vital figures and information about the March 2017 Imizamo Yethu fire

Description	Number
"Fatalities	4 deaths
Firefighters injuries	2 injuries
Structures destroyed	2194
Displaced people	±9700
Firefighters deployed	176
Fire engines and equipment	22 fire engines, 6 water tenders, 1 skid, 6 support vehicles
Fire stations involved	20
Aircraft for aerial firefighting"	1 fixed-wing aircraft, 2 helicopters

Source: Kahanji et al. (2019).

Because of the horrific incident of this fire, the previous mayor, Patricia de Lille, declared parts of the IY disaster area; the City described the blaze as one of the largest fires in the history of Cape Town (ENCA, 2017). "Informal settlement fires are a significant problem since the residents affected lose all their belongings, are typically uninsured and often may lack a social support structure". "When a large fire occurs, there is little time to salvage household goods. The huge financial burden to re-house and support the victims of the fires is often borne by the already resource-constrained municipalities" (Kahanji et al., 2019, p. 1).

> The poor infrastructure and built environment of the community, combined with domestic fuels, increase the population's vulnerability to fire hazards. The Cape Town City Council delivers services, infrastructure, development in IY and emergency management. The council has recently increased public safety and awareness sessions (Harte et al., 2009, p. 145).

Despite the scale of these fire events, the IY community remains viable. To date, there has been no significant out-migration from IY. The continued existence and functioning of the settlement may, however, be partly because of the poor economic circumstances of the residences, preventing relocation. There have been opportunities for relocation, such as through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to other settlements in the Western

70

Cape, and more recently with proposals to densify IY to relocate people outside HB. Most residents, however, remain in IY and rebuild their houses (Harte et al., 2009, p. 146).

After the fire, the municipality finally acted regarding the havoc fires had wreaked in the area by building proper roads. This process is called "superblocking", requiring the destruction of a few homes to build roads (road one) for emergency vehicles that will benefit the entire community. While IY residents have requested these roads for years, the municipality provided them with almost the worst possible way (Cohen, 2019).

The occupants requiring superblocking had grievances regarding the proposed temporary accommodation, consistently rejecting the City's terms of relocation, leaving the City with a legal battle for eviction (Maxwell, 2018). The City alluded that without establishing road one, it could not commence with the superblocking project or provide any basic services, "the city will continue to mediate with the occupants to find a peaceful solution" (Maxwell, 2018).

IY residents with less access to basic resources "encountered government ineffectiveness and inefficiency for years to reclaim their land, issues obtaining land through the land claim process in the post-apartheid era and, like the IY residents involved, encountered their negotiations with the municipality" (Cohen, 2019).

According to Piper and Wheeler (2016), "since the formation of IY, the community has transformed tremendously within the past 20 years, with a growing rate of nearly 1000 new people annually to about 25 000 people". "With the community's rapid growth, IY became diverse, with foreign nationals prevalent in the informal business section of the township". "These concerns, especially Somalis in spaza shops, Namibians in taverns, and Congolese in hair salons, with significant numbers of Angolans, Malawians, and Zimbabweans residents throughout IY" (Piper & Wheeler, 2016, p. 35).

"Local leaders complain about lacking the ability to control migration into IY. It, compared to other townships, has a limited history of service delivery protests and xenophobic and vigilante attacks". "The accounts of service delivery protests identify failure to deliver and poor communication by municipalities as key reasons for protests, including the disjuncture between local leaders in IY and the local state" (Piper & Wheeler, 2016, p. 35). The IY challenges remain, with prominent issues contributing to these conflicts:

- A lack of housing since the fires of several residents who lost their homes; the City provided for reducing the sizes of shacks as temporary accommodation.

- Ongoing court cases involving the superblocking project could evict several residents.

- Adequate water, sanitation, and electricity provision remain a problem.

- Delays, transparency, and lack of communication remain as officials decide on behalf of residents (Mtyala, 2010; Ntongana, 2018 & Ndongeni, 2019).

South Africans must understand that cities are experiencing large rural to urban migration flows. In larger urban areas, this resulted in 'informal' or squatter settlements around metropolitan areas characterised by poverty, a lack of formal planning, a high proportion of self-constructed shacks, and a lack of infrastructure (Harte & Hastings, 2006).

The country encounters rapid urbanisation, which in the African context "is driven by the natural growth among the already marginalised urban populations and in-migration of the poor". The main proportion of the urban growth is, therefore, in "unplanned and mostly informal settlements, where buildings are of low quality and on land often unsuitable for habitation. Although the South African LG reduces risk in such urban environments, the task is difficult and overwhelming" (Roth & Becker, 2011).

The IY community experienced more fires in 2020. According to the ANC, "more misery and deaths caused by informal settlement fires could be expected. Its record of deliberate neglect shows it does not care about the poor". This is owing to the DA's "apparent inability to discuss the province's acute housing shortage". If they cared for the poor, "it would not have returned millions meant for housing to the national treasury" (Ntseku, 2020). It may seem that an IY informal settlement "had a particular layout or build pattern, which allowed the fire to spread rapidly up on the mountain slope, making it one hot-spot zone" (Ntseku, 2020).

4.7   Summary

Finally, this chapter concludes by stating that service delivery challenges of City of Cape Town should be prioritised in order to alleviate the burden of poor communities like IY and also, bridge the gap between the affluent rich areas of the white population in Hout Bay and poor informal settlement of IY.   The COCT mandate is to provide basic services to all its communities effectively and equally. Housing shortage remains a challenge in South Africa,

with backlogs dating back to the apartheid era. It must be noted that IY comprises of slum characterised by poor infrastructure and living conditions.

It cannot be ruled out that the inequalities and apartheid planning are still affecting the community after democracy, demonstrating how neoliberal and colonial discourse is still deployed between the affluent HB and the slum of IY. The IY community had planned only to provide housing for a few residents; however, with the migration and the influx of the population, the housing challenges and other service delivery issues cannot be resolved urgently.

Lastly, the devastation of the fires in IY has been one of the worst experiences for the residents, having to rebuild their homes every time disasters arise. One of the biggest challenges will be how the City responds proactively to fires while still attempting to resolve issues of re-blocking. Such disasters present an opportunity of rebuilding properly to avoid massive destruction; however, proper channels and planning are required, providing great care and consultation. If not, people's lives could be endangered and the City's authority and reputation at stake.

CHAPTER 5: LOCAL FORMAL AND CIVIC LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES IN IMIZAMO YETHU

5.1 Introduction

Municipal elections are a very important right to citizens as it provides a chance to vote for a leader who will best cater for the needs and services of its people and community. Most municipalities are well run but equally experience challenges of poor management, corruption or lack of adequate resources. With the municipal elections people vote for individuals who become their elected ward councillors.

The objective of this chapter is to discuss the elected political leadership, particularly ward 74. As such, we highlight the political contrast on how the constituency of ward 74 has voted between the political parties in South Africa. IY fundamentally is an ANC aligned community with the city run by DA together with the ward councillor. With SANCO providing leadership in communities when it comes to partisan and political issues influenced by the ANC, becomes conflicting with the non-partisan approach of the DA.

A divided ward is prone to protests as one area will feel their needs are not met than the other area. Representation as discussed in the previous chapter becomes crucial when members of the community have placed their votes differently. IY protests becomes violent as the community feel that their voices are not heard and the ward councillor not visible to engage with issues affecting them.

5.2 Ward 74 formal political elected leadership

The CoCT municipality is divided into municipal districts and wards. IY is in Ward 74 under the leadership of Councillor Roberto Quintas, also recently appointed as the mayoral committee member of transport, eyeing another five-year term and awarded as the ward councillor of the year (Hassen, 2019; Sentinel News, 2021a). "Ward 74 is a safe DA seat, with 61% of the provincial votes in the 2014 national government elections, where 70% of the 20,858 registered voters made their mark. In the last 2011 municipal elections, the DA had 58% vote, with the ANC trailing at 38%" (Kretzmann, 2016).

In the 2016 municipal elections (Figure 0.6), the DA has been just 1% shy of a two-thirds majority in Ward 74 (Mafolo & Knight, 2019). The voting patterns of the residents of IY, especially at the LG level, had huge implications for development. The changes in political parties between the ANC and DA had a certain influence, particularly on how the civic organisations of HB engage with the state and how they advance their interests—specifically, HBRRA and SANCO (Sikota, 2015).

Table 0.1: Party votes—2016 municipal elections

| Column	City of Cape Town Ward 74 (19100074)		Western Cape		South Africa	
DA	62%	14,040	64.5%	2,425,372	27.7%	8,032,294
ANC	33.9%	7,675	26.7%	1,004,346	55.5%	16,099,189
EFF	1.4%	325	2.9%	107,785	8.4%	2,446,662
ACDP	0.5%	105	1.1%	41,379	0.4%	124,430
COPE	0.4%	98	0.4%	14,500	0.5%	130,352
UDM	0.3%	75	0.2%	8,257	0.6%	167,611
AIC	0.3%	69	0.5%	18,022	0.8%	234,356
APC	0.2%	35	0.1%	1,804	0.2%	65,569
Other	0.9%	211	3.7%	139,037	5.9%	1,714,462

Source: Wazi Maps (2016) based on IEC data.

"Fundamental is that the local politics of IY are an ANC-aligned community in a city run by the DA since 2006 in a province run by the DA since 2009". "Some contend that relations between community leaders and the city caused a significant strain". "The SANCO partisan identity threatens, rather than reinforces, its claims to legitimate leadership of IY, according to the two spheres of the state" (Piper & Wheeler, 2016, p. 33). "Conversely, DA governance desires 'non-partisan' community representation, an approach attempted in IY by the SANCO leadership of 2007, until this undermined their relations with the local ANC". "They were eventually supplanted in 2015 by a more partisan group". "These dynamics are mostly driven by the larger logic of race and party politics in South Africa". "Tensions between the DA province and city and SANCO will continue, potentially undermining the local rule in IY and leading from the state of 'aliocracy' back down the path to disorder" (Piper & Wheeler, 2016, p. 33).

During the 2021 elections, as results emerged, the DA won the majority in nine of 30 municipalities in the province, including one metro, the CoCT. "In this year's poll, support for

the DA declined in the province. In 2016, the party received 66.61%, which dropped to 54.19% in 2021. After the 2016 polls, the party was in control of 15 municipalities, but after the 2021 polls, the party was in control of eight municipalities, pending coalition talks" (Payne, 2021).

In Ward 74 in the IY community (Figure 0.1), the DA maintained their majority with 58%, followed by the ANC with 27%, EFF with 4,8% and the GOOD Party of Patricia de Lille sitting at   3%.
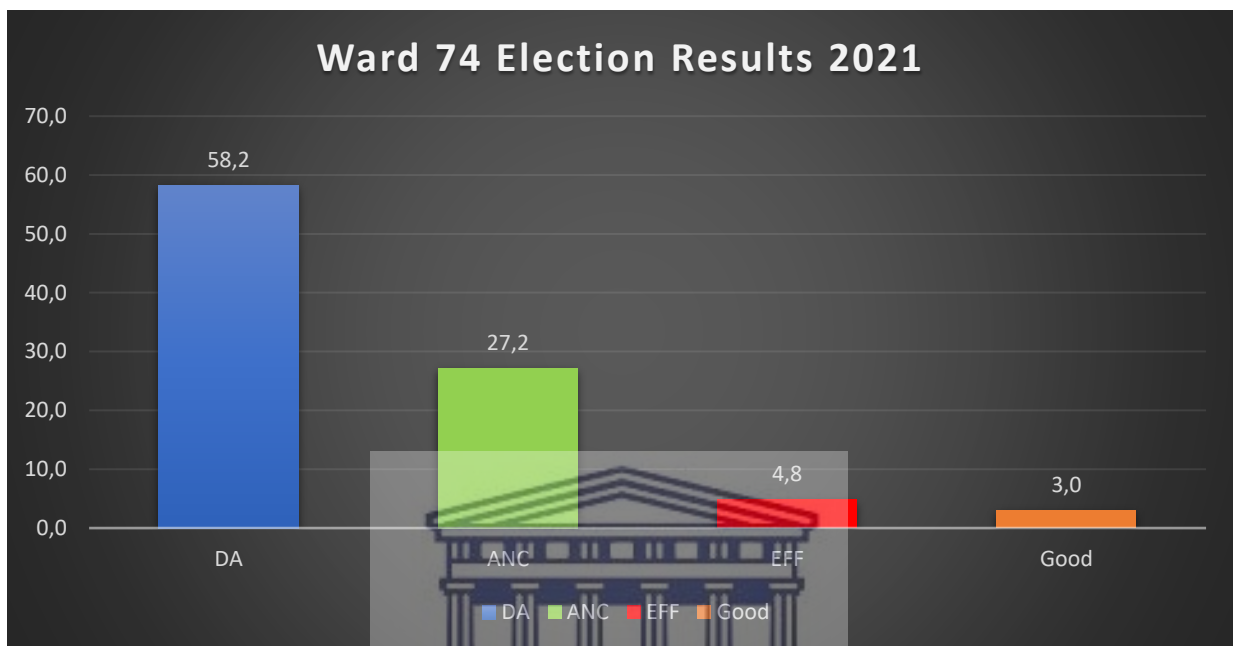
Figure 0.1: Ward 74 election results 2021

Source: Local Government Elections (2021).

5.3   SANCO leadership

The South African National Civic Organisation holds independent and heterogeneous branches at the ward level and structures at metropolitan, provincial, and national levels. SANCO is typically structured about committees on every street and meets regularly to approach issues at the most local levels (Piper & Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014). SANCO usually pursues a politics of accommodation with the government, complicating and endangering local citizens' organisation and representation independence, critical of the ANC rule, as the opposition is delegitimised and made vulnerable to repression.

SANCO's allegiance to the ANC means "it cannot be a mass-based social movement; it attempts to pursue a mandatory politics that cushions conflict between communities and the state". Where this fails, and popular frustrations turn to protest, "the outcome is usually the emergence of new leaders who reconstitute moral authority and the ANC. Partial independence of SANCO allows dissonance and dissatisfaction with the ANC that does not threaten its hegemony and may even reinforce it" (Piper, 2015).

"In IY, the link between the party and state has weakened with the DA to political power in the City and the province". "While this weakened the state patronage of local IY leaders throughout the party, it has not weakened the popularity of the ANC". "The main reason for this centre of development politics concerns the long struggle over what to do with the vacant land next to IY". "The debate centres on whether to build community-specific facilities, such as a school, as advocated by leaders of the white community (who live in the valley) or build more houses and have IY children attend schools in other parts of HB, as advocated by SANCO".

"IY leaders observe the vision of the white community as an attempt to entrench racial segregation in HB rather than challenge it by constructing one set of schools, clinics, and other public facilities for all residents". "It is presented as evidence of white racism. The politics of race, party, and place, therefore, reinforces a form of political cohesion in IY despite, or even because of, weak local rule" (Piper & Wheeler, 2016, p. 33).

SANCO has been crucial in bringing houses to IY since the late 1990s. In 1997, SANCO attempted to access new government housing subsidies to build structures on assigned plots under the Makukhanye housing project. Assisted by an NGO, the Development Action Group (DAG), SANCO applied for government funding under "the People's Housing Process (PHP)" established in 1998. This was later amended to "the Enhanced People's Housing Process (EPHP) in the National Housing Code of 2009". Concerning PHP, "DAG's role was to assist the community in forming a project committee, developing a plan, and facilitating engagement with the state" (Anciano & Piper, 2018).

5.4 Significant protests in Imizamo Yethu

Service delivery in IY is in a miserable state. The community is a shack-based community with several residents with inadequate housing. Challenges in housing, fires, and basic services

77

remain challenges for the community. Some shacks do not have electricity or taps with illegal connections, putting residents at risk (Matibane, 2010).

According to Ramphele (2016), the CoCT has been investigating corruption allegations in IY—and the guilty parties will be considered. The City has known the corrupt official in the housing allocation system. This comes after a group of residents from IY complained they were still homeless despite holding papers for houses allocated to them. Those with money to bribe officials jumped queues, now occupying the houses (Ramphele, 2016).

In a separate incident, IY residents complained of corruption and nepotism in the rebuilding efforts of the superblocking project. According to the CoCT, the superblocking project attempts to improve service provision by road expansions between "rows and shacks", allowing emergency vehicles to pass through. Residents must move into structures provided by the City. The project is part of the City's effort to hinder shack fires that gripped IY previously. Residents have come forward in protest as former Mayor Patricia de Lille endorsed an agreement with the residents of IY to superblocking; however, residents have reported those who endorsed the agreement were corrupt. The houses of two community leaders who endorsed the agreement were set on fire (Abdulla, 2017).

They claimed that the leaders abused power—they were greedy and corrupt. The leaders would attend meetings with the government and agree to its plans only to receive tenders, lacking knowledge of how the community will be affected. Another alleged act of corruption was that they received the tender and shared it with friends, family, and neighbours, which is nepotism (Abdulla, 2017).

According to Anciano and Piper (2018), "IY experienced transport, violence, and leadership concerns". Based on a 2015 protest march against the proposed MyCiti Bus Rapid Transport (BRT), "tempers rose, and the protest culminated in the destruction of eight aluminium-framed temporary houses built close to the informal taxi rank". Providing the long-standing demand for housing during the settlement and the protest concerning transport issues, the destruction of the temporary houses was initially confounding. According to the SANCO leaders, "the City could not explain why these people received housing ahead of others who waited for years; they questioned why MyCiti entered where they agreed on housing".

78

The citizens were angered—they tore the temporary housing down (Anciano & Piper, 2018). Anciano & Piper (2018) remarks that despite the community experiencing substantial insecurity and violence, violence about the protests has been remarkably rare in IY—at least until the aftermath of the 2017 fires. Simultaneously, community leaders aligned with the ANC are in a weaker position today than ever (Anciano & Piper, 2018).

IY experienced a fair share of service delivery protests. According to Ntongana (2018), during an incident one year after the devastating fires, residents had no basic services. The devastating fire left thousands homeless. Provided that the IY residents had few basic resources, the community protested, demanding basic services like water, electricity, sanitation, and the delivery of houses. Two hundred residents protested outside the HB police station, handing a memorandum to the ward councillor. The memorandum discussed the main concerns residents raised—from "adequate sanitation, upgrading of the informal settlement to be conducted in a constructive, transparent and collaborative manner, engagements with the City and community leaders, and a detailed plan to be agreed upon for the reinstatement of electricity in Dontse Yakhe" (Charles, 2018).

In this incident, the councillor indicated they could not engage with the issues raised based on the court proceedings where the residents opposed a city interdict against their rebuilding. The rebuilding would have caused 200 households "to be relocated to service sites to make way for a road, which would then allow for bulk sanitation and three substations for the electrification of all". The process would have taken 24 months if there were no stumbling blocks (Ntongana, 2018).

In 2019, "those who lost their homes because of the fires were unhappy with the city plans, especially the reduced size of the shacks. Some also feared that the temporary accommodation they would be moved into during the re-blocking would become a permanent state of affairs" (Ndongeni, 2019).

Residents complained that City bosses had no proper communication and did not keep them informed about the planned re-blocking. A group of demonstrators demanded a meeting with the councillor. Their grievances stem from the City's re-blocking plans and that the City official marked out plots. The city's numbered shacks are to be destroyed. People wanted to know why

79

it was happening. The City, however, was embroiled in legal action as it wanted to clear the piece of land for re-blocking purposes (Mortlock, 2019).

Many of those who supported the re-blocking plans were moved to temporary relocation areas. Community leaders advised them it would only be for three months, but several remained in temporary accommodation. One resident stated this was not the good life they had envisioned, as they complained of broken windows covered in cupboards, no electricity, and no working toilets. Some rooms were subdivided to fit two families (Ndongeni, 2019). The City stated that the re-blocking would accommodate roadways for emergency vehicle access and allow for the installation of water, sanitation, and electricity throughout the area. "These would allow the quality of life and dignity of IY residents; for this to happen, some residents had to be moved" (Ndongeni, 2019).

According to Mafolo (2020):

> The re-blocking project was almost complete despite being halted by court cases and community disputes. The re-blocking project meant the City would provide roads and pedestrian walkways to provide space between demarcated blocks of structures. These spaces would also provide peripheral shared water points, sanitation services, and infrastructure for formal electrical connection points in each structure. This would enable emergency services, police, and paramedics to prevent or better manage future disasters.

The City committed "R90 million for the re-blocking project. From the inception of this project, there were issues engaged with community leaders, but there had been another group of people who had claimed to be community leaders. This led to protests, halting building the infrastructure". This is based on claims by Waleed Adams, the CoCT's head of engineering services.

According to the City's human settlements director, "the re-blocking of roads, including water, sewer, and stormwater infrastructure, is 75% complete". City officials did not explain when the projects would be completed. "Increased land occupations during lockdown required the City to send 48 Red Ants members for two months to battle land invasions at an unusually high expense", according to the re-blocking report provided to the committee. "The cost of deploying the Red Ants" was not specified in the paper or by Adams. Malusi Booi, a mayoral

committee member for human settlements, claimed he "requested the directorate to reprioritise R16 million for private security to prevent land occupations at an earlier human settlements committee meeting" (Mafolo, 2020).

IY is notorious for its lack of basic services and sanitation infrastructure. It could be understood why the IY community is angry. There are roughly 11 households for each toilet, and nearly 400 households share a tap, a township that dates to the 1990s and the apartheid era (Huysamen et al., 2020). One community leader remarked, "I had an illegal water connection pointing to the indoor gravity-fed tap in the shack he shares with his family". IY's well-worn track record of service delivery protests against LG failures (Oliver, 2020).

Samkelo Krweqe, one of SANCO's leaders, alluded to being angry and feeling neglected as their infrastructure and the roads worsened. They have reported the situation to the City and followed up with a string of meetings, but the situation has not yet been resolved.

Residents were again on the streets, burning tyres and blocking the circle outside the HB police station. Community leader Kenny Tokwe remarked that residents were becoming increasingly frustrated with the conditions and wanted to see action from the City. He also emphasised that "people are staging their frustrations and are calling on the City to address issues properly because they have been coming on for a while now" (Sentinel News, 2021d).

In 2017, city officials undertook a walkabout of IY to inspect the road project falling under its transport and urban development authority, scheduled to be completed at the end of May. R40 million had been set aside for the project, including the redesign, reconstruction, and upgrade of up to 31 roads in IY, Ocean View and Kommetjie. Locals claim there has been no improvement besides certain sections of the road having been repaired (Sentinel News, 2021d).

Roberto Quintas, a newly appointed Mayco member for transport and an HB ward councillor, remarked he knew the community's uncertainties. Mr Quintas added:

> We've been doing our utmost to tell citizens and leaders about the reasons for the road and stormwater maintenance delays. From March 2020 to August 31 this year, the City's roadways depots lost 105 working days owing to closures associated with the Covid-19 outbreak, according to Mr Quintas. It excludes the period when the National Government placed the country on Alert Level 5, preventing road

maintenance. The local roads depot in Fish Hoek, in charge of IY, has also been affected.

He also assured the residents that an exciting project would be rolled out in IY but could not share the information as it still needed to be presented to the leadership. He alluded that it was good news and would provide relief to the IY residents (Sentinel News, 2021d).

Although the community "experienced tensions in the past with local people losing their jobs because of foreign nationals". This is, according to the local leadership, "caused by employing Namibians as fishers and firing local fishers, mostly living in IY. This caused conflict, and the locals threatened to chase the foreign immigrants away". The Namibians were chosen over the local labour because of "their cheap and affordable for the employers and are better skilled". The community leadership in IY clarified that "foreign nationals, by law, are not supposed to benefit or qualify from low-income housing. The locals rent out their homes or build shacks in their backyards to earn an income from foreigners" (Pillay et al., 2015, p. 39).

IY has also been subjected to xenophobic violence, primarily in 2008 and after. "More dangerous aspects of life emerge because of a dense, poor, and informal settlement – high levels of insecurity, frequent fires every couple of years that destroy shacks and take lives, and poor health conditions caused by a lack of adequate sanitation, a poor diet, and a large population of rats and other vermin" (Piper et al., 2017).

5.5   Summary

This chapter provides background information on IY. The discussion was around the leadership history and political background of the community and how they influence service delivery. The study emphasised that even though development and upgrades initiated to discuss the problems in the community are another considerable challenge because of conflicting development agendas, disagreements within the settlement, objections from outside stakeholders, and political disputes.

It may seem that leadership, participation, and communication are lacking, leading to disputes and protests as the community has indicated no inclusion in decision-making, therefore, delays on certain projects, especially with housing and superblocking. Collaboration absence between the City and the community augments the discontented residents. Should there be more

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inclusion concerning communication, more leadership provided, and collaboration between all participants could produce better results about service delivery and the quality thereof.

Furthermore, an elected ward councillor is the direct link between its voters and local government, it becomes difficult when areas of the community have different political views which then leads to tension within the leadership structures of the ward.

CHAPTER 6: POLITICAL LIFE IN IMIZAMO YETHU: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

6.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the in-depth interviews. The chapter includes a selection of supporting photographs, focusing on IY and additional contextual data. Interviews were a means to understand the social meanings that quantitative data evaded, community challenges, the function of ward councillors, and ward committees. The research problem is understanding the residents' observation of service delivery difficulties and the link between leadership and governance. Qualitative data were collected through in-depth interviews; data were analysed through themes described individually. Transcript analyses from 30 individual interviews are described and analysed thematically in this chapter. The study findings are linked to the research objectives and literature included. The chapter commences with ward councillor Roberto Quintas' input, progressing to the ward committee and the citizens.

Ward councillor Roberto Quintas outlined his aims and vision for Ward 74.

> We as a community, city and globe are busy finding our feet in a 'new normal' Covid-19 world and service delivery remains a priority and projects that bring hope, unity, and integration.

Besides attempting to unite HB Quintas made infrastructure, metres, and roads in IY a priority

> The roads in Imizamo Yethu also made the list of priorities and there are plans to resurface and repair roads in the community. Most important for Mr Quintas is continuing the roll-out of the installation of electricity meters in Hangberg and Imizamo Yethu[3]. Not only does this essential service provide dignity to the people, but mitigating the threat of fires and the City, would continue to engage communities and their leadership around the informal housing projects and formal housing developments for both Imizamo Yethu and Hangberg (Sentinel News, 2021a).

Ward councillor Roberto Quintas is a DA member. "The DA won the ward in 2021 with 61% of the vote, slightly down from the 62% in 2016, but higher than what the party polled to take

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[3] But meters will mean the end of "illegal" electricity and might decrease usage and lead to more fires.

in Cape Town. The ANC took second place in Ward 74 this year with 24.78% of the vote, down from 33.9% in 2016, followed by the EFF with 4.3%, up from 1.4% in 2016". More than half of HB's 17 235 registered voters abstained on election day (Sentinel News, 2021e).

The ANC took the two IY voting districts with 76.9% and 72.7%, down from the 88.6% and 85.6% it polled, respectively, in 2016. The DA managed only 5.7% and 7.5% in the IY voting districts, receiving third place behind the EFF with 12.69% and 14.59% (Sentinel News, 2021e). Quintas does not have electoral support in IY—only half of the 'coloured' area supports him.

Figure 0.1: Economic Freedom Fighters' campaigns trail

Whites and blacks (rich and poor) live separate lives. Blacks work for white businesses and white or wealthy homes. Security is a major concern for the wealthy and middle-class areas. The beach is a major feature of HB for whites to walk their dogs and meet each other for yoga. Retirees can be observed doing their morning exercise.

As seen below (Figure 0.2), white property, leisure, and security are linked with the neighbourhood watch, and HBRRA is cooperating closely with the councillor. Recently, a Saturday market was established on the beach with dedicated support from Councillor Quintas. These craft/ food markets surfaced in richer white areas as whites pursued organic produce. By the afternoon, the same beach comprised 90% black individuals, while the market was closed (racism works in space-time).

Black individuals conduct the most reproductive labour in HB (many foreign Africans in the local labour force). Without this inexpensive labour, whites would not enjoy the extensive leisurely mode of beach life. Blacks perform construction, plumbing, pools, gardens, cooking,

and cleaning the beach from washed-up kelp. The restaurants employ several hundred blacks (often foreign Africans), and Woolworths employs only black workers to serve whites. The racial division of labour is intact.

Figure 0.2: Hout Bay beach visits

Figure 0.3: Hout Bay quiz night at a local bar

In the picture (Figure 0.3), a lonely black female bar worker in a sea of white faces can be observed. In the background tables, people are playing games for "game night". Whites make up a separate society (tribal) and love to gather—to perform 'whiteness'.

It is a large and remarkably diverse ward with at least three types of settlements with widely diverse economic strata and sometimes opposing interests. He noted that communications, infrastructure, and unemployment are enormous concerns. The EPWP ensured residents' access to work opportunity contracts.

> Crews observed in Hout Bay obtained full-time employment as lifeguards, long contracts in landscaping and qualifications, long contracts in library work, and regular teams involved in road cleansing to solid waste and alien vegetation cleaning (Sentinel News, 2021b).

The ward councillor confirmed projects are proceeding on houses and roads. The superblocking project started by fixing the roads. To succeed in a project, the community needs to be aware of the process.

> Since I became a councillor in the past five years, a lot of work has been done in the community with upgraded roads, schools, and a formal housing project with a foundation phase underway.

87

The main reason we see community protests happen is the lack of communication. People do not know what the city is planning and implementing within their areas. That is why we have ward committee meetings on a regular basis so that information is shared with the community together with the councillor, the councillor should also have brief meetings. Social media is a very powerful platform, ward committee members can use that platform, when you send messages via these media platforms you can see people are quite receptive to what the city wants to do, if the people are informed about issues timeously (Ward Councillor).

The Ward Councillor Rob Quintas specified:

We've made swift progress with the road repairs in Imizamo Yethu. The work started on 2 November 2021. An 8-million-rand project, which is seeing rehabilitation and resurfacing of large sections of OR Tambo streets. The progress made makes me excited and in terms of the reinstatement and new sidewalks that have been installed as well making it easier for our pedestrians. I must also encourage the residents to refrain from blocking storm water system and sewer system with foreign objects as the more pooling grey water and overflows we see the more roadworks will deteriorate quickly again (City of Cape Town, 2021b).

Leadership is complex because many forces contest for black leadership in IY and the ward councillor is a white person who was voted into power mainly by white and, to a lesser extent, coloured voters (see voting figures by station). There are multiple forms of leadership in IY linked to various networks. These are often unelected leaders as (Piper et al., 2017).

The local leaders who sit in these structures are neither formally elected nor selected in legally enforceable ways analogous to the election of a ward councillor. Local leadership positions are thus always vulnerable to contestation, and the authority of local leaders often depends on popularity unless they can mobilise some coercive capacity of their own. With Imizamo Yethu, as in the rest of South Africa, the legitimacy of community leaders is shored up by invoking the association with the ANC as the liberator of the black oppressed in South Africa.

These authors contend that South African black townships are like a "one party state- society". "This notion of 'party- society' usually restricts leadership of poor, black settlements to ANC-aligned leaders" (Piper, 2015). Within the ANC, factions exist, such as SANCO.

… And rivalry for office emerging from within the ANC itself. In Imizamo Yethu, the racialised conflict over the development of the 'green belt' in Imizamo Yethu has fed the factionalism that currently weakens community leadership.

Piper and Anciano contend a trend exist in ANC-dominated IY towards a mini-one party state.

Rather than treating people as democratic individuals bearing rights, residents of poor communities are managed as populations requiring development, and thus exist in patronage relations with the state, mediated by political parties. The party's capture of representation in developmental governance and tendencies to patronage politics has parlous implications for community democracy by limiting inclusion partisan.

The authors suggest an over-politicised party influence, and the lonely liberal individual—the main heroic figure of liberal democracy is absent in IY. This applies only to black people, whereas the more advanced whites (who vote DA in overwhelming numbers) are rational individuals.

6.1.1 The ward committee

The ward committee in IY is functional and active. When asked to identify powers and influence, ward committees must resolve service delivery issues, the ward committee member responded:

The community brings all sorts of issues to the councillor and sub-council's attention, the role of the sub-council, is to do the service delivery coordination, all complaints and challenges are escalated to the ward councillor and to the ward committee and then we engage with different line departments in the city so that all challenges are addressed. We are the interface to the community; the sub-council does the implementation and ward committees then do the monitoring to make sure that challenges are implemented.

The ward committee's role brings community issues for them to deal with at a political and administrative level. (Ward Committee)

When questioned about "decision-making and the influence of ward committees on the city council", these responses were received:

There are several platforms that the ward committee engages with, the one fundamental issue, the ward committee influences the budget, particularly the budget allocated for ward-allocated projects, it's the discretion of the ward councillor but in consultation with the ward committee those projects are identified, spend on projects identified and influence by the ward committee (Ward Committee).

One of the critical issues in Imizamo Yethu is the issue of the provision, housing, the upgrading of informal settlements, electricity, waste removal and the major issue upgrading the road infrastructure and sewerage spills. Those are the major problems, obviously the issue of housing, goes with occupation of land while earmarked for other purposes for e.g. If you want to create a park for the community because you can't only have housing, then that type of land is invaded, those are the typical township challenges that we have to deal with in IY (Ward Committee Member).

There are dynamics within the community when we attempt to take projects forward, i.e., roads and housing. Conflict between local leaders, subcontractors who want to access these opportunities, so a lot of negotiating takes place, one person gets appointed, someone else will end up starting a protest with burning tyres. Most protests are political and malicious motivated (Ward councillor).

The roads of IY will soon be upgrading based on the influence of the ward committee with budget allocation, traffic circle, main road, potholes, and the areas of the water flooding down the road, which will have some relieve on those types of infrastructure problems. Also, another example, a constant problem of illegal dumping and a rollout of provision of bins from the city, bins fixed to poles so that committees can be able to have cleaner roads. Those are the type of issues brought to us, and the motion sent by the ward councillor to the sub-council about the need, and now the rollout is happening based on the influence and the insistence of the ward committee (Ward Committee Member).

6.1.2   Citizens' observations

The citizen participant profiles are illustrated in (Table 0.1.), representing their gender, age, ethnicity, and employment status. The research sample comprised 30 participants—black Africans, coloured, and one foreign national, split into 16 males and 14 females with ages ranging from 18 to 60.

Table 0.2: Participant profiles

Community participants	Number	Percentage
Male	14	46,7%
Female	14	46,7%
Ward councillor		
Male	1	3,3%
Ward committee		
Male	1	3,3%
Age		
18-35	13	43,3%
35-60	17	56,7%
Employment status		
Unemployed participants	14	46,7%
Employed participants	16	53,3%
Total	30	100%

The qualitative data collected comprises in-depth interviews. In this section, the responses are grouped into emerging themes. Thematic analysis of transcripts generated four themes labelled as they are connected. The themes and the connections are the major results of this study, presented from the participants' perspectives. The themes emphasised by the participants are captured in

| **Social Problems** (Crime & unemployement) | **Service Delivery and protests** (Housing, electricity, bad living conditions, roads(Superblocking) & toilets | **Disaster Management** (fires & flooding) | **Leadership** (inclusivity, communication & visibility) |

Figure 0.4.

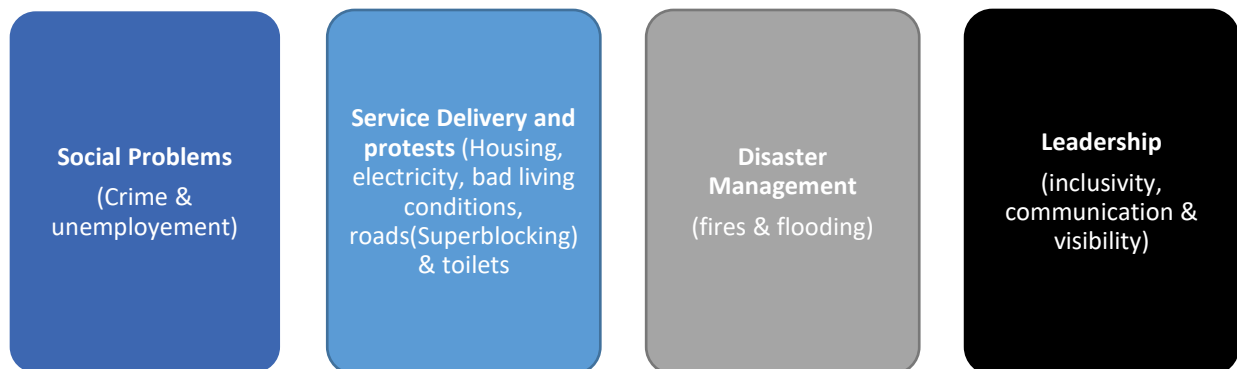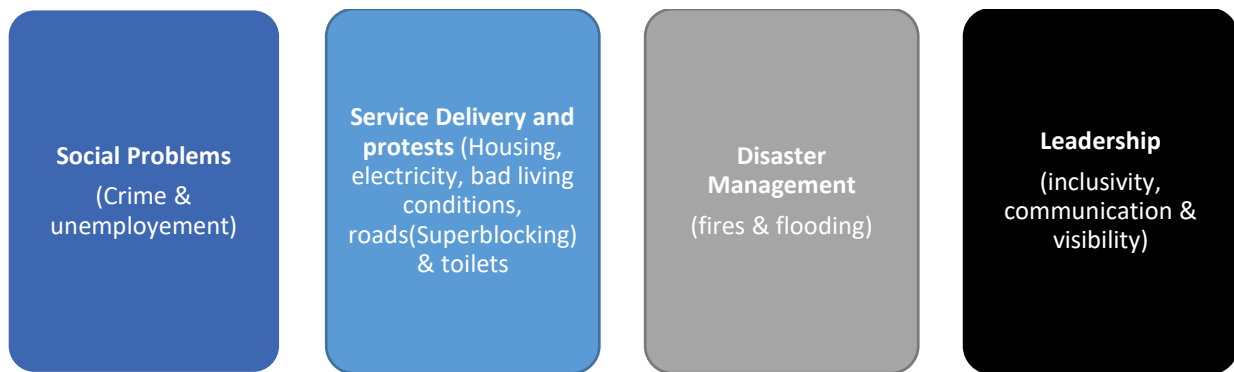| Social Problems (Crime & unemployement) | Service Delivery and protests (Housing, electricity, bad living conditions, roads(Superblocking) & toilets | Disaster Management (fires & flooding) | Leadership (inclusivity, communication & visibility) |

Figure 0.4: Themes raised by participants

6.1.3   Social problems: crime and unemployment

Participants identified social challenges specific to all age and gender groups. Unemployment was a major concern, blamed on the perception that employment opportunities are presented to foreign nationals or the same people. Warrant Officer Tanya Lesch, a police spokesperson, confirmed various crimes in IY, including murder, assault, grievous bodily harm and intimidation; allegations also surfaced that a mentally challenged man was beaten to death by members of the IY patrol (Harvey, 2018b).

More police officers are to be deployed at the IY squatter settlement. According to the Minister of Police, Fikile Mbalula, criminals have been arrested for torching houses, and criminals have hijacked the residents. An element of benefitting and renting out shacks for foreign nationals is beneficiary corruption. He vowed to maintain law and order. The police identified community leaders promoting anarchy, proclaiming they would encounter the consequences (SABC News, 2017).

A participant emphasised the effect of crime on his business. As a shop owner, he must pay a weekly protection fee to the gang leaders. Similar incidents were reported to the police. Crime was not widespread; however, participants complained about the increase:

> More police officers are to be deployed at Imizamo Yethu squatter settlement…
> criminals have been arrested for torching houses; the residents have been hijacked
> by criminals. An element of benefitting and renting out shacks for foreign nationals,
> who are beneficiaries of corruption. The police had identified community leaders
> who were promoting anarchy, and they will face the consequences (The Minister of
> Police Fikile Mbalula, SABC News, 2017b).

92

Interviewee 2 (a foreign national and shop owner) emphasised the effect of crime on his business weekly:

> I'm obliged to pay protection fees to the crime leaders. A few incidents have been reported by police, however, in general crime was not prevalent, but participants were concerned with the increase of crime.

Interviewee 7 (employed female part of the street committee):

> What we are faced with here in IY or must I say in the Zola section is problems with drugs and unemployment. The youth, including our son is using drugs, he lives in the house in the evening and gets himself into crime related activities.

Interviewee 14 (unemployed female):

> I would like to complain to you okay, employment opportunities IY becomes available, we go and apply, but then you hear that there's some corruption happening where other people get the job. You will find that those who are friends with community leaders will get the job. We toy, toy and asked the people how they got the job, they told us that the community leaders approached them late in the evening to go and work.

Interviewee 27 (unemployed female):

> Added to the unemployment situation that is frustrating and they rely on government grants. Alluded to the fact that only a few gets chosen for the EPWP jobs that is made available by the city.

Interviewee 19 & 20 (unemployed males) remarked that they have an increase in unemployment and crime:

> We go to bed hungry, therefore, this leads to crime. We receive piece jobs to find ends meet, we want jobs, permanent jobs.

Interviewee 22 & 24 (unemployed young female) remarked:

> As young women, we are scared as crime has increased in the area. Since we share toilets, you cannot go to the toilet alone as you don't know what will happen to you.

Also, we are pleading with government to please support us with free skills so that we can get employed, some of us cannot afford university.

Interviewee 26 (employed male) remarked:

As much as we understand that there's high unemployment, our kids are influenced by foreigners to sell and buy drugs. Drugs and crime are becoming a serious matter of IY, IY used to be a very peaceful area with no reports of crime not the police can tell you that is going up every day.

Interviewee 30 (employed male) remarked that job creation is important, but the quality of jobs is deprived:

Our children are going to suffer more as the only jobs they get is only for a few days when there's a project, when the project is finished, they sit at home doing nothing. We need the City to come up with a plan on how they can assist our youth.

A youth academy in IY in 2018 commenced with training entrepreneurs to combat unemployment; this is according to Renier Combrink, who launched the Young Adult Development Agency (YADA), proceeding at the Harvest Centre at the harbour.

Many people have the excellent potential of becoming artisans but haven't had the opportunity to go to school or have come from homes that don't encourage the development of skills. You can get a guy who knows how to do plaster work, but he doesn't understand how his work fits into the whole pro-Project. It's important for them to understand the impact each person has on the process from beginning to end. They can then learn to be a project manager. I'm going to expose them to everything: this is the life cycle of a house, from planning and engaging with a customer to the application and business process, to the physical construction. They can become reliable sub-contractors, making them accountable and proud of the work they do Candidates, who are selected from Imizamo Yethu and Hangberg, will do a two-year training programme.

Mr Combrink expressed that the focus was on unskilled young people and school-leavers between 18 and 35 (Sentinel News, 2018). Cost plans to extend the EPWP programme to HB. Through this initiative, the unemployed between 18 and 45 can place themselves on the City's databases for short-term work opportunities, which could earn them a stipend. Aasiyah Allie

94

campaigns for the project. He remarked that the project would help combat the ever-increasing unemployment rate in disadvantaged communities, such as IY and Hangberg.

> Now the City of Cape Town will have access to updated details of unemployed people, as well as an opportunity to create and implement job opportunities within these communities (Ms Allie).

Warrant Officer Tanya Lesch, a police spokesperson, confirmed various crimes in IY, including murder, assault, grievous bodily harm, and intimidation; allegations also surfaced that a mentally challenged man was beaten to death by members of the IY patrol (Harvey, 2018b).

In 2020, the CoCT warned that "illegal connections in the township threatened the main power grid" ("Illegal connections", Sentinel News, August 31, 2020). In one instance, "City technicians found someone to replace the locks on the gates to the substation" (Hassen, 2020).

> This would indicate that some person or persons have 'cornered the market' with illegal supply in the area and are likely charging fellow residents for by-passes or connections. Tampering with public infrastructure for any reason, especially illegal gain, must be condemned in the strongest possible terms (Ward councillor, Roberto Quintas, cited in Sentinel News, August 31, 2020.)

Most residents in formal houses share the power with the backyard or adjacent shacks, pushing the consumption higher into much more expensive brackets. City tariffs punish high consumption. The main household or 'seller' can link three households to a 'ready box'. According to Franks and Prasad, sellers sell on "electricity they buy from the municipality; connections are often unsafe and considered illegal by the authorities" (Franks & Prasad, 2014). Interviewee 1 (the only coloured female participant) who lived in the area for a couple of years, and was exasperated, noted:

> Service delivery is very poor, there was a protest over electricity that went for more than 4-5 days without electricity. I call the council they just promise but nothing happens. We stand together with the black neighbours for our voices to be heard. I don't know what the way is forward for this area.

Interviewee 3 (unemployed young female) remarked:

We live in bad conditions, its dirty here and there's no toilets, we have don't receive municipal plastics as there's no bins for us to throw away dirt. We are tired of living like this, we are angry, electricity goes for as long as week that it when we resort to protests.

Interviewee 4 (unemployed male) remarked:

The road is broken, when it rains, we struggle with water coming inside our shacks. We are a frustrated community with our patience running low, the City needs to come to the area to help us as our living conditions are not improving.

Interviewee 9 (employed female) remarked:

I have been living here for more than 20 years, we have been asking for housing for years. We also have issues with toilets, one toilet is used by a lot of people and now those who lives close to the toilets they choose to lock them as they are in a bad state, and no one wants to clean them. We don't have water, we share a tap, to access water. It's a lot of challenges we are facing.

Interviewee 10 & 11 (Employed Females and one part of the street committee) remarked:

We are faced with a lot of challenges, challenges of blocked drains, we don't have toilets, water we get only for only a few houses, you must wake up early to go get water into buckets, electricity we illegally connect it, what we need addressed urgently is toilets and the blocked drains.

Interviewee 12 (a local self-employed female who sells fruit) remarked:

There's no service delivery here, we have been waiting on houses for more than 10 years. We are sharing toilets and the roads are not clean with leaking drains.

Interviewee 14 (young, employed male) remarked that their issues range from the electricity, without water for two weeks, overflowing drains and houses rented from foreigners as South Africans.

Interviewee 25 (employed male) remarked:

I sometime attend the community meetings, and, in those meetings, we are promised a lot of things, like fixing of the roads, building of more houses and toilets. We are

96

not sure what are they delays as no one can answer to us what are the causes of the delays, do you perhaps know, he asked? Honestly, we are just frustrated, and this situation has come worse during this covid times.

Interviewee 29 (employed male):

… there's nothing we can say as we all say the same things, we need housing, electricity and water. Imagine sharing toilets with more than 50 people? I have actually built my own toilet and put pipes but the issue with water is that sometimes we can flush but it's better than waiting for long for a shared toilet.

When asked to identify the service delivery problems, members of the IY community encounter, participants emphasised deplorable living conditions with streets filled with raw sewage from overloaded and leaking drains, issues with unstable electricity, and the long wait for housing. They emphasised the toilets are insufficient; most people must share one unsanitary public toilet. Some residents living next to the public toilets lock them, preventing access to others.

6.1.4   Fires and regular disasters

On 11 and 12 March 2017, "a large section of IY was devastated by fires, killing three people, destroying 3,500 homes and displacing 15,000 people.[5] IY residents demanded housing"

Mzukisi May explains that since the enormous fires they were promised superblocking in order to build houses with more space. They were asked not to rebuild their shacks, and they were going to receive new material to rebuild after the project is completed. Residents have opposed the superblocking project because it was removed and displaced to an open field. (SABC News, 2018)

Some participants emphasised their challenges with fire disasters where the area has devastating fires damaging their properties. This is because of the density of how their houses are built with inadequate space for movement. They also expressed that during heavy rains, they have issues of flooding with water entering their homes. Participants indicated how their streets are built like steps, complicating movement during rain, as the water runs down uncontrollably (Figure 0.6). The IY community leader, Nosicelo Matakana, was upset with the empty promises from the City. He relocated after the 2017 fires, waiting a long time for houses to be built.

In 2018, another devastating fire broke out, leading to the death of a six-month-old baby. During a shack fire, 10 to 15 shacks were destroyed, leaving over 40 people without shelter (Daniels, 2018).

In 2020, fire swept through again, with over 200 homes burnt down, affecting over 1000 individuals. The organisation, Thula Thula, assisted with relief efforts. "Containers of donations, including clothes, sleeping bags, blankets, and food parcels, were brought to the nearby sports field" (Hendricks, 2020) (Figure 0.5).

Figure 0.5: Fire disasters—assistance through a helicopter to access the area

This fire in IY left several homeless people scrambling for new building materials as the City no longer provided relief kits to the victims. The fire destroyed 61 shacks and left several people displaced. Community resident, Cedric Dube, sat with tears in his eyes, knowing that his belongings were destroyed:

I had everything in my room. I panicked, and I did not grab anything, but rather made sure my family was safe at that time, he said. He called on the City of Cape Town to implement safety measures in IY to prevent future fires and the widespread destruction they cause. We know fires are a problem up here and each time we must

98

be faced with the same thing. Just one spark can lead to a whole area being damaged, so many people and families are affected by this (Sentinel News, 2021c).

Community leader Kenny Tokwe, remarked that the scenes in IY were heart-breaking and called on people to support those in need (Sentinel News, 2021c).

6.1.5   Superblocking: for and against

Imizamo Yethu is a dense informal settlement lacking roads and planned infrastructure. It is prone to service delivery failure. It was affected by several devastating fires and constant sewage spills. Fires annually leave several residents with only the clothes on their backs. Residents are destitute, traumatised, homes destroyed and losing loved ones. Fires are not only reported, but heavy rains also cause floods. Uncontrollable floods cause severely damaged homes because homes are built on high, steep hills and block stormwater drainage. A lack of sanitation services in Dontse Yakhe (the informal settlement above the original development line for IY) means "water soiled by raw sewage flows down the slopes through people's yards. It also flooded a small library where a crèche is located. This library has been closed for over a year because of water-damaged books" (Kretzmann, 2016).

With the massive fire displacing more than a third of residents in March 2017, fire and rescue services could not reach the area. The City announced it wanted to superblock IY. Superblocking is a re-spatial planning process indicating building several roads, with reinstalled services. It requires intensive consultation with residents to persuade them to move out, dismantle their shacks, and participate in community-led spatial planning processes, attempting to optimise the limited land available. Athi Mtongana explained:

> … Their structures are built in high up steep hill that makes it difficult for emergency service to gain access to the area, the superblocking project placed on hold due to the divide of the community, some of the residents went back to erect their homes back to where the fire started. The residents are saying that the process of superblocking might end up resulting in people losing their homes and having to be moved to other areas. The superblocking process is meant to look at the plans of the City to rebuild homes again. The residents feel that their human rights are violated. They want government to fast track processes and policies that are set in place to improve their lives, they want to see action on the ground, and they are tired of empty promises (Mthongana, 2018a).

99

The City had no choice but to declare the area a local disaster area in the hope to fast-track the superblocking project; however, the superblocking project stalled as several residents agreed with the project. A group of 'shack lords', renting out shacks mostly to immigrants opposed superblocking because they could lose rental income by being allocated a single, standard-sized serviced plot to erect their home (Robins, 2020).

Community leader, Samkelo Krweqe, expressed:

> Even though members are against the superblocking, the construction of the roads will be a great help for us because when there's fires it's difficult for the fire trucks to go through, the road will provide a huge mechanism for this community because when there's fire, we can get help on time. The city is waiting on the court case in order to continue with the project, all community members must agree. The city has also promised for bulk services like your sanitation, electricity with three substations bridges up top but people came up in arms and fought with the system that it cannot happen. We have spoken to the City of Cape Town we agreed to give services to the people, and people must make way for the services to come to you. There're people without electricity for 13 years, we are pleading with the community to agree to move for the services to happen, we want all the people living in IY to have a better life and better services bought to them (Mthongana, 2018b).

Anciano and Piper (2018) conclude:

> The framing of superblocking as about providing shelter for a needy population ignores the multiple potential meanings of a 'shack' under conditions of informality. The structure itself is but one resource that an informal shelter can provide. A further meaning of a shack is access to land that, albeit informally, has a value over and above the structure itself. Thus, in IY, two-thirds of the purchase price of the cheapest shack (R15,000) is the land, and one-third (R5,000) is the cost of the structure. The distinction between land and shelter is important, as land can be rented for use that is not a shelter. This brings us to the third potential meaning of a shack, and that is the use of urban land for livelihoods, whether an Educare centre, hair salon, spaza, house shop, or shebeen. Finally, if the shack has a number, the owner is on a housing list with the City of Cape Town and has a right to a formal house at some point in the future. In short, there is far more to an informal structure than just shelter, and framing development primarily in these terms is potentially a threat to land, livelihoods, and a place for the poor to belong.

Interviewee 5 (elderly male traditional healer) remarked:

> There're heavy rains, they have issues of flooding with water entering their homes. I'm now an old man and I'm used to my shack and sell my herbs to make a living but wish one day that all our needs are met.

He also disclosed how their streets are built with steps in-between houses, complicating movement when it rains, as the water just runs down uncontrollable and enters their homes (Figure 0.6).

Figure 0.6: Steps between their homes

Interviewee 6 (elderly female, working as a domestic worker)

> I have been working as a domestic worker in the white area of Hout Bay for many years, it pains me to see the type of houses we live in and the one I work for. When there's fires here in the area you get worried if your home will burn and lose what you have worked for, also even when it rains my shack leaks from the roof and on the floor, it's just a mess.

Interviewee 17 (unemployed young female student) remarked that their area has several people with small space:

> So, whenever disasters strike like fires, as we struggle to save our homes, they only thing to do is to save ourselves.

Interviewee 21 (unemployed young male) remarked on their demanding situation:

> We are worried about fires especially now we are approaching summer. We need roads for emergency vehicle like the ambulances and fire brigade, to be able to

101

respond quicker when we are in a crisis. A you can see our houses a close to each other no room for movement.

Interviewee 23 (a young unemployed male and a member of the youth forum) remarked:

We have a lot of challenges, you see here when it rains, they come from the roof and the drains stink the whole time, when it's hot the sun shines from the mountain and creates fire. When disasters strike, we get the support of the Councillor with blankets and food parcels.

Interviewee 28 (an elderly male who lived in the area for over 20 years) remarked:

Look, we are tired and frustrated; I have lost count on how many fires we have had in the area since I started living here since the 90s. we find it strange that there's no sustainable solution to this situation until today. We have lost our houses, our neighbours, and even young children. How many more deaths?

6.1.6   Protests, 'land grabs' 'keeping the peace', and Hout Bay (HB) shutdown

The excerpt below captures the explosive themes arising from public discourse and anger about the inequalities in HB:

A newly formed group calling itself the Hout Bay Leadership Forum (HBLF), but with members affiliated to the ANC and EFF, has threatened to shut down Hout Bay ahead of the Two Oceans Marathon. HBLF member Ziyanda Phandle, who was identified as deputy secretary of the ANC's Hout Bay branch in a 2017, said poor delivery had been tolerated for long enough. The HBLF promotes *keeping the peace* in Hout Bay but said it couldn't guarantee that much longer. HBLF member Mkhululi Markiss Ndude, an EFF member, said that should a protest erupt before the weekend, runners in Saturday's Old Mutual Two Oceans Ultra Marathon should take caution. The Hout Bay Shutdown will show everyone the 'real' Hout Bay, not the fairy tale City officials are selling tourists. If people choose to run through our village, we cannot guarantee anyone's safety, The communities of the Harbour and of Imizamo Yethu have been very patient in their dealings with the City of Cape Town, but very little of what has been promised and what was agreed to have been executed. (Beerwinkel, 2019b).

Angry protests, threats of invasions, and episodic shutdowns have become regular in and around IY. The violent demonstrations started earlier in the year when law enforcement removed 52 structures standing in the City's way if they widened the spaces between shacks (Archillies, 2017).

In another protest, residents of the Dontse Yakhe section in IY took to the streets, protesting over the lack of communication from the City and being accused of land grabbing. The demonstrators—accompanied by police and traffic officials, walked from the settlement to HB library, demanding to meet with the ward councillor.

> We had no choice but to demand a meeting with councillor Roberto Quintas. The
> City was about to demolish our shacks without giving us warning. People are angry
> and scared, remarked Mzu May. (Vice-chairperson of the Imizamo Yethu Informal
> Settlement Block Committee Council (IYSBCC) who led the protest).

Members of Dontse Yakhe occupy the land, ravaged by a fire in 2017. According to Mr May, "residents who occupied the land before the fire, now living in temporary housing, are attempting to take back their land". After the protest, Mr Quintas remarked that "the Yethu Informal Settlement Block Committee Council (IYSBCC) was invited to meet with the mayor's office twice, but they never arrived". He also remarked that "the Dontse Yakhe residents resisting evacuation are still before the court; no one will be evicted unless the judge decides". Mr Quintas, however, remarked "these residents were conducting a 'land grab'; the City is considering pressing trespassing charges" (Beerwinkel, 2019a). Table 0.3 signifies notable protests (not an exhaustive list).

Table 0.4: Notable protests

Date	Event	Numbers and organisation	Comment and sources
2016	The CoCT was handed a list of grievances. Against superblocking and forced removal of 50 shacks	300 residents protested outside the Civic Centre, Wiseman Duma IY Community Leader	Residents from IY handed over a memorandum to CoCT Officials opposing the superblocking process (Archillies, 2017)
2017	A disgruntled and unhappy group of residents from the shooting range burnt down a community leader's house	Kenny Tokwe's house burnt down, and another member's house from the community leadership forum burnt down because of their unhappiness and rejecting the superblocking project	Police have been deployed to HB on the Cape Peninsula, where residents have set alight a house belonging to a community leader in IY. The violence led to the closure of several roads and intersections (Botha, 2017)
2018	The residents have opposed the superblocking project owing to the act of being removed and displaced in the open sports field	The challenges encountered by residents of IY that left 100s of residents homeless because of the 2017 fires	Violent protests in the past year have rocked the Hangberg and IY communities in HB. Residents are demanding proper housing (Mthongana, 2018a)
2019	Three days of shutdown/blockade and the latest threats to disrupt Two Oceans	"Many Hundreds Hout Bay Leadership Forum (HBLF), but with members affiliated with the ANC and EFF"	Residents resort to ungovernable tactics and threats to take protest against "white events" lie the Two Oceans (Beerwinkel, 2019b)

Episodic and prolonged violent protests in HB have flared up. A protest in 2017 lasted for three days (more like a blockade or siege). Victims of the IY informal settlement fire were blocked off roads by burning tyres. Thembinkosi Khedamile, community leader, replied:

> We are demanding proper housing and electricity. The City is lying to us several times, they promised to us superblocking but there is nothing on top that is happening, now we need action.

104

Police and IY residents clashed yet again as a protest entered its third day. Residents accused the CoCT of failing to meet an undertaking they would be relocated within three months. The previous mayor, Patricia de Lille, failed to deliver on her promises. One asthmatic resident, Nontsika Mzimela, has been living in IY since 1991. Her living conditions remain deficient; she expressed she is sick and tired of living in shacks (Solwandle, 2017).

The CoCT threatened to discontinue the rebuilding process at IY informal settlement in HB should the violent protests continue. Cape Town Mayor Patricia de Lille met with community leaders after the mayhem in the area over the past few days.

6.2   Conclusions: leadership and how citizens observe it

IY and HB have several NGOs and other groupings and fora. Many of these groups are in flux and operate for a limited period. Some are informal, and others are formally constituted. Leadership comes from diverse directions and is violently contested sometimes.

Former President Mbeki called Community Development Workers (CDWs) the "eyes and ears of government's efforts to fight poverty and create work". CDWs should intervene at the community level, and CDWs must facilitate access to government services. They must possess the qualities to pursue services in the best interest of their community vigorously. Tokwe remarked that his entire home was destroyed after being set alight and staying with friends.

> My children will have to live with the trauma, but I am at least happy that community
> members will soon start receiving services enshrined in our Constitution, like water
> and sanitation.

On Thursday afternoon, CoCT Mayor Patricia de Lille acknowledged Tokwe and other community leaders for "demonstrating true leadership" and helping the City to "realise progress in Imizamo Yethu". She condemned a "small group of residents" for inciting protest in the community.

> This small group has once again derailed progress by inciting violent action and
> spreading malicious rumours among community members, causing tensions to flare
> up- she remarked (News 24, 2017).

When participants were asked: how effective the ward councillor is with service delivery and how effective is the ward committee? Only two participants confirmed they knew them and

had seen them a few times; however, other participants confirmed they do not know the ward councillor and did not even know that a ward committee exists.

Interviewee 13 (young unemployed male):

> We don't know him or seen him, what is his name? Whether we know him it makes no difference. We are concerned with the community, it has burst pipes, overall, we live in a bad space. As a community we prefer the ward councillor to live with us. Why can't the ward councillor stay with us so that he or she can understand our daily challenges?

Interviewee 18 (a young self-employed female and part of a youth empowerment group) said:

> The councillors don't include us when it comes to decision-making, we just see them during election times. If there was active leadership here, they would take the youth serious, the youth resort into drugs because of the unemployment. Also, when there are projects in place, they don't communicate with us, we just see our neighbours being employed for those projects, i.e., the road project, we also want an equal opportunity to be part of those projects, but fraud and corruption is happening.

6.3   Summary

Through the empirical case study undertaken, in-depth interviews were held to understand the concerns of the IY community. A lot of themes had emerged to expose the reasons of an angry community and the understanding of core issues raised. Discoveries of challenges on social problems, effective service delivery, disasters and inclusive leadership was identified.

As a result, representation became the epicentre of the study raised in the interviews with the role of the ward councillor providing a more open and visible approach to the IY community. In addition, the chapter provided to analyse the challenges that are faced by the ward in pursuit to find a common ground in service delivery and local governance.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the study, observing leadership and governance in ward politics and discussing issues of service delivery and representation in IY. Recommendations for future studies are included. This study aimed to determine service delivery difficulties and the function of leadership and governance within ward structures.

7.1.1   Service delivery and political challenges in the community of Imizamo Yethu

The IY community is a black part of HB and people there live in deplorable living conditions, electricity, fires, and flooding that render them abject as people who seem to endure endless suffering and cannot exercise control over their destiny. The data revealed that participants confirmed these refugee-like challenges. Participants aged 35 and 60 stated they have been waiting for over 10 years for housing and are tired of empty promises. Most participants are angry at the deplorable living conditions and issues of sharing toilets because of the proximity of their informal housing. They also complained about unstable electricity around the area— taking up to a week to resolve. Those participants aged 18 to 35 especially remarked on the hopelessness around limited employment opportunities—they feel excluded from any job opportunities. The problem is that the person who represents IY does not live in IY and is part of the wealthy white "community of HB. This poses a contradiction.

7.1.2   Effectiveness of ward councillors and ward committees

This study identified leadership and governance as crucial links to democracy and service delivery. To reiterate, the developmental framework in the *White Paper on Local Government* 1998, guides ward councillors' responsibilities in a general sense. Ward councillors are expected to be "community leaders who play an important role in building a shared vision and mobilising community resources for development" (*The White Paper on Local Government*, 1998).

The participants indicated they do not know their ward councillor and feel they voted for him. Only two participants could confirm who their ward councillor was. One participant suggested there should be two councillors: one should look after the affluent areas, and another the

township area because the same person cannot represent them. The ward councillor must be close to the community and understand their daily challenges. A lack of communication and non-inclusive decision-making was reported, leading to the community resorting to periodic and insurgent protesting (blocking roads, for example).

The ward councillor indicated that the unelected leadership structures (local leaders who sit on ward committees) are the community's communication links. For certain projects, communities are informed about how a process works

The study also established that protests are both about material issues but also political. Many protest cases are not related to service delivery, but concern the sense that communities are not being listened to and that there are issues of (mis) representation. The protests regarding the superblocking project concern the lack of communication.

Although within the community of IY, local leaders function as links between the ward committee and the ward councillor, the local leaders are not accessible to everyone. The ward councillor does not understand local languages or the political idiom. The community, therefore, must create another layer where a community member can be nominated as a direct link to the local ward leader, but this also shows the problems with local democracy based on wards.

7.1.3 'Resilience' or shame; a safe, caring, inclusive, and well-run Hout Bay?

> I have lived in Hout Bay my whole life, and I've seen how our beautiful village has
> changed through the years – becoming better for some and harder for others. I have
> seen first-hand the damage that corruption has caused within Hout Bay and vow to
> root it out and be fully transparent in all aspects of our ward management (ANC
> Candidate in 2021 elections) (Cape Argus, 2021).

How do we understand leadership and the wider community in a splintered place like HB? 'Resilience' is a significant term that leaders have used in the last few years as a mode to bring all people together in unity. Within the CoCT, it provided terminology during the drought and other concerns related to Climate Change Policy. Cynics may see "resilience" as a spin on minimising the suffering and extreme poverty and insecurity of a sizeable part of Cape Town's people. The latest IDP 2017 to2022 lists "resilience" as one of its six guiding principles:

> The City views urban resilience as a core factor in achieving its strategic objectives of building a safe, caring, opportunity, inclusive, and well-run city. Therefore, the City is committed to building resilience to urban challenges that leave households vulnerable to social, environmental, and economic shocks. Resilience, as a guiding principle, should be institutionalised across the organisation and be incorporated into the City's strategic planning (City of Cape Town, 2017).

Gareth Morgan of the City administration explained that "HB residents of IY are 'resilient'. Several community groups attended the 'resilience' workshop, including HB Neighbourhood Watch, Community Cohesion, HB Health Forum, Domestic Animal Rescue Group and HB Ratepayers Association (the list does not include all strategic groupings)". Resilience director, Gareth Morgan, asked them "what they 'understood by the word 'resilience'. People always associate resilience with big shocks, such as natural disasters. However, they tend to overlook the everyday stresses and how these are managed".

> Attendees were given a selection of shocks and stresses they deemed applicable to Hout Bay. These included natural 'shocks' such as fires or drought, as well as broader socio-economic issues like unemployment and political instability. The fire that tore through Imizamo Yethu and its knock-on effects, the protest action across the village, and the constant battle with unemployment and drugs and by extension, gangsterism were just some of the issues identified (Harvey, 2018a).

The CoCT employed Gareth Morgan in the mid-2015s. Gareth has two master's degrees (Oxford University), a Bachelor of Commerce, and an Honours (University of Natal) (IOL, 2021). Athini Ngaki observes the contrary:

> We are living in a very shameful manner here no one can tolerate the way we are living. It is very painful and saddening (cited in Maneli, 2017). Others point to growing polarisation of wealth and poverty in Hout Bay, angry protests, and threats of land occupation.

Residents sense that their human rights have been violated. (Community leader, Samkelo Krweqe) (Mthongana, 2018b). Some say that whites have no consideration for blacks (Clinic quote).

7.2   Recommendations

7.2.1   Leadership and governance

Representation through elections must become meaningful and translate into an activist democracy. Representatives ought to come from the communities they serve. The poorest and most vulnerable ought to be represented directly. The current ward system and demarcation have the paradoxical effect of marginalising the poor of HB.

Policy coherence is critical between the national and provincial governments for LG to perform their duties more effectively. Communication skills are critical in a leadership setting, contributing to effective local governance. Service delivery setbacks can be improved when communities are provided with a better colloquial understanding of the process for a project to be a success. The language, feelings, and needs of the communities must be respected to avoid the politics of exit and protest. The budget has been discussed in the study—it is recommended that most of the budget be allocated to the IY community to fast-track projects planned, such as housing and road projects. The LG should put more effort into the ward councillors, empowering them, and providing more skills.

Ward councillors are important to the social cohesion of communities; however, they should engage and collaborate with local leaders to expand communication channels and avoid misunderstandings. Councillors should also formally include the youth and women representatives of the communities, ready to engage and cooperate to improve their quality of living. Municipalities should appoint more councillors residing in their communities—to be visible, understand and close to the problems, provide local solutions, and avoid the disconnect with residents. Ward councillors should explore the corruption and fraud emphasised by a participant against the local leaders when projects are implemented.

Ward Committees are crucial to the community—they should invite more community members to their meetings and not only local leaders, indicating divergence of communication around the projects and decision-making about IY. Partnership with the community is important. More involvement through awareness and inclusion will reduce protests.

Communities should understand the function of ward councillors and ward committees. Their importance is often overlooked. Being at the forefront, they are blamed for poor service

delivery; however, awareness should be emphasised that they are merely the conveyors of information to LG. Community members should act with pride in their communities and not always rely on the government to fix their problems. Participants mentioned deplorable living conditions and leaking drains. The study recommends that while waiting, they can attempt to reduce those issues themselves. Communities can also improve the communication channels between them and local leaders to have their messages across and be informed about processes and projects.

7.3   Conclusion

This study concludes that most service delivery difficulties are linked to a lack of leadership, inadequate representation and interference in politics. Although ward councillors are critical links to the communities, their power is limited as they might still be marginalised at a higher level. LGs prioritising the humanity of the poor (observing the over-serviced, over-housed wealthy of Cape Town as the problem) could be crucial to rethinking "equitable services" and democracy.

The study noted (with Huchzermeyer, 2004) that regarding informal settlements outside of historical black areas, there is a trend for the councillor (who has to represent entire wards, including formal and informal areas) to emanate from the formal housing part of the ward. It becomes harder to serve/speak for diverse interests simultaneously. The final recommendation, therefore, involves further studies to be conducted more intensely to identify divergences in the representation system in South Africa, particularly around informal settlements. The ideal ethics of representation, I have contended, means that representatives in a democracy should mirror the demographic character of a jurisdiction.

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112

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UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

COMMUNITY MEMBERS INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 1

DATE	
TIME	
WARD	
GENDER	
AGE	
EMPLOYMENT STATUS	
RACE	

1. What are the challenges you encounter as a member of the community of Imizamo Yethu, particularly regarding service delivery?
2. How effective is the ward councillor representing Imizamo Yethu when it comes to service delivery? Please explain the reasons for your answer.
3. How effective is the ward committee and how often do they meet with City council and the communities they are representing?
4. Why does the community resort to protests?
5. How do you see ways forward in resolving the service delivery issues in Imizamo Yethu?
6. What are your views on foreign nationals living in Imizamo Yethu and do you think they are being granted equal service delivery to South Africans?
7. If you are a foreign national, do you think that you have any voice or representation about service delivery at ward level in Imiyamo Yethu?

WARD COUNCILLOR AND CITY OFFICIALS INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2

DATE	
TIME	
WARD	
GENDER	
AGE	
EMPLOYMENT STATUS	

1. Were you ever inducted into the legally prescribed roles, functions and responsibilities pertaining to ward councillors?

2. Considering the recent service delivery protest in 2019, how do you think you can resolve the issues encountered by the Imizamo Yethu community?

3. What leadership skills do you think are needed to be efficient in addressing service delivery issues presented by the communities?

4. In your opinion, what are the challenges of local governance in dealing with service delivery, particularly when it comes to "informal" settlements and poorer communities?

5. In your opinion, what local or national policies and priorities affect and constrain service delivery, particularly in informal settlements and poorer communities?

6. Do you think that ethical leadership should be enforced in the LG of South Africa? If so, how?

7. In your opinion, is xenophobia an ongoing problem in the Imizamo Yethu community? Please explain why/ why not?

8. What efforts have been made to engage with the needs of foreign nationals living within the ward, about service delivery?

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

WARD COMMITTEES INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 3

DATE	
TIME	
WARD	
GENDER	
AGE	
EMPLOYMENT STATUS	
RACE	

1. What issues do ward committees deal with? E.g., Service delivery needs, community development & unemployment?

2. Concerning the identified issues/problems, what influence does the ward committee make in the decisions of the City council, in your view?

3. What powers and influence do ward committees have to resolve service delivery issues?

4. How can ward committees play a leading role in addressing the issues raised by the community?

5. How can ward committees intervene in communities to reduce service delivery protests?

6. What efforts have been made to engage with the needs of foreign nationals living within the ward, about service delivery?

128

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

NAME OF INTERVIEWEES	RACE	GENDER	DESCRIPTION
Interviewee 1	Coloured	Female	Employed
Interviewee 2	Foreign National	Male	Shop Owner
Interviewee 3	African	Female	Unemployed
Interviewee 4	African	Male	Unemployed
Interviewee 5	African	Male	Traditional Healer/Employed
Interviewee 6	African	Female	Domestic Worker/Employed
Interviewee 7	African	Female	Street Committee/Employed
Interviewee 8 Kenny Tokwe	African	Male	Community Leader/Employed
Interviewee 9	African	Female	Employed
Interviewee 10	African	Female	Employed
Interviewee 11	African	Female	Street Committee/Employed
Interviewee 12	African	Female	Unemployed/Sells Fruit

Interviewee 13	African	Male	Unemployed
Interviewee 14	African	Female	Unemployed
Interviewee 15 Ward Councillor	White	Male	Employed
Interviewee 16 Ward Committee Member	Coloured	Male	Employed
Interviewee 17	African	Female	Unemployed Student
Interviewee 18	African	Female	Self Employed/Youth Forum
Interviewee 19	African	Male	Unemployed
Interviewee 20	African	Male	Unemployed
Interviewee 21	African	Male	Unemployed
Interviewee 22	African	Female	Unemployed
Interviewee 23	African	Male	Unemployed/Youth Forum
Interviewee 24	African	Female	Unemployed
Interviewee 25	African	Male	Employed

130

Interviewee 26	African	Male	Employed
Interviewee 27	African	Female	Unemployed
Interviewee 28	African	Male	Unemployed
Interviewee 29	African	Male	Employed
Interviewee 30	African	Male	Employed

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