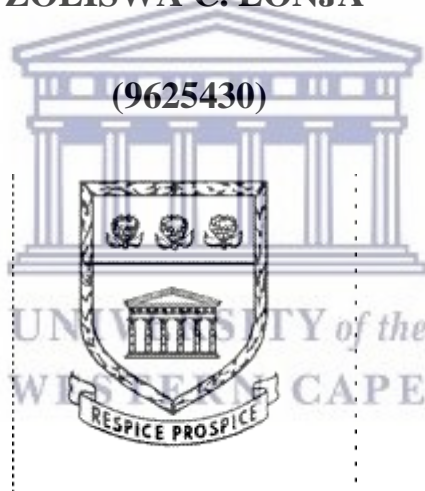


**A QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION OF THE COMPLEXITIES  
IN AGENDA-SETTING AND PARTICIPATION PROCESSES  
IN SANITATION SERVICES IN SITE C, KHAYELITSHA:  
2010-2013**

**ZOLISWA C. LONJA**

**(9625430)**



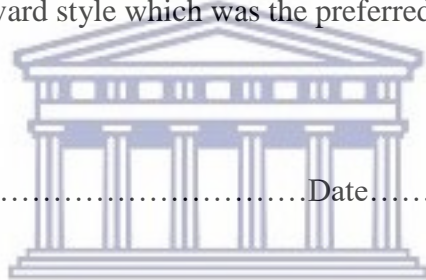
**Mini thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree  
Masters in Public Administration (MPA) in the Faculty of EMS, University  
of the Western Cape**

**SUPERVISOR: PROF G. RUITERS**

DECLARATION

I, Zoliswa Lonja, student number 9625430, herewith declare that the information presented in this dissertation, “A Qualitative Exploration of the Complexities in Agenda-Setting and Participation Processes in Sanitation Services in Site C, Khayelitsha: 2010-2013,” represents my own work. I further declare that it has not been previously submitted for academic examination by me or anyone else towards any qualification at the University of the Western Cape. All sources used for the compilation of this dissertation have been accurately referenced according to the Harvard style which was the preferred method of referencing.

Zoliswa Lonja.....Date.....November  
2018.....



UNIVERSITY *of the*  
WESTERN CAPE

## ABSTRACT

“Sanitation is dignity” as the state has proclaimed while water is life. Yet to date, there are families and communities that are still dreaming that one day their dignity will be restored and they will have access to proper toilets, clean water that are within close proximity including proper houses. In the 24th year of democracy, people in South Africa are still protesting and challenging government to address the inequalities of the past and reset the agenda of change. These persistent protests are about basic needs and service delivery, but increasingly protestors are invoking the concept of relative needs, dignity and human rights and taking protests to the powerful and wealthy. In fact, the idea of the state as sacrosanct has been deflated since protestors throw poo at state officials and vandalise state infrastructure. The “poo wars” that broke out in 2012 with poo dumped at the airport and government buildings continued with the dumping of excrement on the Rhodes statue at UCT shows that the poor can sometimes set the agenda of change and force politicians to listen. Among the defensive responses raised by authorities is that people put their shacks on private land or pieces of land that are not suitable for housing (wetlands). Politically, there are complex issues in the Western Cape, both the Province and the City of Cape Town Metro are Democratic Alliance (DA) run whilst national government is ruled by the African National Congress (ANC). The majority of townships residents are ANC supporters with a few DA Proportional Representative (PR) councillors. This study looks at a qualitative exploration of the complexities in agenda-setting and participation processes in sanitation services in Site C, Khayelitsha between 2010-2013. Residents see agenda setting and engagements as unilateral, as this study found. It is designed into six chapters. The study

was designed in a manner that it would reflect the knowledge and understanding the notion of consultation, community participation in decision-making, agenda-setting and implementation of projects or programmes by the people of Khayelitsha-Site C, Councillors, Shopstewards and officials of the City of Cape Town. Over 20 interviews were completed. A key finding is that by taking poo out of its usual place, taking it out of the private into the public domain and to the rich and by invading their space, the issues of the poor are no longer confined to ghetto townships. Boundaries between state and civil society have become porous. Cape Town's poor residents using portable toilets commonly known as "pota -pota", and also the temporary toilets commonly known as 'Mshengu' have argued that these interim services are not only poorly maintained and dirty but are vastly inferior compared to white areas.

**Key words:** Agenda setting, complexity, social protest, Khayelitsha, Water and sanitation services, participation and policies.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the Lord almighty, thank you for watching over my efforts and carrying me through my doubting moments up to this point. It is important for me to mention the sacrifice of my daughter Amanda and my twin boys Akha & Asakhe who understood me when I did not have time for them. I will not be honest if I cannot appreciate the role that was played by the late Siyabulela Thwalani who was keen to be my mentor until I finish this work. He held my hand when I was about to give up giving up and came with lame excuses of time, work pressures and parental responsibilities. May his soul rest in peace. My word of gratitude goes to my great mentor Mogamat Yasien Ryklief for his support, his efforts and academic guidance.

My supervisor Prof. Greg Ruiters your constructive criticism, professional insight on my work has helped me to be a better person. Your willingness to listen, guide and allow me share my views will never be forgotten.

I would like to mention few people that supported me Nqwenelwa Ncede for encouraging me to register for Master's degree, Phumela Gqada, Ngwilikane twins, my ex-Director Makhosandile Ndzuzo, Dr Gregory Davids and my cousin Bongeka Fanele for believing in me that I can make it.

I cannot thank all the participants enough for their willingness to set aside time and allowed me to do interviews with them, their contribution was valuable and greatly appreciated.

Lastly, I once made a promise that this paper will be dedicate to my everlasting best friend, my pillar of strength. She never lost hope that I will finish this degree. **This is my honor to the late Vuyokazi “Khanya” Matolengwe.**

## Contents

ABSTRACT	3
Chapter One: The Context to sanitation wars and the state	9
Informal settlements	9
Informal settlements and the sanitation status quo	13
Objectives and key questions of the study	22
Research methodology	24
Chapter Two: Methodology and Introduction to Khayelitsha	27
Methodology	32
Ethics	40
Chapter summary	41
Chapter Three: Literature Review	42
Theoretical and conceptual issues: cultural construction of the state	42
Informal “settlements”	45
Agenda setting	45
Poo throwing as Agenda setting	50
Impact of Service delivery	53



Service Delivery Protests	54
Political complexities of intergovernmental relations	55
Conclusion	56
Chapter Four: Legislative Review and Black Townships' Services	57
South Africa post-1994	58
Legislative overview	60
The role of local government	67
Municipal indigent policy	69
Sanitation regulations and standards	70
Conclusions	75
Chapter Five: The Official Views of the Problem and Agenda of Change	77
CoCOfficials	83
Languages spoken in meetings with communities?	88
The role of the Councillor/s	92
Conclusions	94
Chapter Six: The community and social movements' standpoint	96
Activist knowledge	100
Activist views of the city's understanding the pressing agenda issues of your community	104
Complexities in agenda setting	107



The union representatives (shop stewards)	109
Conclusion	113
Chapter Seven: Rethinking an agenda of change	115
Recommendations	117
LIST OF REFERENCES	122
Websites/ Internet	133





# Chapter One: The Context to sanitation wars and the state

## Informal settlements

Under apartheid, black informal urban settlements were not generally allowed since influx control, pass laws and mass arrests of pass offenders was the norm. By the mid-1980s this setup started to fail. Historically most formal black townships had to contend with outdoor toilets and many had bucket toilets collected once a week by the municipality. Bucket toilets, a hallmark of apartheid and black inferiority versus whites and subordination *vis a vis* the state were to be changed after 1994.

By 1994 and since, massive informal settlements have grown and with that the absence or lack of formal facilities. Typically, in an informal settlement (also called squatter camp with refugee like appearance) dozens of families would share a tap and a toilet as this was a scarce amenity. The post 1994-Census euphemistically defined an informal settlement as “an unplanned settlement on land which has not been surveyed or proclaimed as residential, consisting mainly of informal dwellings (shacks)” (RSA 2011). They define an informal dwelling as a “makeshift structure not approved by a local authority and not intended as a permanent dwelling” (ibid.). The new government promised to eradicate these through offering free RDP houses (a house that was built as part of a government funded social housing project) to such families.

According to section 24 of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 1996:11), “Everyone has the right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or wellbeing”. To this end the South Africa government introduced RDP housing and later free

basic services which sought to fulfil constitutional obligations and promote human rights as well as human dignity (for an example clean running water and sanitation) to promote human dignity.

After 1994 South African citizens had high hopes for a new and dignified life which the state would provide and spearhead. Yet, after 23 years of democracy and increasing populations in the townships of South Africa, many South Africans continue to protest about the poor service delivery and appalling living environments as the poor are pushed to the margins socially and geographically and inequality increases. The infamous bucket has been the target of successive government attempts at eradication..

In Cape Town in 2001 there were 142,706 households living in shacks areas (not in backyards) compared to 191,668 in 2011. This excludes families in backyard shacks which have almost doubled since 2001. An estimated 75% of households living in shacks not in backyards in the province of the Western Cape can be found in the CoCT(CoCT). An estimated 65% of all households in the Western Cape can be found in the CoCT. (HDA, 2012: 12)

Census data indicates that there are 131,033 children under the age of 18 who live in informal residential EAs accounting for 8% of all children in the Western Cape. There is a noticeable skewing towards very young children in informal residential areas; 41% of all children are under the age of five, compared to 32% for the province as a whole ([thehda.nd](#) : 22).

With almost 20% of residents in Cape Town living in densely packed informal settlements and backyard shacks, access to toilets remains a very fundamental everyday issue. Progress

towards better sanitation has been uneven. Governments usually cite technical reasons for the delays blaming illegal land invaders.

The Democratic Alliance (DA) which is the political party governing the Cape Town Metro is no exception to the wave of protests despite the CoCT's award of being the 'best run city and the best city in the world' (News24, November 28, 2013). Khayelitsha, among the largest ANC voting areas in Cape Town (CT), has since the late 2000s become the epicentre of the local protest against poor service delivery by the CoCT Metro Municipality. The 'poo protests' made headlines in the local and national media throughout 2013. Poo protestors also threw poo at DA leaders and dumped excrement at government buildings in the city and in the CT airport. The sanitation protest, commonly known as the 'pota pota protest' in Khayelitsha. Pottie-pottie (small pot) is the name of a portable toilet that is used in the informal settlements.

Several scholars took it up as a research topic (Robbins 2014). The new form of direct action is a complex space where residents' protests have led to closure of major roads, damage to government property and clashes between law enforcement agents and members of the community. City officials tend to dismiss much of the violent protests as "politically motivated" and anti-DA and there appears to be much misunderstanding between the city and the community. The CoCTalludes that it is essential to differentiate between genuine service delivery protests by communities calling for additional services and politically orchestrated protests that are initiated by a political minority to advance their political agenda (*Cape Argus*, October 11 2012).

As Robbins (2014: 1) explained:

The protesters' grievances were ostensibly due to the city and provincial government providing shack dwellers with portable rather than 'proper', permanent, modern flush toilets. By taking their struggle to global sites of tourism, such as the Cape Town International Airport, sanitation activists had raised the stakes in the ongoing politicization of shit in the Western Cape.

Robbins (2014) made a powerful argument that

What they and the communities they claimed to represent wanted were 'proper' flush toilets; they did not want the lingering smell of shit in their houses. Offering them anything else was seen to be a racist confirmation of their status as second-class citizens from the African townships.

The activists held their ground insisting that there was a sanitation crisis in the informal settlements in CT, and that the provision of portable toilets was totally unacceptable and "improper". The response of the CoCTs DA politicians and senior officials was to insist that these 'portaloos' were essentially 'bucket toilets' brought back at a time when officially they had been eradicated. They were described by the City as safe, hygienic, properly sealed, water-based and fully flushable toilets(FFT's) – referred to by officials as FFTs. In a letter to the editor, Andile Ndlovu, the Western Cape provincial secretary of the SA Youth Council, compared the DA's portable toilets with apartheid era's undignified "tshemba" toilets, disparagingly referred to as the notorious "bucket system" ("DA's disrespect has been repaid in kind by poo-flingers"( Cape Times, September 4. 2013).

Where middle class and whites had enjoyed the porcelain flush toilet -- a sign of modern citizenship and dignity “these porta-loos”are as Ndlovu put it:

An affront to human dignity of black people that forces them to cook and eat next to a smelling toilet. As Africans we know that one does not defecate where you live...

The last government that tried to mock black people has been thrown into the dustbin of history (Cape Times, 27 September 2013).

Sanitation, inferiority, dirt and racism are not neutral, but carry strong political messages about which people are able to tolerate proximity to dirt. But these struggles have major implications for how the state is constructed as an external authority over the subject population.



### **Informal settlements and the sanitation status quo**

Decent sanitation delivery (flush toilets inside houses) in the informal settlements of CT is severely lagging behind. A recent technical account showed that the barriers to the implementation of proper sanitation systems are unsuitable for the location of many settlements (more than 40% of these sites are located on private land, wetlands and flooding prone areas), high settlement densities. Feasibility assessments showed that only chemical toilets and container toilets were systems that could be applied on a larger scale. Both toilet systems, however, have high service and upkeep costs (Mels, et al. 2009). Mayoral Committee Member for Utilities, Ernest Sonnenberg noted that,

No toilets are provided without community engagement and agreement. The City aims for sanitation provision of one toilet per five households. These toilets are regularly serviced, with alternative sanitation types being cleaned at least three times a week (some are cleaned daily), and full flush toilets being cleaned daily via the janitorial programme (Sonnenberg 2016).

Figure 1: Child from Site C (CT) relieving herself along N2





Figure 2: Portable toilet



Source: COCT in Groundup 2013

The City in 2015 had 11,307 portable flush toilets (PFTs) in use across the City in different informal settlements. PFTs, have two parts, the upper part which is made up of the seat and the lower part where the waste goes. The toilet has a small lever that you pull to flush. The waste flows to the bottom section of the toilet which can be detached and emptied and cleaned using chemicals. A typical model can hold 16 litres of waste. The lower parts of PFTs (see picture below) are collected from informal settlements by government contractors three times a week.

Figure 3: Lower section: Toilet Tanks of the portable loo (lower section is collected by the private agency) in Khayelitsha



Source: Ground Up 2013



As recounted by a local resident,

The City usually collects the toilet tanks three times a week, Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday. But these days they either come once or twice a week. Another thing is that we used to get two tanks to use but now we only get one. You find that once cleaned, they just throw the tanks in the area and then you must rush to go get one. By 7.30am there are no more tanks left because people have taken two or more for themselves. And because they throw the tanks, they get damaged which then causes leakage. Some of them have no tops to close the tank with (cited in Ground Up. 2013)

In Figure 3 we see the “communal toilet” supposed to be serviced by the city.

Figure 4: Poor state of Communal Toilets



Source: Nombulelo Damba-Hendrik (31 October 2016) Communal toilets blocked for months.

Figure 5: Mshengu Toilets in Site C (Along Mew way Road)



Source: Ground up

These toilets are called Mshengu after the name of the company that provides them.

Twenty four years after democracy, many people living in informal settlements do not have access to decent services or continue to complain about the specific aspects of services that are not offered by government as require by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

The ‘potty potty protests’ are an indication that the CoCT is out of touch with the realities of the poor and is not delivering on essential services that should be delivered especially to the majority of South Africans who are poor and trapped in densely populated informal settlements. This could be contributed by the lack of engaging communities on their needs or the notion that the state is better positioned to know what is good for the people (see Robbins 2014).

According to Bidandi (2007: 2) “Lack of sanitation and water are often linked to variety of illnesses, especially diarrhoea, which is a leading cause of death in Africa”. Mzonke Poni described that residents in the informal settlement in Khayelitsha i.e. RR section had to walk long distance (young and old) to use toilets of shebeen owners and residents in formal housing, sometimes they were charged and many could not afford to pay the toilet fee (Cape Times June 27,2013). Some residents who are unable to pay use plastic bags and dump them on the wetlands within the area. The service providers that are meant to collect and clean the pottis or bucket are not fulfilling their contractual obligation, that alone is a threat to the health of people and has great impact of child mortality which is a great concern for UNICEF Millenium Development Goals which calls for a two-thirds reduction in the under-five mortality rate by 2015 (Coetzee, Hildebrand, Boulle, & Maarten, 2004).

Women and children are more at risk of being raped on their way to relieve themselves at the communal toilets that are far from their home (Social Justice Coalition, 2010). Addition to that Nleya (2011) argues that, “unfavourable perceptions of service delivery play an important role in protest generation; attendance of community meetings is associated with higher participation in protests”. Why are the poor always given “basic services” but others can command much more because they have the financial means (Ruiters 2018). Arguably human rights should be universal and standard and the definition of acceptable services should be framed as socially acceptable norms for all. The “pottie-pottie” issue directly confronts the tension between what is “basic” and what is dignified and notions of the state as a public authority.

Complications arose in delivering services due to undermining of stateness for example vandalism and theft of materials and of infrastructure meant for the public and non-payment of services and theft of water and energy by communities. Mayor Patricia De Lille linked the demolishing of facilities and damaging property during protests to political interference to destabilize the ruling party and create ungovernability in the local government sphere (Gontsana, August 8, 2012).

Illegal occupation of privately owned land lead to difficulties for the state in providing services. In addition, there was an issue of councillors lacking the desire to engage with communities. This lack of desire to engage with communities from the side of councillors was informed by being victims of insults by community members having their lives, houses and livelihoods threatened.

There is much scholarly interest in public participation, but the issue of agenda-setting and how actors socially construct meanings of issues and the state are rarely studied. The Public Service Commission (2009) highlighted different levels of participation: citizens can play a passive role, participate in information giving, by consultation, and self-mobilization. But participation can mean different things to different people. Some take a "minimalist view" (McComas, 2003) and others a maximalists view.

To pro-actively reduce conflict, public participation can become very complex, especially when there are multiple actors and the level of understanding is not the same among stakeholders. For example, terminology and language used is not properly understood, and logistics (like improperly arrangements made for the meetings) which can have an impact on the majority of residents not attending consultative meetings.



Agenda setting is an early stage in the policy cycle associated with deciding to decide and moving issues onto and off the political agenda (Hudson and Lowe, 2009:112). At this stage it is imperative that a government sphere or department responsible for setting up or preparing for policy establishment to consult with communities so as to understand policy needs as determined by the ground.

The setting of an agenda is a powerful moment because whoever is responsible for setting an agenda for policy formulation commands much power which can impact positively or negatively to the lives of the people depending on gathering the information that has to inform the formulation of a policy. Agenda setting should inform the policy making process of matters to be considered during the process of formulating a policy. Stakeholders should be identified during agenda setting process in order to know who has to participate and be consulted in the policy making process. According to Stoker (1998:22) agenda setting includes establishing a level of mutual understanding and embeddedness that organization develop a shared vision and joint (working) capacity that leads to the establishment of a self-governing network. The limitation of much policy research is downplaying this critical step.

Service delivery and protest are very poorly understood areas of policy analysis. Reports on protests have cited a lack of adequate community participation and issues of poor communication and culture or religion (Human Rights Commission, 2014: 36). The literature however tends to be overly quantitative measuring success of delivery in numerical terms. It

does not adequately explain qualitative issues in service delivery. Service delivery can mean different things to different people (rural versus urban for example). In the urban areas some people occupy land earmarked for something else and might demand land to build their house or government to build them houses, whilst in the rural areas people might demand clean water, electricity and government to build them schools or clinics. In the rural areas most communities build their own homes that are given through negotiations with the traditional leaders.

### **Objectives and key questions of the study**

This research intends to explore the complexities in consultative and agenda setting processes in the provision of water and sanitation services in informal settlements of Site C section in Khayelitsha Township from 2010-2013. It focuses on service delivery in area of sanitation examining its impact on public service delivery protests. It seeks to examine how complex involving communities in *agenda-setting* can be while also exploring some of the *political* complexities relating to intergovernmental relations with regard to service delivery in the Western Cape and CoCT versus National Government directives to lower spheres of government. Key questions are:

- What has been the CoCT's approach in implementing community participation process at Site C since 2009?

- What complexities in agenda setting and communication have arisen in different understandings of the issues relating to provision of sanitation services at Site C informal settlements in Kayelitsha Township?

Is there a relationship between public service delivery protests and lack of consultation when agenda is set for communities by local authorities (e.g. CoCT)?

- How do citizens experience and challenge the state?

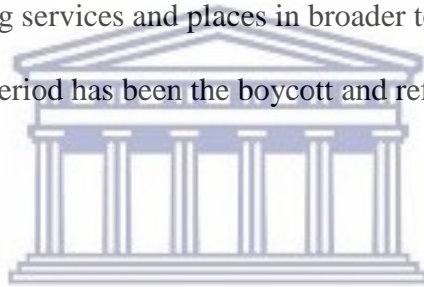
An understanding obtained from the study served a range of purposes and added value to the improvement of conditions of living of the people of Khayelitsha especially in Site C in relation to community participation on basic services and infrastructure development in the following manner

In conducting this study, all three spheres of government's policies, speeches, reports, plans and strategies, academic journals, books, conference reports, newspapers and internet material was explored to link this study with similar studies that have been conducted before and ensure that it meets scientific requirements for academic research.

South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) emphasis that the right of access to water and basic sanitation services is a basic human right. No individual can be denied access to the said basic service based on his/ her economic status. The Department of Water Affairs and forestry (DWAF) developed a Free Basic Services and sanitation (FBSan) implementation strategy (2009) that mandates municipalities to look at the very basic needs of communities in ensuring an implementation of this policy and provide access to basic services to every

household. National Sanitation Policy (1993:3), “Sanitation refers to the principles and practices relating to the collection, removal or disposal of human excreta, refuse and waste water, as they impact upon users, operators and the environment” (Tshebi 2016:12). Many scholars and NGOs have documented the complex and poor infrastructural conditions of people living in informal settlements (Nleya and Thompson, 2009).

Although much has been written about service delivery and protest and especially about participation, it is often framed as getting residents to participate in debating an already given framework rather than discussing services and places in broader terms. The traditional form of participation in the struggle period has been the boycott and refusal to recognising the state and its authority.



### **Research methodology**

The research is qualitative, based largely on documents, in-depth interviews, personal observations and the researchers own participation in community fora. The researcher drew on social constructionist frameworks (also called interpretivism) which is an anti-positivist research methodology looking at how actors make meaning and their subjectivities. The researcher tried to comprehend the ‘lived experiences’.

### **Sampling**

The researcher interviewed six CoCT officials from executive Management Unit who are directly involved in the consultation/ participation on the ground in Khayelitsha. These



include the Sub-council manager, ward committee; councillors; ward development forum, and finally officials from outsourced companies in the area.

A second group interviewed were political party activists and officers from parties (5) and community activist (15). The specific social activist group more extensively interviewed were in Ses'khona Rights Movement and Social Justice Coalition (SJC)

The third group that was interviewed were the trade union shopstewards mainly South African Municipal Workers Union, (Samwu), who have worked or live in the area). I interviewed four trade union shopstewards living in or close to Site C.

Data analysis is defined as a “body of methods that help to describe facts, detect patterns, develop explanations and test hypothesis” (Macintosh, June 10, 1996).

The researcher used interviews to collect data in structured conversation. The tools to be used to collect data were structured and semi-structured interviews using questions that will allow respondents to express how they see issues, in other words their own social-cultural constructions.

The participants were assured of the confidentiality and anonymity of the information given. Local language will be used when appropriate to accommodate all participants.

Qualitative research helped the researcher to explore the views and experience of the participants of the area to share how they perceive the complexities of services rendered by the CoCT around water and sanitation.

## ETHICS STATEMENT

The researcher assured the quality and integrity of the research by seeking informed consent from the participants. The data collected was analysed rigorously and the results were presented in a professional way. Results of the research could be shared with the participants if requested. Interviews took place at homes and at government offices or at locations preferred by the respondents to secure confidentiality. Consent forms were given to the participants. The researcher respected the confidentiality and anonymity of respondents. The researcher ensured that the participants participated in the study voluntarily. The researcher kept the research as independent and impartial as possible by phrasing questions carefully.



## **Chapter Two: Methodology and Introduction to Khayelitsha**

This chapter is aimed at briefly introducing the reader to Khayelitsha and then explaining research methodology with the objective of affording readers the opportunity to gain an understanding of the research undertaken. This chapter further discusses the targeted population and explains how the sample will be chosen for this study. In an attempt to allow readers to assess the validity of the research methodology chosen by the researcher the objectives of the study were listed as ease of reference to the reader. This research explored the complexities in consultative and agenda- setting processes in the provision of water and sanitation services in informal settlements of Site C section in Khayelitsha Township from 2010-2013.

Khayelitsha is the third largest township in South Africa after Mdantsane and Soweto; it is situated on the outskirts of CT in the Cape Flats. Khayelitsha was established in 1983 after violence broke out on Cross roads between ANC aligned residents and government aligned traditional leaders (witdoeke). Several sites were identified, one of these was “Site C” where so called witdoeke were resettled after the violent conflict. Soon thereafter influx control and de-urbanisation was abandoned by the apartheid state. More people moved to these sites and by 1990 the power of traditional leaders has weakened.

Majority of people migrated from Eastern Cape to explore opportunities of employment in CT to be able to look after their families. In 1986 Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA)

which was aligned to United Democratic Front (UDF) launched a major campaign known as Asiyi eKhayelitsha meaning we are not going to Khayelitsha which was the key slogan of UDF campaign (sahistory online). Since the mid-1990's, ironically, it has become the fastest growing township in South Africa.

Site C not only is the oldest part of Khayelitsha but is largely dominated by informal settlements which are densely populated and lack infrastructure and amenities.

The area is characterised by a mix of housing types: some formal housing, an overwhelming informal settlement, communal taps and toilets and no roads. Refuse collection is provided for via skips (large bins).

The area is covered by two wards, namely 18 and 87 municipal wards. Residents communicate with their councillors via public meetings or through councillors ward meetings structures. These meetings are called in a central venue that accommodates the ward and are in held in the evenings to accommodate residents.

Census 2011 states that Khayelitsha as a whole is estimated at the population of 391 749 with average household size of 3.30 (much higher than the city as a whole). Further, it states that the entire population of Khayelitsha is 99% African with isiXhosa as their first language. The Khayelitsha population is fairly young, aged 25 to 64 years with (48.8%) younger than 35 years (CoCTdata supplied by Statistics South Africa).

Ward 18 comprised of bond houses (Bongweni, Tembani, Khwezi areas), formal houses (Site C- Mxolisi Phethani), an informal settlement with limited-shared or no basic services.

Ward 18 population as per Census 2011 was in decline. As shown in Table 4 in 2011 the population of Ward 018 was 22 304, a **decrease** of 19% since 2001, and the number of

households was 6 035, a decrease of 8% since 2001. The average household size has declined from 4.20 to 3.70 in the 10 years (SDI & GCIS). The area has 13 wards and falls under three subcouncils (9, 10, 24). The City of Cape Town's Five Year Plan (2007-2012) aims to deliver water to all its citizens.

The former Mayor of the CoCT Helen Zille mentioned that one of the three objectives of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is "to provide decent municipality services to all, including clean water, sewerage, electricity and refuse removal" (Cape Town 2007-2012:1). However, the city argues that "unplanned growth of informal settlements" is a major complexity "adding to the city's service delivery backlogs" (5-year strategic plan review 2009/10). But the City's suggestion of "growth" of informal settlements and influx of "outsiders" in this ward does not align with declining population.

**Table 4 : Ward 018 Overview – 2011 Census**

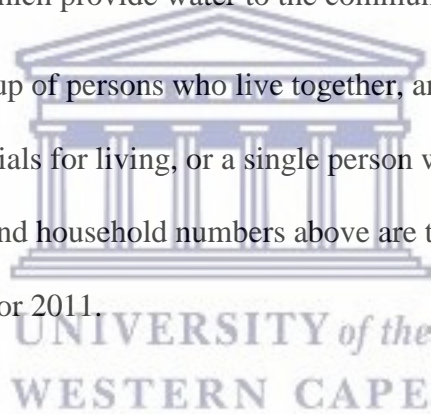
Ward 018	2001	2011	Change 2001 to 2011	
			Number	%
Population	27 608	22 304	-5 304	-19.2%
Households	6 573	6 035	-538	-8.2%
Household Size	4.20	3.70		

Source: Statistics South Africa. 2011

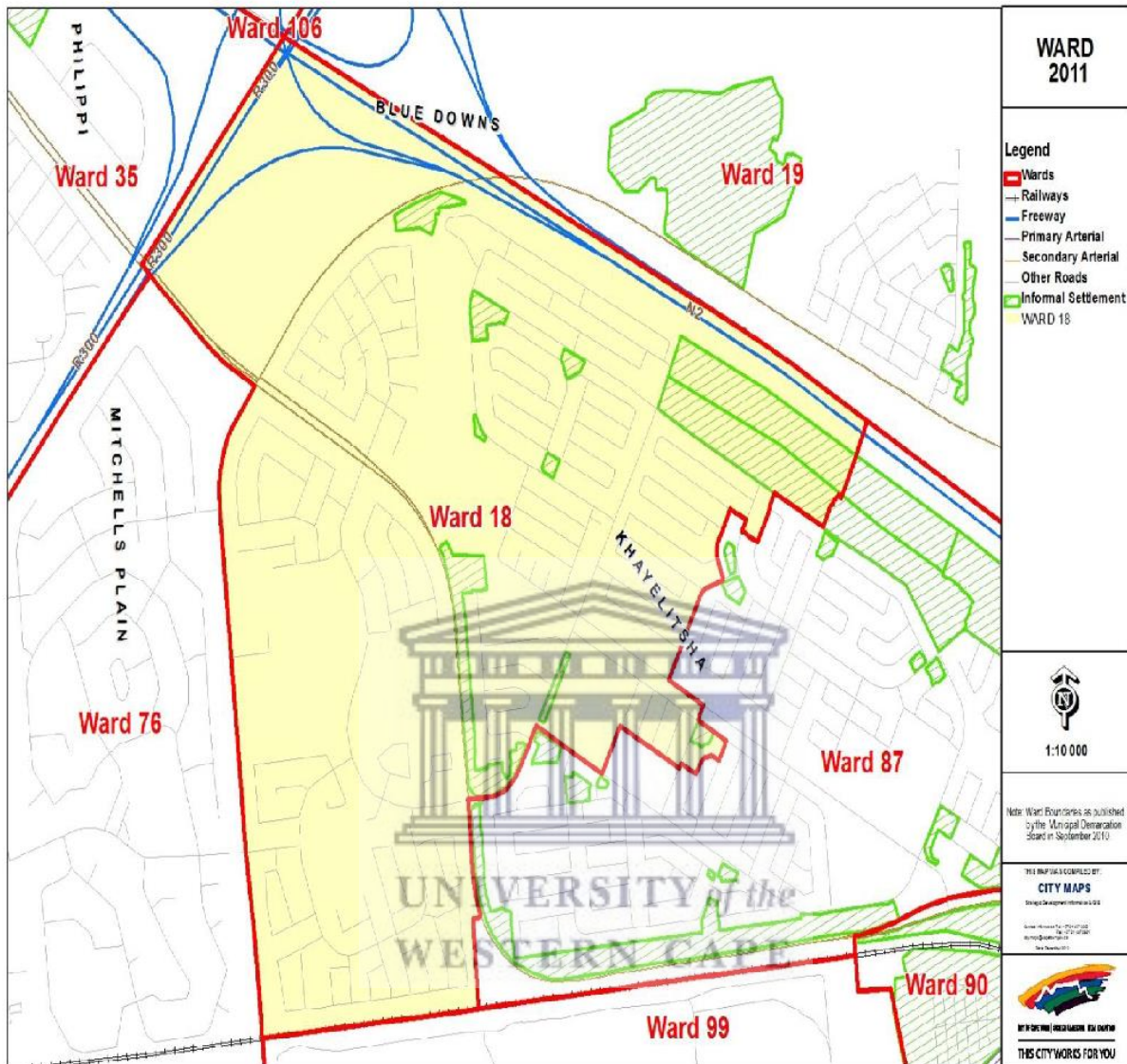
The area that the researcher identified is “CT Section” is the informal settlement section situated in Site C. In the area under study there are people that relieving themselves along N2 highway or in the bushes. Some use public toilets and the new portable loo – the porto porta that are supposed to be collected and serviced by an external service provider.

Community members depend on communal taps sometimes is the distance from their houses. These taps are leaking and/or in other cases not taken care properly. People get sick regularly especially the children due to poor hygiene standards in the informal settlements. Local government has committed to providing emergency services such as rows of chemical toilets. Close to these are standpipes, which provide water to the community,

A household is defined as a group of persons who live together, and provide themselves jointly with food or other essentials for living, or a single person who lives alone (Statistics South Africa). The population and household numbers above are to be used and quoted as the official numbers for this Ward for 2011.







Source: Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, CoCT

2011 and 2001 Census data supplied by Statistics South Africa.

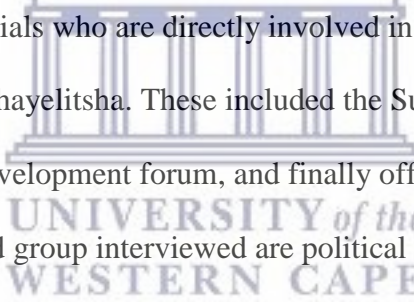
As the map above shows the areas demarcated by green lines are informal settlements on the edges of the ward and running alongside the N2 highway.

## Methodology

This research project aimed towards contributing to the body of knowledge.

It sought to contribute to policy formulation. The study examined the strategies of the CoCT. The study provided information on the establishment of the townships in South Africa before and after 1994 democratic elections.

This chapter sought to provide clarity to the reader regarding the various aspects related to research methodology such as the data collection, participant selection and analyses methods used for this research study.



The interviewed six CoCT officials who are directly involved in the consultation/participation on the ground in Khayelitsha. These included the Sub-council manager, ward committee; councillors; ward development forum, and finally officials from outsourced companies in the area. A second group interviewed are political party activists and officers from parties (5) and community activist (15). The specific social activist group that was more extensively interviewed in Ses'khona Rights Movement and Social Justice Coalition. The third group was the trade union shopstewards (mainly South African Municipal Workers Union, Samwu, who have worked or live in the area).

According to Rajasekar and Philominatan (2006), research methodology is a systematic way to solve a problem. They further defined it as the study of methods by which knowledge is gained. However, research methodology is described as a way of to find out the results of a



given problem in a specific matter or problem that is also referred as research problem.

(Industrial Research Institute, 2010). Similar to Henning et al (2004) whom refers to research methodology as the coherent group of methods that complement one another and that has the “goodness of fit” to deliver data and findings that will reflect the research questions and suit the research purpose. Whereas Kothari (2004:8) states that in research methodology a researcher has to specify, clearly and precisely implement decisions he selected and why he selected them so that they can be evaluated by others.

It is simplified by business dictionary that research methodology is the process of collecting information by including interviews, surveys and other research technique including both present and historical information.

Quantitative research methodology takes a form of numbers and is associated primarily with strategies of research such as survey and experiments (Denscombe, 2014: 250). According to Nueman (2006) as explained by Choy (2014) qualitative researchers emphasize precisely on measuring variables and testing hypothesis that are linked to general casual explanation. In this case study of the CT area in Site C the quantitative research was not to be used as it was the researchers view that the intended result was to get the sense of what the people of the area feel, believe and experience of the limited services they have and to what extent they participate in agenda-setting of the CoCT in delivering basic service

Qualitative research refers to social research based on field observations analysed without statistics (Dooley, 1995:259). This type of approach entails direct observation and relatively unstructured interviewing in natural field settings. According to Bryman (2006:111)

qualitative research is often depicted as a strategy that emphasises on a relatively open-ended approach to the research process frequently produces surprises, changes in new direction and new insights. Brynard and Hanekom in Mchunu (2012:9) argues that “qualitative methodology allows the researcher to know the respondents personally, to see them as they are and to experiment their daily struggles when confronted with real life of people”.

The data of the qualitative observer may provide more details and less distortion than those of other approaches (Dooley, 1995:260). The participants are able to share in detail their experience whilst the researcher is observing and the information gathered may not be manipulated but illustrate the feeling, values and belief system of such community. Linked to the research, the researcher used the qualitative case study of CT area in Site C in collating data, which is defined as intensive description and analyses of a single unit or bounded system such as an individual, a program, event, group, intervention or community, (Smith 1978) in Henning et al (2007). Cresswell (2007:73) supports Hennings on the description of qualitative case study, in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (eg. Observations, interviews, audio visual material, and documents and reports (Nqaba, 2014:27).

This method allowed the researcher to interact with the community, councillors, labour unions including the officials of the CoCT and to observe the living conditions of the area. Ironically, quantitative research approach would not provide the opportunity to physically

see the conditions the people of this area live in, as the community was also keen to take the researcher to the communal and mobile toilets they use.

The researcher indicated earlier different tools to collect data and instruments to record the information. This section highlighted the instruments used through qualitative approach methods. Through data collection a reliable and up-to-date data was produced. Data collection assist to get a clear picture, observe the experiences and understanding how the participants view the problem investigated. Data collection in this study was driven by great interest to collate and get better understanding on how the authorities/ officials of the CoCT address challenges of their daily activities, implementation of policies and legislations applicable to basic service delivery. The approach was similar to Pretorius (2007) who realized that in order to gain the rich material that qualitative research demanded, her ideal sample needed to consist of the top two levels of decision makers. I applied all the methods including the theoretical concepts emanating from the literature and municipal documents.

According to Bless et al (2006:114) questionnaires can be used to explore or describe the situation, but to assess a correlation between two variables. Questionnaire is among the important tools used to collect data when doing research. It was helpful to gain better knowledge and to gain a broader understanding from the community members, the ward committees and councillors how they approach issues pertaining to basic service delivery. Interviewing the labour union members, the interest was to gain sense how the community receive them as some of them residing in the same communities and whether they are not at risk during service delivery protests. Questionnaire used was open-ended questions

allowing the participants to expand on their responses and giving more information for the in-depth understanding of their living conditions and their relation with the authorities

The researcher also used this technique to observe systematically the participants' beliefs and attitude towards receiving the basic services besides what they say without offending them. This technique is viewed by Denscombe (2014:205) as a tool to investigate the lifestyles, cultures and beliefs of particular social groups. The researcher observed and captured some photographs of the type of services in CT area, Site C, the condition and how they are maintained in support of what the participants were saying during interviews. This was in line with what Henning et al (2007:82) when saying the researcher will "observe" through her notes and other documented data such as videos and photographs.

The researcher read media reports, press statements, watched television news on topics related to the research, official reports, files and social media statements linked to the area and basic services in the informal settlements. Between the periods of 2010-2013 there were a lot of media reports and news articles that were reporting on service delivery protests around basic services across the country. Denscombe (2014) is encouraging the use of newspapers and magazines in the research as she believed that they could supply good up-to-date information. Those media reports were seen as useful in the research and to show some comparison on different municipalities approach on dealing with communities Hennings et al (2007:98) mentioned that documents are collected as entities of data and are following the same route through analysis and interpretation.

The researcher interacted with the participants and they consented to partake in the research. The researcher made the participants more comfortable as the times for interviews were arranged in advance to make sure they do not clash with their pre-arranged daily chaos at mostly in their homes and offices. Interviews involve direct personal contact with the participant who is asked to answer questions relating to the research problem (Bless, et al, 2006:116).

Unstructured interviews are viewed as providing a greater in-depth information than any other type and is also defined as an open –ended interview (Fontana & Frey, 1994).

Additionally, Corbin (2003: 338) states that unstructured interviews are shared experience in which the researcher and interviewees come together to create a context of conversational intimacy in which participant feel comfortable telling their story. The participants were allowed by the researcher to share as much information as possible, share experience, beliefs and somehow their personal information although some areas were optional. In this aspect of the interviews, it allowed the researcher to probe, ask questions for clarity and had to listen attentively in order to take notes/recording the responses. Punch (1998) described unstructured interviews as a way to understand the complex behaviour of people without invading their space, which might limit the field of inquiry Cited by Trueman (2015), unstructured interviews are more like an everyday conversation. They tend to be more informal, open ended, flexible and free flowing. He indicated that although they are mostly used, they have strengths and limitations in the research. The researcher was able to ask questions that respondents would be able to express their opinions, knowledge and share their experience;

The researcher chose unstructured interviews since the participant was allowed to speak freely; respondents may be more likely to discuss sensitive and raw experiences if they feel the interviewer is compassionate and understanding; and it allows one to gather more information from the responses given. Among the limitations of unstructured interviews were that the participants are not always aware of the sequence of the questions to be asked and it is time consuming;

The researcher was conscious that some potential participants may not have been comfortable to share information as they were officials of the CoCT.

In this research the individual and focus groups that were chosen were interviewed using the unstructured interviews to explore community, officials, pressure groups and councillors views regarding the challenges they face when dealing with matters pertaining to basic services. (Merriam, 2009:90) confirms that use of unstructured or semi-structured interviews assist a lot as they “respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic” for that reason I carefully chosen unstructured interviews because it was more flexible and useful to engage with all the participants. It allowed the researcher to draw different perspective on how different people viewed issues, some were presenting some challenges as some people interviewed expect immediate intervention especially the labour unions and the end-users. The researcher doing the interviews must acquire skills to be able to deal with the respondents and techniques and the questionnaires assisted a lot in that regard. The researcher had to set boundaries and learnt how to use different instruments to do recordings. The challenges experienced during data collection were to get all participants at the time that was pre-arranged.

Sampling is referred to as the process of selecting things or objects when it is impossible to have knowledge of a larger collection of these objects (Mouton,1996: 132). It is also defined as a “set of respondents or participants selected from a larger population for the purpose of conducting survey ( Okeke and van Wyk, 2015:226). They further mentioned that the sample should be representatives of the population so as to ensure that the findings can be generalised from the research sample to the population as a whole. The researcher carefully identified the focus groups and individuals to participate in the study to gain more knowledge and to draw findings that will reflect the entire population. Okeke and van Wyk (2015) suggests that:

When choosing a sample, it is important that sample is fair and representative;

Populations is not too big or too small; and

Get access to the participants chosen.

The researcher’s sample was six CoCT officials from executive Management Unit who are directly involved in the consultation/ participation on the ground in Khayelitsha. These included the Sub-council manager, ward committee; councillors and ward development forum.

A second group interviewed were political party activists and officers from parties and community activist. The specific social activist group that were interviewed were leaders of Ses’khona Rights Movement and Social Justice Coalition. The third group was the trade union shop stewards (mainly South African Municipal Workers Union-SAMWU), who



worked and live in Khayelitsha. In relation to the chosen focus group is seen by Dooley (1995) describe the type of sampling as sampling unit which includes “existing groupings, such as areas (city blocks) or organizations”.

## **Ethics**

Denscombe (2015) points out that when conducting research the researcher must maintain professionalism and academic discipline. He further emphasises that the investigation should:

Protects the interest of the participants;

Ensure that participation is voluntary and based on informed consent;

Complies with the laws of the land; and

Avoids deception and operates with scientific integrity.



Ethics promotes that at all times the researcher has to abide by professional standards and respect the respondents. Issues of confidentiality and anonymity of the participants were treated with high degree of professionalism and to maintain that the names of the participants were never mentioned in the research. The researcher took advice from Denscombe (2015: 3110) when arguing good practice that the researcher should respect participants’ privacy and sensitivities, and avoid undue intrusion when collecting data”. In order for the researcher to get in-depth understanding it was imperative to establish trust and respect with the participant’s confidentiality more especially when they were willing to participate in the study. All participants were informed before participating that their participation is



voluntary and if they feel that it does not appeal to them they are free to withdraw. This notion is supported by Denscombe (2015:311) as he suggests that people's participation must always be voluntary, and they must have sufficient information about the research to arrive at a reasoned judgement about whether or not they want to participate.

## **Chapter summary**

Research methodology is most important in the study as it outlines the appropriate methodology suitable to obtain information on the problem to be investigated. In this chapter the researcher shared the suitable type for her research topic- the qualitative research and differentiated against the quantitative research and its benefits and limitations. She also outlined in detail the data collection in qualitative research as it highly critical in maintaining reliability and comprehensiveness of the research. Under this section she gave the instruments she used to collect data e.g. interviews, questionnaires, documents. They were discussed in detail and what each contributed to the study. The participation of the respondents was treated with high integrity, professionalism and high respect as it is determined and expected.

## Chapter Three: Literature Review

In this chapter the researcher provides a review of scholarly literature relevant to this study. According to Fox and Bahat (2007:35) a literature review is a critical assessment and summary of the range of past and contemporary literature in a given area of knowledge. The information may be gathered from books, journals or previous papers written before similar to the scope of the research. Fox and Bahat note that the purpose of a literature review to list few is,

It assists the researcher in becoming acquainted with the latest developments in the field of the project. It assists in understanding the facts and theories in the chosen field. It assists in interpreting your own research and in determining the relationship between your own research and existing knowledge, thereby contributing to developments in the chosen field (2007:36).

I start by defining key concepts which was then followed by detailed discussion of various relevant literatures pertaining to the research topic.

### **Theoretical and conceptual issues: cultural construction of the state**

Transformation in the notion of service delivery can be defined as the democratic transition process that leads to the desired set of outcomes for recipients. In the context of this study however transformation might be a moving target and it also implies the change in the spatial nature of service delivery in breaking apartheid patterns -- not merely “more of the same”. It is also how a set of people feel and experience and construct the state and its officials when

they compare themselves to other citizens in social terms. The British welfarist concept of citizenship is important since not only civil and political but social senses of belonging are crucial. (Marshall, 1964).

Mitchell (2006) has suggested that the concept of the state as a distinct and relatively self-contained social institution is “itself a reification that is constituted through everyday social practices”. How the line separating the state from civil society comes to be drawn, he claims, becomes an “exercise in power and social control” (2006: 94). Gupta and Sharma (2006: 12) argue that;

Anthropological analyses of the state, then, begin with the counter-intuitive notion that states that are structurally similar may nonetheless be profoundly different from each other in terms of the meanings they have for their populations. Cultural struggles determine what a state means to its people, how it is instantiated in their daily lives, and where its boundaries are drawn. These cultural struggles are waged in the sphere of representation but also in the domain of the everyday practices of state agencies. In emphasizing the “cultural constitution” of states, therefore, we are primarily interested in these two interrelated aspects of states. The sphere of everyday practices is the primary arena in which people learn something about the state. Whether it is the practice of standing in line to obtain monthly rations or to mail a letter, getting a statement notarized or answering the questions of an official surveyor, paying taxes or getting audited, applying for a passport or attending a court hearing, the state as an institution is substantiated in people’s lives through the apparently banal practices of bureaucracies. What the state means to people ... is profoundly shaped through the routine and repetitive procedures of bureaucracies.

How the state comes to be imagined, encountered, and reimagined by the population is a key concern of this thesis.

The next term we look at briefly is “participation”. According to White (1992) “public participation is the active involvement of the local population in decision- making concerning development projects or their implementation”. Citizen participation is often more meaningful with regular report backs and information sharing. In the context of South Africa, there are public platforms like Imbizos, invitations for written submissions by individual members of the public and ward meetings. Public meetings called by government as well as intermediate civic organisations such as street committees and development forums. The IDP is a crucial instrument to redirect government priorities alongside public participation.

However, public participation also needs to be understood in specific politico-cultural contexts and “struggle” formations. In African social philosophy individuals exist within extended families and community networks which impose substantial obligations on them (Abels, 2007:103). In the 1980s, black townships developed a very different way of interacting with the state compared to white areas.

Furthermore, participation is often reduced to a box-ticking exercise in government where prior decisions and programmes are simply ratified by residents. Residents are rarely invited to exercise influence over issues like zoning, where to live since these are seen as already set by the market. The right to participate is severely circumscribed and is often not about the right to set the agenda (Harvey 2003). But as Thorn and Oldfield (2011) point out mass

movements of the poor are occasionally able to influence the state's agenda when they take disruptive collective action.

### **Informal “settlements”**

In the draft national sanitation policy (2016) the “informal settlement” is associated to the population living in irregular urban settlements, they have no access or limited access only-to basic services, and they have no security of tenure. Tenure is linked to land which is occupied by group of people illegally or legal. According to Durand-Lasserve (2006) land tenure refers to the rights of individuals or groups in relation to land. The ones occupying the land illegally with limited access to basic services or no services at all, have informal houses in a form of shacks, those areas are called informal settlements or squatter camp. Durand-Lasseve (2006:2) also states that socio-economic situation of households living in irregular settlements indicate a strong correlation between urban poverty, tenure status, access to services, and citizenship. It can be argued that the terms such as “squatters, land invaders and informal settlements” are themselves loaded in the colonial context since the people so referred to are indigenous people.

### **Agenda setting**

Agenda setting is an early stage in the policy cycle associated with deciding to decide and moving issues onto and off the political agenda (Hudson & Lowe, 2009:112). At this stage it is imperative that a government sphere or department responsible for setting up or preparing for policy establishment consult widely with affected groups so as to understand policy needs as determined by the ground.

The setting of an agenda is a powerful moment because whoever that is responsible for setting an agenda for policy formulation commands much power which can impact positively or negatively to the lives of the people depending on gathering the information that has to inform the formulation of a policy. Agenda setting should inform policy making process of things to be considered during the process of formulating a policy. Stakeholders should be identified during agenda setting process in order to know who has to participate and be consulted in policy making process. According to Stoker (1998:22) agenda setting includes establishing a level of mutual understanding and embedding that organization develop a shared vision and joint (working) capacity that leads to the establishment of a self-governing network. The limitation of much policy research is downplaying this critical step.



Dearing and Rogers (1996:2) argue that agenda-setting is a process in an ongoing competition among issues proponents to gain the attention of media professionals, the public and policy elites. The community organisations might also want to determine their own sense of the agenda and voice (burning tyres and blocking highways has become a way of agenda setting and getting attention). Agenda setting points to “what needs to be prioritized and what gets attention from the authorities. Agenda-setting looks at story selection as a determinant of public perception of issues importance” (Maxwell, et al . 2007: 7).

Cobb et al (1976) and Howlett (1997) have noted that governments actively shape agenda setting. Common practices whereby governments attempt to control issue prominence and agenda-entry patterns “range from funding for and regulation of stakeholder and interest group formation to information and public opinion formation through government



advertising to media control or influence through freedom of information and privacy legislation”.

The basic model of agenda setting suggests that the state and the public are the key forces with the democratic state responsive public and social pressures. Both sets of actors are driven largely by self-interest: the government and politicians' interest are to be re-elected and the section of the public mobilised to get scarce resources to address particular problems. Success in the process of agenda-setting, centres on which side can control “the interpretation of a problem and thus the manner in which it is conceived and discussed” (Howlett and Ramesh 1995).

Other studies, however, pointed to a much larger role played by government agencies and a variety of "boundary-spanning" organizations, such as the media, in blocking, filtering or otherwise affecting the development of public concerns, undermining the notion that agenda-setting was a relatively simple, one-way, transmission process (Downs, 1972; Howlett 1997 and 1996; Hogwood 1992).



The complexity of agenda setting is heightened when a large number of government agencies at different levels and scales is involved. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa delegates different responsibilities through the three spheres of government. National Government's objective is to render basic services and the responsibility is delegated to the Local Government to render basic services. The agenda setting process in area of water and sanitation for example requires an intergovernmental approach whereby various departments and the local state have to be on board for an example the Department of Water Affairs plays

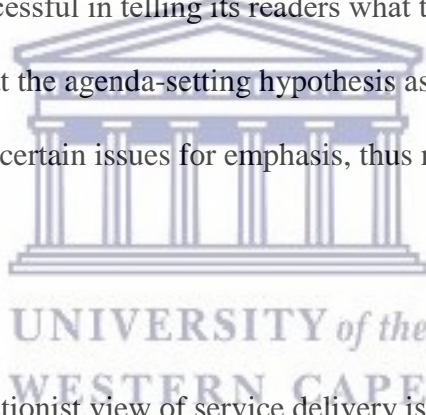
a critical role and the Department of Health on evaluation of the type of toilets to be delivered to the citizen that are not health and hygienic hazardous. At the same time Local Government has to ensure that the land is zoned to address these needs.

Agenda setting has clearly been affected by service delivery protests and this is a very poorly understood area of policy analysis. The literature however tends to be overly quantitative measuring success of delivery in numerical terms. It does not adequately explain qualitative issues of agenda setting in service delivery. Consequently, service delivery can mean different things to different people (rural versus urban for example). In the urban areas some people occupy land earmarked for something else and might demand land to build their house or government to build them houses, whilst in the rural areas people might demand clean water, electricity and government to build them schools or clinics. In the rural areas most communities build their own homes that are given through negotiations with the traditional leaders.

Agenda setting process is defined as the process in an ongoing competition among issues proponents to gain the attention of media professionals, the public and policy elites. (Dearing & Rogers,1996:2). It is argued by McCombus (1979) that the news media have a substantial influence on the content of the public agenda, and the phrase “setting the agenda”. McComb (1977) also argues that the media do not tell people what to think, they tell people what to think about. That is, the media determine which issues—and which organizations—will be put on the public agenda for discussion. It is also viewed McCombs and Shaw

(1972) concluded that the mass media exerted a significant influence on what voters considered to be the major issues of the campaign.

The use of media is used by the communities to raise their concerns, frustration and when seeking attention on a certain agenda. They do that to gain attention from the authorities, some will do in a form of press release, press conference and demonstration. The media at times does not report the true reflection of issues. This notion is supported by Bernard Cohen (1963) that “The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about”. It is also clarified by Jack et al (1974) that the agenda-setting hypothesis asserts that the media have an effect indirectly by choosing certain issues for emphasis, thus making those issues more salient to the audiences.



The absence of a social constructionist view of service delivery is a problem. There are also many divergent views on why local government has become a site of major public protests. Some scholars focus on macro-explanations such as unemployment or basic service (Hart, (2009), Huchzermeyer & Karan (2006) and others on micro or local factors Robins (2013), Alexander (2010). The rise of new political parties and actors such as social movements that also contest elections and the EFF has changed agenda setting because issues of land have become more pronounced. Yet most scholars for example (Thompson, 2011; Friedman, 2012, Pithouse, 2009) seem to agree that inadequate “consultation and participation” is a key driver of protest. But once again, all the scholars mentioned above, are often thin on details

of participation processes and most fail to emphasise the agenda setting processes in the state.

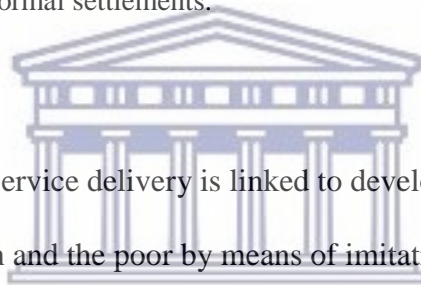
Governance is explained as involving integrating stakeholders and communities to resolve complex and messy public problems by including non-state and state actors (Kamarack, 2002). Good governance ensures that the service delivery is done efficiently and effectively and the community welcomes the service rendered. Here citizens have a direct role to play in influencing government policies to be more effective and efficient. Stoker (1998:19) argues that "governance perspective also draws attention to the increased involvement of the private and voluntary sectors in service delivery and strategic decision-making". Finally the role of trade unions as social actors setting public agendas has been almost entirely neglected aside from work by the Municipal Services project (See McDonald and Ruiters 2005; 2012) and writers such as Hilary Wainwright (2012).

### **Poo throwing as Agenda setting**

The conventional wisdom is that if all stakeholders affected are involved eliminates the rejection of the end product by the end-users. Services that are given with no participation result into white elephants or often communities vandalise such facilities. During elections the politicians visit the communities to sell their manifestos

“The PFT has become a powerful totem of power relations, and is used by protestors, students, artists, and satirists to bring the unseen outskirts of Cape Town to the center of public discourse” (Botha 2018). Massey (2014: 291) found that;

The counter-conduct most prevalent in the upgraded settlements was the construction of backyard-shacks, setting up illegal electricity and water connections and establishing informal home-based businesses. This counter-conduct has come about due to the conflicting governmentalities that exist between the residents and the local municipality. The clash in governmentalities has meant that the settlements have not met the needs of those living in them. This has spawned much of the counter-conduct. The governmentality of the counter-conduct is traditional, socially based and informal in its nature. It is grounded in the need for survival through the maintenance of access to livelihood assets and is the same governmentality that was present in the original informal settlements.



Mabitsela (2012:10) states that service delivery is linked to development which is an attempt to close the gap between the rich and the poor by means of imitative processes by which the poor gradually assume the qualities of the rich. Apartheid regime in South Africa divided people along racial lines, rich and poor. The resources were also allocated as such; Khayelitsha is one of the townships that are the results of apartheid where people were placed according to their colour of skin and economic status. Black and coloured people were allocated residential areas in the outskirts and away from the cities with no or limited basic services. Terreblanche in Nleya (2011: 4) is in agreement with the segregation of people as he argues that the colonialism and apartheid in South Africa continues to be felt, exemplified by high black, unemployment, poverty, sharp inequalities in income, property ownership and high level of crime.

After its democracy SA government introduced policies and programmes that seeks to address transformation and to render effective and efficient service delivery. In order to render services to the communities rely to the public service from different government departments. One of the important programmes that was introduced in 1994 was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that intended to address the inequalities of the past. Among its principles, includes “a people-driven process” where by people, with their aspirations and collective determination, are of the most important resource. People's most basic needs, are attended to regardless of race or sex, or whether they are rural or urban, rich or poor. RDP later was replaced by d Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) in 1996 that was more focusing on economic transformation; it was a very unpopular neoliberal policy (Nleya, 2011:4). This policy was highly opposed by labour unions.

The public service has an obligation to render the services to the public with respect and dignity guided by Batho Pele White Paper of 1997 (Notice No. 1459 of 1997). According to (Crous, 2004) Batho Pele’ is Sesotho for ‘People First’ and this title was derived from the motto adopted by the post-1994 public service: ‘Service to the People. This is a methodology that government introduced to ensure that the public servants are serving the people and find ways and means to improve service delivery. The public again can hold government accountable when the expected or quality service is not being attended to. To the extent that every department has its own service that they use as a guide to deliver on the expected mandate.



## Impact of Service delivery

South Africa has been challenged by matters of service delivery especially in the rural areas, people have to opt to be migrant labours and other look for job opportunities in the big cities. Some of these people although they move to cities are uneducated and have no skills to compete with the market. Things does not always work as expected some end-up not getting better paid jobs and others struggle a lot and end up living in the informal settlement and occupy land that some are privately owned or not favourable for housing development. Mabitsela (2012:16) argues that the informal settlements generally should have adequate water supply and sanitation. The table below illustrates the status of housing and basic services in Khayelitsha.



Former President Thabo Mbeki in his State of the nation Address in 2001 announced Khayelitsha as one of the Urban Renewal Nodes. That was a call for all spheres of government to set aside budget aiming at addressing backlog in basic services, housing, silks development and infrastructure development. The area of Site C benefitted from that call although there are subsidies houses, not all people or families received the houses because some of them are occupying these illegal pieces of land (especially the CT area), the area cannot be zoned as per the Local Municipality. They are provided with limited basic services, they rely on the communal taps, and bucket system, mobile toilets and public shared toilets that are far from the houses, to some extent others are relieving themselves along N2. Site C is not immune in the challenge of informal settlement and the community

at times become impatient at demand the services from the authorities especially the local government sphere using different forms of demonstration like protest.

### **Service Delivery Protests**

Du Toit et al (2002: 56) describes that the delivery of services is something that cannot happen overnight but it is the practice that includes policies that guide government institutions and officials to achieve their objectives in order to improve the welfare of the people. It cannot exclude issues of budget of funding in ensuring that the services required to deliver on the services. The communities have a different view that immediately new administration gets into power they must deliver on service delivery promises. The poor communities use the service delivery protest in a form of mass mobilisation to challenge the authorities when they feel that government is not caring for their needs, and sometimes believe that there are elements of corruption.



Mchunu (2012:104) defines protest as a physical act of demonstrating discontent to the authorities over public concerns (some long-standing) aimed at compelling authorities to accede to public grievances and change the status quo. He further argues that it is a demand for dignity, acknowledgement of basic human rights and return of power that has been stripped from the public and it is a demand aiming at influencing decision making. The lessons can be drawn from the “*fees must fall campaign*” that started by the students at the poorer universities on the fee increase that somehow resulted to financial exclusion of the students who literally cannot afford. It then became nation- wide and attracted media and

attention of authorities up to the highest decision making institution which is Parliament.

The President because of pressure and bad publicity to the country had to pay attention and set the commission to look at the matter.

These actions include mass meetings, drafting of memorandum, petitions, toyi-toying, processions, stay-aways, election boycotts, blockading of roads, construction of barricades, burning of tyres, looting, destructions of buildings, chasing unpopular individuals out of township, confrontations with the police, and forced resignations of elected officials (Alexander, 2010:26). According to Alexander (2010:29) counting of the protest between 2007-2009 she draws an analysis that 14 of the 2007 protests, while the “service delivery protests” continued to be the “grassroots” actions, the triggers were increasingly national-level responsibilities, including housing, land and jobs. Some of the issues that are raised during the service delivery protests are genuine; the limited resources pose some challenges related to safety and dignity of the communities.

### **Political complexities of intergovernmental relations**

Politics is defined by Van Dyke as “a struggle among actors pursuing conflicting desires on public issues” ( Du Toit et al, 2002:58). In the context of South Africa people every five years they vote for their political organisation of their choice and expectations linked to service delivery. CoCT(CoCT) is governed by the Democratic Alliance (DA) while the majority of townships (ie Khayelitsha, Phillipi, Nyanga) are African National Congress

(ANC) wards. This is a complex matter because although the ones in either parliament or municipality will pass laws and policies favour their political interest. In some instances, they deadlock on taking decisions.

## **Conclusion**

There is a growing body of scholarship that looks at black townships such as Khayelitsha that goes beyond a simple state versus civil society binary. Poor and angry citizens are not only changing both the content and nature of politics and questioning deeper roots of inequality and everyday indignities. In transgressing in this way much larger issues have been unearthed. The gap in literature that needs to be filled is to see how state prerogatives are being questioned by social actors able to deepen the idea of participation.



## Chapter Four: Legislative Review and Black Townships'

### Services

South Africa before 1994 was under the leadership of National Party, the government that believed in the ideology of apartheid that was introduced in 1948 (SA History online). Its laws were not apologetic about dividing its citizens along racial groups to live separately and allocation of resources were grossly unequal. Majority of people who were mostly disadvantaged were determined by the colour of their skin. Apartheid resulted in the establishment of Bantustans which were poorly serviced and benefitting none from the wealth of the country.

The According to Soni (1991) “the bantustans continue to decline and economy deteriorated” as they were mainly dependent on farming. The apartheid policies resulted in some having to move to the cities to look for jobs as migrant labours, commuter labour, forced removals (Soni, 1991:47). Others moved to the mines to be miners especially males and women to work as domestic workers. People were registered according to their colour of their skin. One must be in possession of pass document, failure to have it people were thrown in jail.

The promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, (Act 46 of 1959) introduced, its aim to place people according to their racial group, Black and coloured were to live in different areas away from the cities such as District 6 in Cape Town, Sophiatown in Soweto. They could not build neither own houses nor own any land but to rent. Because of the material conditions and for them to have shelter over their heads they build the shacks as a form of housing with no basic services or limited services. The townships were facing many

challenges which included issues of sanitation which that has a serious impact on leaving conditions. The most common health problems associated with poor sanitation are: diarrhoea and dysentery; typhoid; bilharzia; malaria; cholera; worms; eye infections and skin diseases; and increased risk from bacteria, infections and disease for people with reduced immune systems due to HIV/Aids (White Paper on Basic Household Sanitation 2001).

Pressure groups like the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress etc emerged and were mainly focusing on challenging government and fought for banning of apartheid. Some of the leaders like late Nelson Mandela, Sobukwe and others led campaigns, mass mobilization, lives were lost, and others spend years behind bars. Apartheid was then defeated when the new dawn came, first democratic election took place in 1994 and South Africa had the 1<sup>st</sup> Black President under the ANC government. One important thing that Dr Mandela did was to include majority of the parties in his government including the leader of National Party FW De Klerk as this was a good move for transferring of experience and knowledge in government.

### **South Africa post-1994**

When the new South Africa was born post 1994, the non-racial, non-sexist and a democratic government and the choice of majority came into power. The voters had great expectations that their lives will change for the better. Transformation was high on the agenda.



Transformation including policy formulation programmes that sought to address the inequalities of the past.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) a socio-economic policy framework was introduced in 1995 by the ANC government and born and emanates from the Freedom Charter principles with the following key programmes:

Meeting basic needs

Developing our human resources

Building the economy

Democratising the state and society, and

Implementing the RDP

The laws that were segregating communities because of race and colour were scratched off.

According to the report by Findley and Ogbu (2011) post 1994 the biggest apartheid-populations shift was the white-only areas were opened to other races. They further argue that the government used infrastructure projects to address inadequate transportation, housing and services in the townships. They say the RDP in 2009 facilitated the construction of over 2.3million homes and provided electrification and access to clean water. This achievement was in line with the constitutional mandate as stated in Section 26 of the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) that states that “everyone has a right to have access to adequate housing”.

## Legislative overview

The legislative overview will start with discussing the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa in relation service delivery which will then be followed by other relevant Acts and policies. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 is transversally accepted to be the supreme law of the land. It outlines in depth the values of the country while containing key information regarding the rights of the people of the country.

Provisioning of basic services lies within the scope of the municipality. It is emphasised in the Constitution that citizens also have a right to “freedom to receive or impart information or ideas”. The Bill of rights are enshrined in Chapter 2 of the Constitution of Republic of South Africa articulating that government must provide certain basic services to all citizens. In the same vein The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Section 24 b (1) states that “everyone has a right to have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that-prevent pollution and ecological degradation”.


National government and provinces are concurrently responsible for social services such as health, education and social welfare. But national government’s role in municipal functions is to regulate and set standards and exercising oversight.

Municipalities deliver services to the public within the framework of national policy but they set their own budgets, design a specific mix of services for their territory and account for their performance. The national fiscus funds basic service provision through an unconditional

equitable share of revenue and grant funding conditional to a specific purpose, but municipalities (on average) raise substantial revenue of their own, through rates on property and user charges. Municipalities receive a much smaller percentage of funding through transfers than provinces.

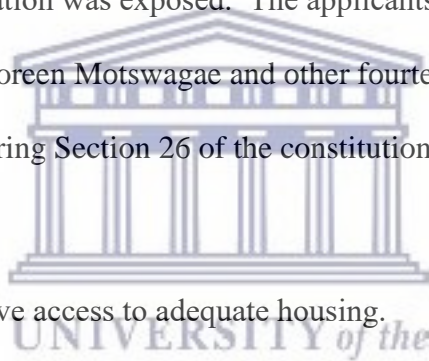
While it is widely agreed that local government should play “a developmental role” it is unclear what exactly this means and how this role evolves and responds to different municipal service delivery contexts and the priority needs of the poor and “second” class citizens.

Chapter 7, (Section 152 (1) of the Constitution outlines that the specific objectives of local government are as follows:

- 
- a) to provide democratic and accountable government for local government;
- b) to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- c) to promote social and economic development;
- d) to promote a safe and healthy environment; and
- e) to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.

Chapter 2 of the Constitution states that “everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law” this section explicitly makes provisions for the fact that all citizens in of the country should be treated equally regardless of the classification.

The citizens, if they view that there are elements of violation of their rights, can approach the court of law for intervention. The example of the case of Rustenburg Local Municipality case COCT 42/12 [2013] ZACC1 (case dated 07 February 2013) held at North West High Court in Mafeking, the contractor was appointed by the municipality to work in the land that was earmarked for housing development, there were occupants in the piece of land. The community was never consulted properly in that regard nor provided an alternative land. The contractor did what they were instructed to do and damaged the wall of one of the applicants' home and the foundation was exposed. The applicants approached the constitutional court ( Pontsho Doreen Motswagae and other fourteen) the court ruled in favour of the applicants considering Section 26 of the constitution relevant to the case which provides that




- “1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.
- 2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right”.

The Concourt ruling written by J Yacoob, stated that the applicants' constitutional right not to be evicted from their homes without a court order guarantees their peaceful and undisturbed occupation of their homes. The court concluded that the municipality should have secured the eviction of the applicants beforehand (lhr, n.d).

Subsection (9) (2) states that equality is “the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms” this allows for the formulation of legislation and policies to ensure that no person is treated unfairly.

Subsection (9) (3) prohibits discrimination against “race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth” While subsection (9) (4) allows room for “national legislation to be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination” (South Africa, 1996:06).



Although the government worked towards addressing challenges of infrastructure in the townships at times opt for short cuts and provide services that somehow viewed as undermining the dignity of people. The Makhaza open toilet case presents a good example on issues of human dignity, consideration of cultural and social values of people, the DA-led CoCT was accused of violating residents’ rights to human dignity after 51 toilets were erected without enclosures in Makhaza, Khayelitsha, Cape Town in December 2009. The court case was lodged by South African Human Rights Research Council (SAHRC) after they were approached by the community of the area (the case of Beja, Lili and Ncani as applicants). On the 30 April 2011 Judge Nathan Erasmus of the Western Cape High court ruled that the CoCT has to enclose the 1000 toilets in Makhaza (politicsweb, n.d).

Chapter 4 Section 16 (1) of Municipal Systems Act 32 (2002) outlines municipal obligations in respect of community participation. The Act obliges municipalities to develop a culture of

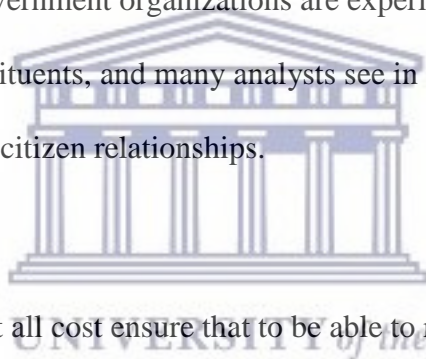
63

municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance and must for this purpose encourage and create conditions for the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality including in strategic decisions relating to the provision of municipal services.

Local government laws define a municipality as comprising of political structures, administration and the community. Thus, communities are an integral part of municipal governance of local government affairs, but this requires a strong public that can interact with local government in an informed and directed manner and use the spaces available for participation on key decisions for more effective local solutions and a responsive council. In a landmark Matatiele judgement in South Africa in 2006 (Matatiele 2006), the Constitutional Court made it clear that “participatory democracy is of special importance to those who are relatively disempowered in a country like ours where great disparities of wealth and influence exist”. Participatory democracy places the onus on local government to ensure that citizens have the necessary information and opportunity to exercise this right. Citizen participation is an important instrument in democracy and helps the authorities to implement suitable locally-driven programmes. Nleya (2011:56) cites the fact that any denial of participation is fundamentally negative to democratic norms. He further emphasized that South Africa is a democracy country with laws and regulations that promotes public participation for meaningful inputs that is inclusive. Communities are aware of the fact that when any sphere of government intend to enter the community they may consult the leadership / stakeholders which may result to whole community allowed an opportunity to share their views.



The Public Service Commission on their report on the Assessment of Public Participation Practices in the Public Service (2008) share means of engagement with communities includes Imbizo, citizen satisfactory survey, ward committees, community development workers, IDP forums, use of print, television and radio media. In the current situation social media is also used as a form of community engagement and most departments will find them having Facebook pages or twitter accounts that is monitored by a dedicated team and give feedback more often on the matters raised. According to Picazo-Vela, Martinez and Reyes (2014 vol.29, issue 4) mention that government organizations are experimenting with social media to communicate with their constituents, and many analysts see in these media a powerful set of tools to reinvent government-citizen relationships.



The local municipality it must at all cost ensure that to be able to render effective and efficient services all the relevant resources are available including the technical skills or experts. It is given provision to render services internally or use of external mechanisms. Section 79 of the Act compels the municipality and must:

allocate sufficient human, financial and other resources for proper provision of the service;  
and transform the provision of that service in accordance with the requirements of this Act.

Affirmative action is one of the policies that the South African government introduced post 1994 with the intention of addressing the discrimination and imbalances of the past whereby

other groups includes women and persons with disabilities were excluded to occupy certain positions or job opportunities. According to Kravitz and Platania (Vol 78, Issue 6, 1993) refers affirmative action is implemented to increase the numbers of an under-presented demographic groups in an organisation. While affirming it does not mean it is an obvious thing but one has to undergo an assessment and when there is a need for training that must be provided for the person to be competent in the task or role at hand.

With the introduction of transformation and affirmative action in South Africa came Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment which is known as BBBEE.

An institution/ state department is required to have a policy that prescribed the preferential procurement which has to be followed by all involved in the Supply Chain Management. The preferential procurement favours the point system as outlined in the Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act (Act No 5 of 2000).

The consideration of the B-BBEE capacitates or empower the previously disadvantage which are commonly known as Historically Disadvantaged Individuals (HDIs). Empowerment of HDIs is a constitutional mandate. Provision of Section 127 of the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) states that:

When an organ of state in the national, provincial or local sphere of government, or any other institution identified in national legislation, contracts for goods or services, it must do so in accordance with a system which is fair, equitable, transparent, competitive and cost-effective.

The opportunity given provides an opportunity on transfer of skills to the HDIs in the form of administration, reporting, monitoring of workers and financial management. Although some big companies are using this B-BBEE companies to score points and the actual work is done by the HDIs, the big companies act as bosses who makes more money and at times bully the small companies. The laws of this country are efficient and are able to protect the HDIs. If by any chance the bidder provides the false information on the B-BBEE status to be considered the state has the right to cancel the bidder without any expenses.

The CoCT consider some of the Small Medium Enterprises to render service like cleaning services that is outsourced to companies owned by black people ie Mhoko cleaning services is collecting cabbages in certain areas in the Metro, Pottie-pottie cleaning and management and Mshengu toilets that are used by most informal settlements in the Cape Flats that service is also outsources. This opportunity creates opportunities to the local people.

### **The role of local government**

Municipal Infrastructure Policy (2007: 5) clarifies the role of the three spheres of government that there is a level of interdependence to allow effective concurrence, interrelation and dependencies. Moreover, these affirmations of these types of relationships are more critical for the development of bulk infrastructure and for complementary administrative capacity to enable service delivery. It further emphasized the importance that both national and provincial governments by agreement assist municipalities in building capacity of municipalities to manage their own affairs, to exercise and to perform their functions.

In the South African Constitution (Section 16 (1) b) emphasized that the Provisioning of basic services lies within the scope of the municipality. It is emphasised in the Constitution that citizens have a right to” freedom to receive or impart information or ideas. The Bill of rights are enshrined in Chapter 2 of the Constitution of Republic of South Africa articulating that government must provide certain basic services to all citizens. In the same vein The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Section 24 b (1) states that “everyone has a right to have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that-prevent pollution and ecological degradation”.



Similarly, Chapter 7, (Section 152 (1) of the Constitution outlines that the specific objectives of local government are as follows :

- a) to provide democratic and accountable government for local government;
- b) to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- c) to promote social and economic development;
- d) to promote a safe and healthy environment; and
- e) to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.

In addition to the above, Chapter 4 Section 16 (1) of Municipal Systems Act 32 (2002) outlines municipal obligations in respect of community participation. The Act obliges municipalities to develop a culture of municipal governance that complements formal

representative government with a system of participatory governance and must for this purpose encourage and create conditions for the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality including in strategic decisions relating to the provision of municipal services.

### **Municipal indigent policy**

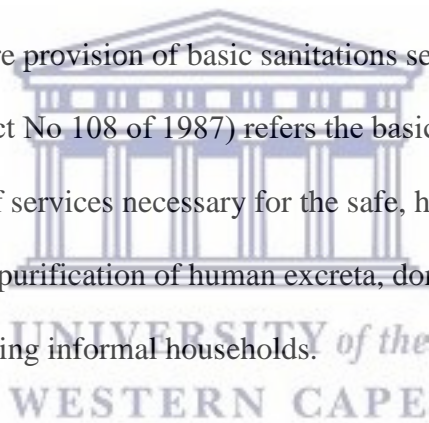
The Municipal Indigent Policy guides government's initiatives for the possibility of improving the standards of living of those deemed as indigent and to effectively and efficiently enhance their access to basic services (Ruiters 2018). The policy highlights the pivotal role that local government has to play in indigent households (South Africa. Department of Provincial and Local Government, n.d:2). This policy provides an option to the citizens to arrange with the local municipality on how they can handle their bills without services being interrupted and can get rebates. The city set criteria to benefit using own policy. The CoCT policy to be able to apply for indigent support or indigent rates relief depends on your monthly household income.

If you earn R4000 or less a month, you qualify for 100% rates relief. If you earn between R4000 and R6000, you may qualify for between 25% and 75% indigent rates relief. (CoCT Indigent Rates Relief 2017/2018). Advocacy for such benefit for the people of Khayelitsha is highly important as majority solely rely on social grants for survival and street vending.

Khayelitsha is known as among the communities with high rate of unemployment, illiteracy, lack of proper housing and limited resources linked to water and sanitation.

## **Sanitation regulations and standards**

According to Draft National Sanitation Policy (2016:7) sanitation refers to the principles and practices relating to the collection, removal and disposal of human excreta and household, public institution, agricultural and mining waste-water, grey-water waste as they impact upon people and the environment. Where sanitation services include the organisational arrangements necessary to ensure provision of basic sanitations services to all citizens. However, the Water Services Act No 108 of 1987) refers the basic sanitation as “the prescribed minimum standard of services necessary for the safe, hygienic and adequate collection, removal, disposal or purification of human excreta, domestic waste-water and sewage from households, including informal households.



Moreover, basic sanitation service is as defined by the National Sanitation Policy (DWS, 2016) as follows:

The infrastructure which considers natural (water; land; topography) resource protection, is safe (including for children), reliable, private, socially acceptable, skilled and capacity available locally for operation and maintenance , protected from the weather and ventilated, keeps smells to the minimum, is easy to keep clean, minimises the risk of the spread of sanitation-related diseases by facilitating the

appropriate control of disease carrying flies and pests, facilitates hand washing and enables safe and appropriate treatment and/or removal of human waste and wastewater in an environmentally sound manner.

According to Draft National Sanitation Policy (2016) when SA government introduced the White Paper on Basic Household Sanitation the aim is to address the access to basic services, it indicates that the responsibility of the current government includes that their policies should consider ensuring that the very poor be given access to a free basic service .

The National Sanitation Strategy (DWAf, 2005a) was compiled to provide a coherent approach to sanitation delivery in South Africa. The strategy states that:

Informal settlements must not be treated as emergency situations for the purpose of this strategy but should be provided with viable and sustainable solutions. Solutions such as communal facilities and chemical toilets should not be used where the system is expected to have a duration of more than one month.

This is particularly relevant in light of the recent South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) ruling that chemical toilets are not to be provided as a long term solution. The South African Constitution, section 156 of the Constitution mandates the Local government sphere to make and enforce laws in their level of operation. The most important local government duties include providing basic services such as water and sanitation, electricity, refuse removal, municipal health services, municipal public transport and municipal roads.



Chapter 7, Section. 152 of the Constitution explains the duties and functions of local government:

- To ensure democratic and accountable governance;
- To provide basic services; and
- To promote social and economic development

Municipal Infrastructure Policy (2007:5) clarifies the role of the three spheres of government that there is a level of interdependence to allow effective concurrence, interrelation and dependencies. Moreover, these affirmations of these types of relationships are more critical for the development of bulk infrastructure and for complementary administrative capacity to enable service delivery. It further emphasized the importance that both national and provincial governments by agreement assist municipalities in building capacity of municipalities to manage their own affairs, to exercise and to perform their functions.

The main problem according to Director-General Mbulelo Tshangana was a collapse in cooperation between the national and provincial human settlement departments and the local metros and municipalities. Tshangana conceded that the three levels of government had not worked together to utilise the funding that had been made available.

<https://www.groundup.org.za/article/department-admits-failing-cape-towns-informal-settlements/>

Tissington (2011:25) emphasised the provision of Section 153(a) in Chapter 7 on local government describes the developmental duties of municipalities and states that a municipality must:

Structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community; and (b) participate in national and provincial development programmes.

In Port Elizabeth, Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality (NMB) that is DA led, the council meeting became chaotic and throw glasses left some councillors injured. According to Derick Spies “the fight broke out during a closed session where councillors were discussing an issue related to the disruptions of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) meetings across the Metro” (News 24, 2016.10.27). The interest of the people on the ground was compromised in that regard as the purpose of the meeting was not realised. Section 25 of the Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) on adoption of IDPs, section 25 (1) states that “Each municipal council must, within a prescribed period after the start of its elected term, adopt a single, inclusive and strategic plan of the municipality”. Similar to that the ANC accused DA of taking decisions secretly and find her as violating Municipal Systems Act. Ehrenreich, (2015, Jan 29) who was a councillor in the CoCT accused DA under the leadership of Mayor Patricia De Lille of be bias towards the White areas and the neglect of the Black areas.

Among other issues that always come up as political complex is acceptance administration of the opposition party by some communities forgetting the fact that regardless of them put in power by their political organisation they have an obligation to serve all communities within their municipal boundaries. Section 6 of the Municipal Systems Act 2000 to mention the few states that

A municipality's administration is governed by the democratic values and principles embodied in section 195 (1) of the Constitution,

The administration of a municipality must- (a) be responsive to the needs of the local community,

(d) establish clear relationships, and facilitate co-operation and communication, between it and the local municipality

(e) give members of the local community full and accurate information about the level of standard of municipal services they are entitled to receive.



Post 1994 South African government had to address the inequalities caused by apartheid; some of the challenges cannot be resolved by one sphere of government but through cooperative governance, intergovernmental or interdepartmental working relations. Intergovernmental relations and cooperative government is a constitutional mandate regardless of political differences and it compels working together by different spheres of government as it is outlined in the Chapter 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108, 1996). The Constitution provides government that aim at the three spheres

complementing each other in the best interest of the people. The values of intergovernmental relations cannot work in isolation but with the Bill of Rights. According to Malan (2002:3) argues that the distinctive features of intergovernmental relations suggest the increased complexities and interdependency of political system. According to Fox and Meyer (1995: 28) states that co-operation applies to circumstances in which people decide or are instrumented to work together, also where citizens are given feeling of involvement while exercising little real power.

## **Conclusions**

The people of South Africa believe that government have an obligation to render services as they promise during election time. South Africa is on its 23rd year of democracy yet there are communities that are lagging behind to at least have their basic services as it is enshrined in the Constitution, clean running water, and toilets that are safe. People are becoming impatient and use different methods of seeking attention, service delivery protests is highly used to show dissatisfaction. Communities are not properly engaged and they are sometimes consulted through IDP but not to the level of decision-making. Municipal systems Act (Act 32 of 2000 promotes public participation. Failure to consult properly +or take unilateral decision can be a trigger to more protests.

This chapter argues that the three spheres of government have somehow ensure that they work together to meet the needs of the people. It clearly outlines the interdependence of these spheres regardless of which political party that leads on what level, people on the ground

needs services. This chapter discussed the power of the constitution of SA in relation to protect its people (individual, group, community or businesses).



## Chapter Five: The Official Views of the Problem and Agenda of Change

This chapter looks at official view of where things go wrong in the public participation process. Official views of why things go wrong. The official view of the urban sanitation problem is that people have “invaded” land and must bear the consequences but the city can mitigate these problems only up to a point. Much informal settlement had emerged on land that the city considered “non-developable” such as wetlands or natural storm drainage areas. As Ernest Sonnenberg the leading official dealing with services in the City, wrote, “that it is difficult for the City to provide full-flush toilets to areas prone to flooding as well as areas where there is a lack of space between shacks. Due to these reasons a PFT is an alternative sanitation option.” (Sonnenberg, 2016).

Sonnenberg, the CoCT’s mayoral committee member for utility services, elaborates on the city’s problems:

Full flush [toilets] cannot legally be installed on privately owned property; in areas of extremely high density; under power lines; on landfill sites; in a road or railway buffer; within servitudes; outside the urban edge; in areas where there is no bulk infrastructure; in water bodies or retention ponds and floodplains; and in high-noise zones. Up to 82% of informal settlements are either fully or partially affected by one or more of the above-mentioned constraints. (Sonnenberg 29/5/2016; <https://city-press.news24.com/News/why-do-things-go-wrong-20160528>)

The city officials also point to socio-political resistance to new development from existing communities and the challenges of working in “gang-controlled areas”.

This is linked to a third obstacle for the state is more subjective and is about state perceptions of community leadership. Community negotiations are seen as time-consuming and disruptive for services provision. One official working on sanitation and water in informal settlements claimed that his team spent,

The first blockage is community leadership. Community negotiations were identified by officials as time-consuming and disruptive for sanitation provision. One official working on sanitation and water in informal settlements estimated that his team spent “maybe 80%” of their time in different forms of community consultation: which leaders to speak to when providing sanitation, who to keep happy in order to ensure systems can be maintained, and so on. In some areas, negotiations can become conflictual. Municipal staff who are associated with providing inferior provisions or with the payment dispute for sanitation janitors have been attacked, and the municipality has provided police escorts to neighbourhoods where there had been flashpoints (Mcfarlane and Silver, 2017:140).

Part of the difficulty for the COCT’s municipality public participation exercises was the social distance between often DA leaders and black African communities. Also complex is keeping track with fairly minimal staff of community leadership alterations, overlapping responsibilities and struggles within communities. In some areas, it will be clear that elected local councillors are key factor; in others it will be traditional leaders, landlords, NGOs or activists, or perhaps a mixture of these, holding multiple histories of resistance and complicity, social networks and outlooks.



It does not appear likely that all COCT staff are necessarily committed to understanding local leadership processes, and the idea that dense and largely black neighbourhoods are opaque or even unknowable itself has long colonial routes entrenched by the cultural and physical geographies of apartheid (McFarlane Silver, 2017: 140).

Fourth, the city says that citizens are problem since they do not respect officials or follow the rules of the game. Municipal staff complain that sanitation janitors have been attacked. The municipality has provided police escorts to neighbourhoods where there had been flashpoints. In Barcelona, for example, it is claimed municipal staff would only enter to maintain sanitation when women from the area assured them that they would be protected.

A City official, Ernest Sonnenberg (1 October 2014) acerbically noted how the terrain of the state was being encroached on by civil society.

It is deeply ironic that the Social Justice Coalition (SJC), which has appointed itself the guardian of the dignity of the most vulnerable in our city, would rather grandstand, utilise social media platforms, and have lengthy report back sessions rather than work with the City to directly improve the lives of residents. After their briefing today, there are seven simple questions that the SJC must answer. These are:

Why does the SJC not report faults when they occur, but rather wait to compile 'dossiers' with out-of-date data for maximum self-serving publicity? It is pointless to collate out-of-date information. If they were actually interested in assisting residents, they would report faults for remedial action.

What does the SJC do to help ensure that communities take responsibility for keeping toilets in a clean and useable state and to assist in the problem of illegal dumping? Why did

the SJC walk away from mediated discussions on the Janitorial Programme? The SJC recognised today that the Janitorial Programme works well in a number of areas. Why then did they describe the whole programme as failure? How much did the SJC spend on their ‘social audit’? What were the salaries paid for this exercise and what is the percentage of funds obtained for this initiative relative to their overall budget?

Does the SJC recognise that the City has invested heavily in expanding access to decent sanitation, which sees Cape Town having 100% access, while most other cities have thousands of residents with no access to any sanitation at all?

The SJC referenced their 2013 solid waste audit, but the City has yet to see these findings. Why have they not shared these?

The CoCThas, over the last few years, done all it can to provide comprehensive information to the SJC on the Janitorial Programme. The City has even gone so far as to participate in a mediation process with the SJC on the Janitorial Programme, in the hope that it would help create a beneficial working relationship. Unfortunately, at virtually every stage of this process, the SJC has not cooperated and has ignored substantive concerns – not only expressed by the City but by other organisations as well.

The key concerns the City has are as follows:

- The SJC has yet to acknowledge or apologise for the inaccurate information that they circulated during their last social audit concerning area cleaning and refuse removal.

- The SJC has yet to acknowledge that they fail to understand complex government processes, particularly relating to legislative, financial and human resource constraints.
- During and after the ‘social audits’ into the Janitorial Programme in July 2014, the City asked for the raw data collected to be provided. This reasonable request, which would help the City fully understand any shortcomings identified, has been ignored by SJC. Concluding this report without input from the City means that the results are out of context and most probably inaccurate.
- The City has repeatedly asked the SJC to log faulty toilets immediately through the City’s reporting system. Instead, the SJC seems to prefer to leave it to months after the time, which is not beneficial to residents. If there is a fault, it should be reported immediately so that the City can address the matter (as it does in all areas of Cape Town).
- Additionally, the SJC will no doubt intentionally ignore the overwhelming majority of toilets that they ‘audited’ which were in full working order.

Whilst Johannesburg and other cities are facing chronic and debilitating water shortages as well as major sanitation backlogs, the SJC is openly hostile to the CoCT. The CoCT is the only metro where residents have universal access to safe and reliable drinking water and where there is adequate sanitation in informal settlements.

The City voluntarily introduced the Janitorial Programme in the interests of improving service delivery to informal settlements and creating much needed job opportunities. The implementation of a programme of this kind is complex and will always have

teething issues which have been acknowledged and remedied. The programme is currently running in over 160 communities, with approximately 900 janitors employed at any given time. The City is currently conducting its own assessment of efficacy of the programme with a view to determining the future of nature of its roll-out. Given the SJC's past disingenuous conduct and fundamental lack of understanding of the programme, they will not be included in this process.

Then there is more specific set of issues where “misunderstandings” arise. What does the City regard as a “reasonable” distance to travel to a tap or communal toilet in an informal settlement?

Sonnenberg argued that,

The City would like to ensure that all toilets are conveniently and safely located, however it is not always possible to realise this due to the high densities of the settlements and how this precludes the installation of backbone infrastructure such as piping, etc. When installing infrastructure, the City takes into account the constraints present in a particular area, and engagement with the community as to the preferred location of the toilets. Currently the average distance between dwellings and taps in informal settlements is around 30m (Sonnenberg, 2016).

Another issue is the response time to fix broken infrastructure.

This is a moving target as toilets are needing to be fixed on an ongoing basis to due to vandalism, theft and misuse such as throwing solids into the toilets. Furthermore, if it is not reported it is not guaranteed the City will know about it to fix it. The City does not install faulty toilets. All residents should log service requests via the City's

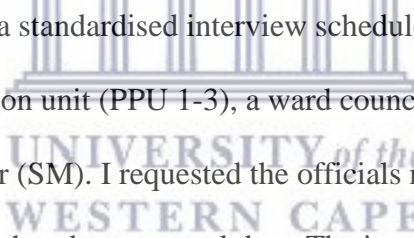
call centre. They can also mail [watertoc@capetown.gov.za](mailto:watertoc@capetown.gov.za) or use their nearest free call line (Sonnenberg, 2016).

According to the City,

Teams from the City visited informal areas when the typology (the option to request a portable flush toilet (PFT)) was introduced upon request from the community themselves.

Pamphlets were distributed, and the City regularly looks to publicise this typology in media responses. Any community interested in using portable flush toilets should contact their local ward councillor (Sonnenberg 2016).

## **CoC Officials**



I interviewed six officials using a standardised interview schedule to get a wider set of views. Three from the public participation unit (PPU 1-3), a ward councillor (WC), a PR councillor (PRC) and a sub-council manager (SM). I requested the officials name; department, core business of the department and other departmental data. The interviews were however done on condition of anonymity.

I explored questions around the form of public participation and consultation route the directorate follows? I drew attention to typical list: Ward meetings; Public meetings; Written submissions; Radio/ newspaper campaigns; Surveys

All the respondents indicated that they mainly use the first four methods (mainly ward meetings, radio and newspaper *Vukani and City Vision*). The newspaper is freely distributed

to households but is mainly in English. However, radio/ newspaper campaigns and ward meetings were the two methods that are mostly used by the respondents.

With the constant change in the communication environment it was alluded to that a new form of public participation is being used that uses social media and online platforms for consultation.

When asked “Are you aware of any legislation or policies that inform your directorate to ensure that consultation and participation of the public takes place?” the respondents had a general formalistic understanding of the legislation that governs public participation within their work environments. The legislation that the respondents mentioned is listed as follows:

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa; The Systems Act; The White Paper on Batho Pele and The Municipal Finance Management Act.

When asked “How do you see “meaningful” participation, respondents were eager to answer this question and gave a general understanding of what they perceived as meaningful participation. Taking into consideration the explanations provided by the respondents a “meaningful” engagement can be summarised as an engagement that:

- takes place between the government and the people;
- ensures that government understands the needs of the people and interprets their issues accordingly;
- ensures that government provides access to information; and
- ensures that government makes it easy to submit comments and inputs.

“What is the sanitation problem?” also was posed as a question. Respondents chose to answer on behalf of the general public instead of an individual perspective by stating that according to public understanding their sanitation problem can be defined as limited or no access to toilets. “Who is to blame if anyone?” elicited defensive responses ... “the CoCT cannot solely be blamed as the problem also emanated from the growing number of shacks being built”.

The subcouncil manager said:

At times we engage the local council to organise the meeting in their wards to consult the affected community, the councillor is given reasonable time of at least seven days, the officials prepare themselves for the meeting, but on the day of the meeting the venue is locked and no meeting is publicized, therefore the councillors are to be blamed for failing their communities.

Who should set the agenda for a consultative process?” drew split responses. Half of the respondents were of the opinion that ward councillors were responsible for setting the agendas. While the other half of the respondents stated that the line departments are responsible for the agenda setting which is solidified by the following statement made by a respondent.

Public Participant Unit employee 2 said;

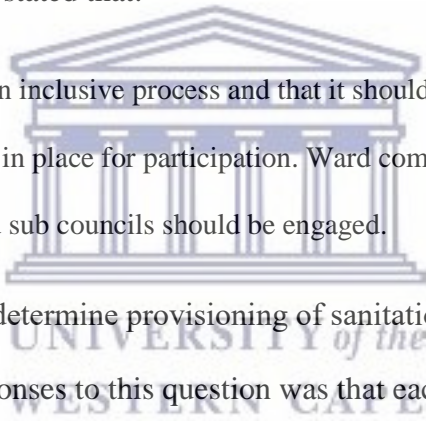
We as the line department (public participation) with the Mayoral committee during IDP agree on the plan for all the areas and agreed on the standard agenda without asking any views from the communities (PP2).

PP1 said the opposite



They (the community) will raise their wish list, we record all those needs identified and when we get back to the office we reprioritise what is possible from medium to long term projects. It is very difficult to tell them in the same meeting that some of their wishlist are not practical as we avoid being attacked or collapsing the meetings” (PP-1).

It was further mentioned by most of these respondents that the content of the consultative process should be determined by the public participation process. An additional response was presented in which a respondent stated that:



Agenda setting should be an inclusive process and that it should be worked through the structures that are put in place for participation. Ward committees, community development workers and sub councils should be engaged.

In response to “How did CoCT determine provisioning of sanitation in site c?” an alarming fact that emanated from the responses to this question was that each respondent indicated that the decision was made purely by the officials and their legal team. One respondent stated that:

Site C is unique it has various types of living areas both formal and informal. The formal housing has service plans as per the planning. Whereas the informal housing has various issues that need to be attended to such as land, lack of control of the CoCT to relocate.

Asked if there are tools in place to measure the impact of public participation, respondents provided the researcher with the following list of tools that are available to measure the impact of public participation:

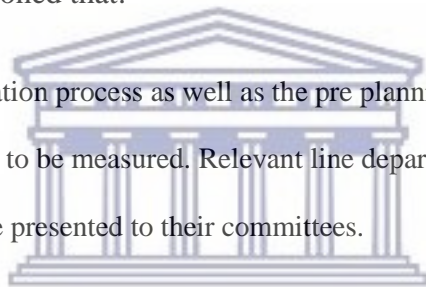
“Constant monitoring and evaluation of interaction;

Surveys both internal and external; and

Random surveys and a submission of comments.”

One particular respondent mentioned that:

The Monitoring and evaluation process as well as the pre planning process should outline how and why it is to be measured. Relevant line departments do post participation reports to be presented to their committees.



UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE

Asked “What is the role of municipal councillor in facilitating participation?” the subcouncil manager noted

The municipal councillor has an oversight role, gives direction in terms of strategy and approving implementation and provides input. Ensures compliance to the laws and budgets (Interview SM, 2016)

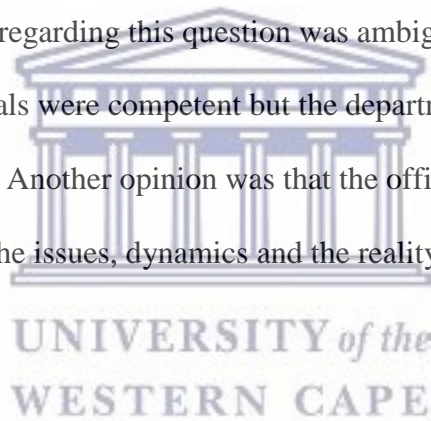
The other respondents indicated that the municipal councillor’s main role is to mobilize the various representatives and to ensure that the logistics are all sorted. “How are the

community views incorporated on the IDP process and planning?” The general response was that chairpersons of the IDP processes or Subcouncil Chairperson forms part of the focus groups to ensure that that issues that were raised are being considered. The views are submitted to line departments for formalization and budgetary consideration and allocation.

For IDPs, transport is made available for focus groups. Inputs from the community are shared with relevant departments. Each line department to analyse and incorporate it into their business plan (SubCouncil Manager).

Do the officials think they are capable of performing their key tasks?

The feelings of the respondents regarding this question was ambiguous as respondents felt that in some instances the officials were competent but the department lacked the capacity to provide the adequate assistance. Another opinion was that the officials themselves were not adequately equipped to handle the issues, dynamics and the reality of the community.



### **Languages spoken in meetings with communities?**

Respondents indicated that the population speaks isiXhosa and therefore all meetings with communities are meant to be conducted in isiXhosa. The reason for this is to accommodate for all generations from the communities. When asked to elaborate on this statement respondent indicated that some of the older community members feel better conversing in their mother tongue this also promotes interaction form the crowd. However, from my own observations it should be noted that English is the language spoken in the meetings.

However, other languages are interpreted. It was however mentioned that if officials cannot speak isiXhosa then translators are usually present.

There was also a sense that due to a lack of understanding the councillors and the officials don't always see eye to eye.

What type of training in place for the new recruits and the staff at large to be able to assume their responsibility? Respondents agreed that training new recruits was of utmost importance and emphasized that an organization can never have enough training for its employees. "Staff very capable as they have been on departmental training". The following was listed as the current types of training available for new recruits and staff:

Job shadowing;

On the job training; and

Orientation.



Does the community participation add value on planning for service delivery?, If yes, any examples?

Respondents are of the agreed upon opinion that the community participation process does indeed add a level of value to the service delivery planning process. It adds value in the fact that it provides government with the opportunity to gain a holistic understanding of the area.

A respondent felt that “community participation does add value as it allows you to raise and report issues’.

What needs to be done to improvement on public participation?

Respondents separately have identified the following as means to improve the public participation process:

Community capacity enhancement;

Creating a better understanding regarding processes and red tape;

conducting workshops;

simplifying content;

“communicating same information to all affected parties such as the councillor’s”; and

ensuring uniformity and consistency across all platforms.

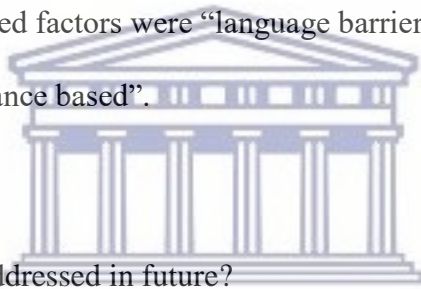
“public participation must not merely be an event in the calendar. It should be an ongoing part of service delivery and successes”.

Any complexities that you may share with me that impact negatively during consultation and participation processes? y/n

The respondents responded affirmative.

- “venue too small
- Time of engagement
- Language barriers
- People not treated equally
- Political issues
- Lack of understanding of community dynamics”.
- If yes, can you mention the two key ones?

The two most frequently identified factors were “language barriers and the fact that the consultation was merely compliance based”.



How do you think they can be addressed in future?

- “Education
- Scale down on language
- Proper logistics and planning
- Presentation language
- IDP document to be made user friendly
- Prepare communities before hand
- Conduct focus groups
- Community capacity building programmes”.

UNIVERSITY *of the*  
WESTERN CAPE

What can be done to improve the agenda setting process in policy making

The respondents agreed that in an attempt to improve the agenda setting the following should happen:

- communities should be taken more seriously;
- agendas should not be given on the day; and
- uniformity should be reached regarding agenda setting proceedings.

### **The role of the Councillor/s**

There was a single respondent that responded that he was part of an existing ward committee comprising of seven members. He saw the primary function of a committee of this nature is to facilitate relations with different stakeholders. I asked “who are the stakeholders on the Ward Committee” which he listed as “ECD’s; soup kitchens; and sport structures”. He said the “Ward Committee meets on a regular basis. The community receives feedback from the council via loud hailing or ward meetings. Engagement with the broader community takes place bi-monthly”. The councillor and the ward committee usually draft the agenda for the public meetings but prior to the commencement of the meeting members are allowed to add additional points.

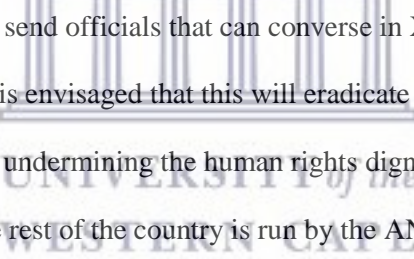
In answering “What is the problem of sanitation in Khayelitsha” he stressed that “along the n2 freeway the people are living in the wetlands with no proper toilets; no services like electricity; and the pota system still in place”.



The respondent blamed the CoCT and indicated that “it was the responsibility of the City to find an appropriate piece of land”. The city kept deflecting the problem,

Were you part of provisioning of sanitation in Site C? The councillor responded in the affirmative and indicated that he was “part of the provisioning process during the discussion phase as well as the consultation phase after which the people were given temporary arranged services.” It was his opinion is the CoCT is not doing enough for and with the community? “Certainly not, if one looks at the IDP meeting held in 2013 it was uncontrollable there was no follow up except by the councillor”.

In answering the question: What are the complexities of consultation and participation in your area? He noted,



Language barriers the CoCT should send officials that can converse in Xhosa this will prevent delays in responses and it is envisaged that this will eradicate the problem of a lack of responses; and they are undermining the human rights dignity of community CoCT is DA run while the rest of the country is run by the ANC; and CoCT is mainly compliance driven and not driven by effective and efficient service delivery. The DA and the ANC are driven by different policies and strive for different objectives which inevitably impacts on the service delivery standards of government.

He continued:

CoCT officials during IDP processes always come and present to us the projects that they will be implementing and allocate budget thereof, some of those project are not the

community priorities (ie focus on planting trees along the main roads) while people want to be relocated to the land that will enable the city to provide basic services. The issues/ community proposals we mostly raise in the council meetings most of the time are overlooked. All 13 wards are invited to one meeting while the needs of these areas are not the same, wards with formal housing they may need parks, community halls while the informal settlement really need the most basic services. Why they don't call meetings like Site B & Site C alone because our needs are the similar.

My next question was “Are you happy with the participation of the people in your area”?

No. this is due to the lack of loud hailing, non-attendance of information sessions and campaigns. Those that will be in attendance will raise issues that are not relevant to the agenda on the table. At times there is a clash of views between young and old as their expectations/ needs are not the same. In the Sub-council meetings, the public that attends the meetings be allowed to participate as opposed to the current situation of them being spectators.

## **Conclusions**

In this chapter is evident that the CoCT is dealing with a complex environment but also the CoCT policy agenda itself is a problem as is the perception that citizens lack respect for law and order and the terrain of the state. The state's approach is largely technocratic and ameliorative. At least four major issues were distilled from my interviews and other ones.

The CoCT's municipality formal public participation exercises show the social distance between often DA leaders and black African communities. Second, it is complex keeping up

changes in community leadership, overlapping responsibilities and struggles within communities. The City has publically demonised township leaders and movements it does not trust. Then matters are highly politicised since the DA is not at all popular in black African townships and councillors are from the ANC. So there is always a danger of both sides taking hard stances driven by electoral imperatives. Finally, a key area of contention seems to be defining the agenda of change and “what is the problem” since the proposed “solutions” by the City might still be seen as problematic.



## **Chapter Six: The community and social movements'**

### **standpoint**

Let us consider a few individual responses based on newspaper interviews. Khanyiswa Gxotani from Khayelitsha's BM Section has had a portable flush toilet (PFT) for the past three years. Though she says it helps her kids, she does not use it.

Personally I do not use that toilet because I don't believe that it is dignified for an adult like me. I live in BM Section and I walk to M Section, which is about three minutes away, to use the normal flush toilets. Sometimes when I get to M Section there is a queue of people waiting to use the toilets because you find that some have been padlocked or they are blocked and not working. My PFT stays outside. I do not keep it in my house because it stinks and sometimes it leaks.

A particular respondent stated the following:

As communities we should not allow officials to come in and engage communities if they have no interest in that particular community. But communities have self-proclaimed leaders who become the gate keepers of the community.

General secretary of the SJC, Phumeza Mlungwana, noted:

Some like them because they are good for their children or disabled persons and others don't because they believe that the City is just replacing temporary solutions with other temporary solutions. People want ordinary flush toilets. Maintaining the portable

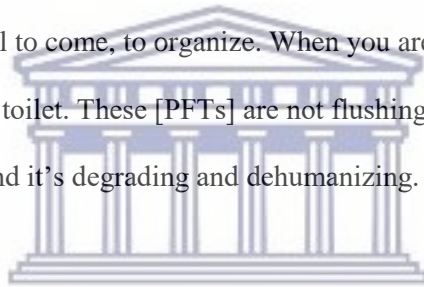
toilets is a mission because sometimes you find that they are not collected which then leads to people trying to clean the toilets themselves which is a health risk.

Mlungwana said,

We in no way condone what the ANCYL is doing, we all know that sanitation is a huge issue, but that is not the way to solve it. You cannot go around throwing waste to prove a point, that is just not on.

Nkohla, an ANCYL member remarked,

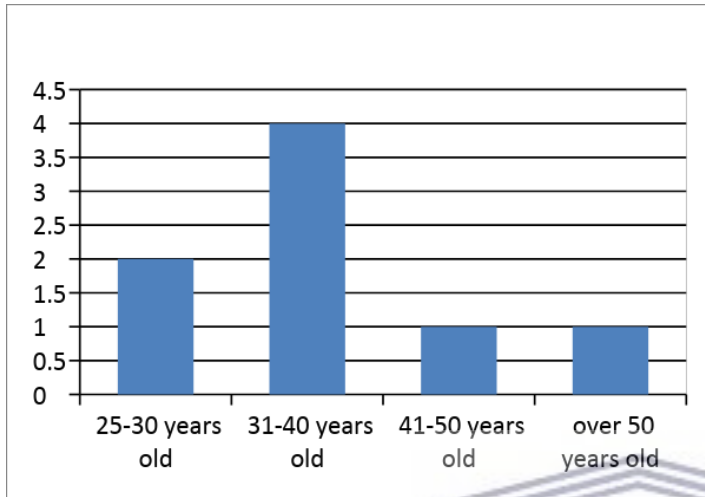
I am involved as a community member ... the people have called upon me and have called upon other leaders as well to come, to organize. When you are flushing in your own shack, it is not a flushing toilet. These [PFTs] are not flushing into the ground. It's still the bucket system, and it's degrading and dehumanizing.



UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE

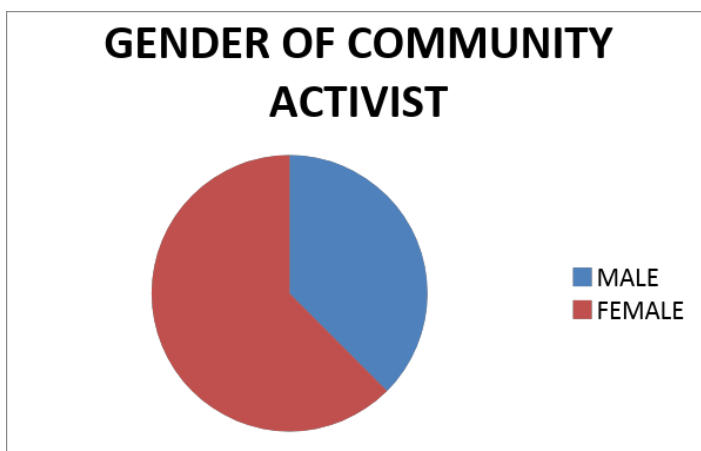
The rest of this chapter looks at the results of my interviews with eight community activists, the majority of whom were over 30 years of age, female and from the Eastern Cape. I briefly provide demographic picture of the eight activists.

**Figure 6: Age of Respondents**



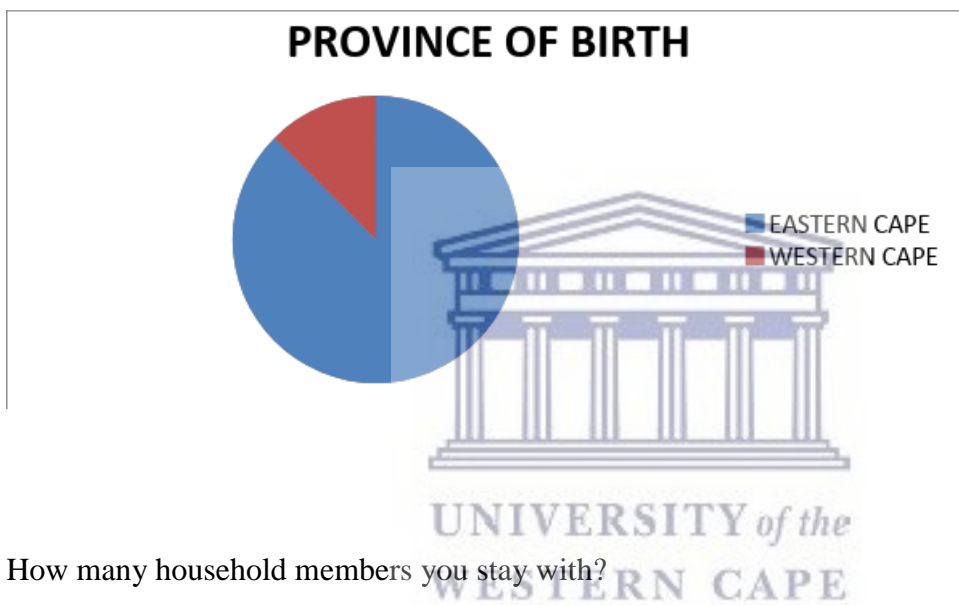
As seen above the majority are over 30.

**Figure 7: Gender of activists**



Most activists were female and born in the Eastern Cape.

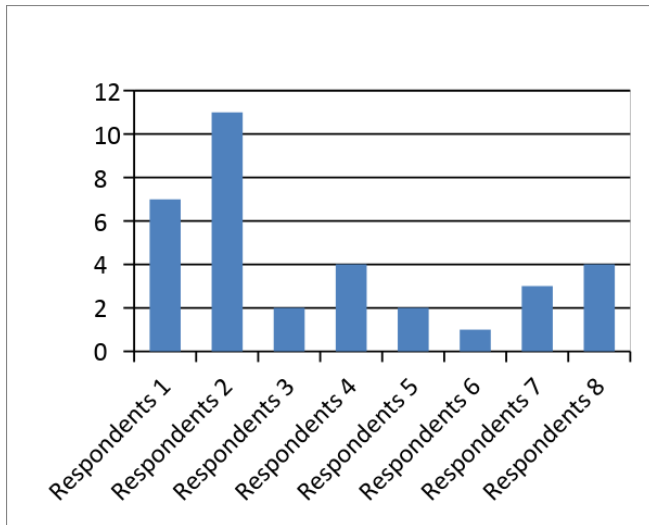
**Figure 8: Birthplace**



How many household members you stay with?

**Figure 9: Household size**





The highest was 10 and lowest 1.



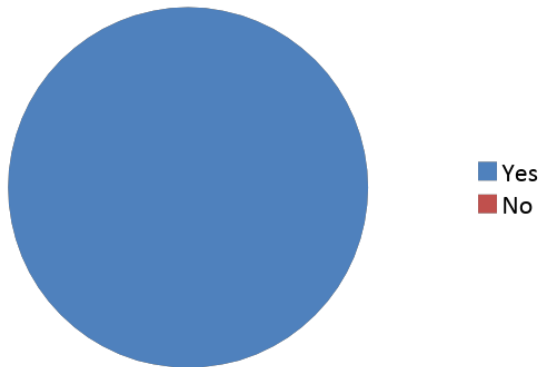
### Activist knowledge

The researcher asked a number of questions to probe civic knowledge. The researcher asked: “Over the last 2 years have you been actively involved in any community structure or taken part in any activity/ activities organized in the area?” All respondents indicated yes and listed the following as activities they were active in: Ward committees; Protest; Sanco, Seskona . SJC, CPF

Do you perhaps know the councillor of your area?

### Figure 10: Political knowledge

## DO RESPONDENTS KNOW THE COUNCILLOR



All activists know the councillor. Most of my respondents have lived in the area for more than 15 years. If we talk about consultation by the CoCT in the community since 2009 (over the last 5 years), would you say it has improved?

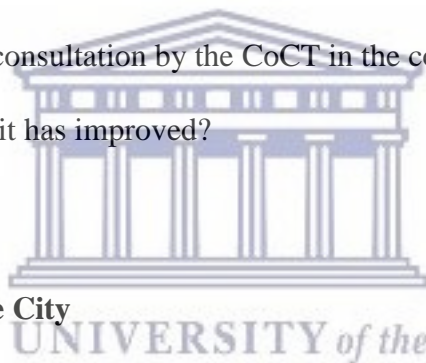
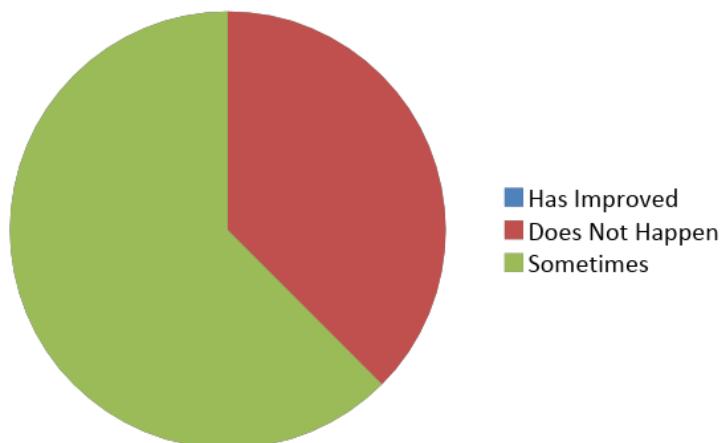


Figure 11: Consultation by the City

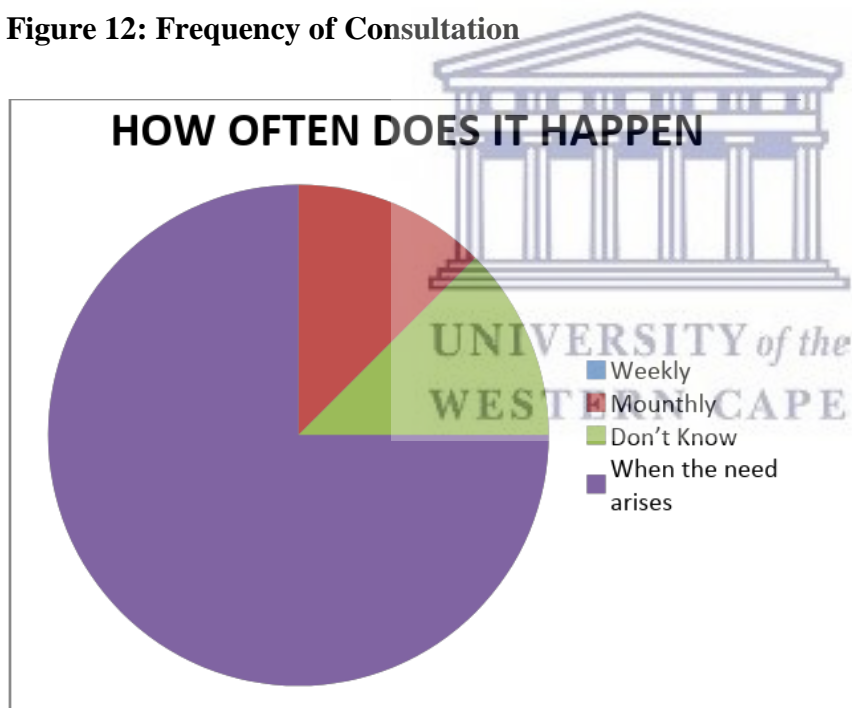
## Has Consultation by the COCT happened since 2009



Most were negative and none said communication has improved.

If consultation happens, how often?

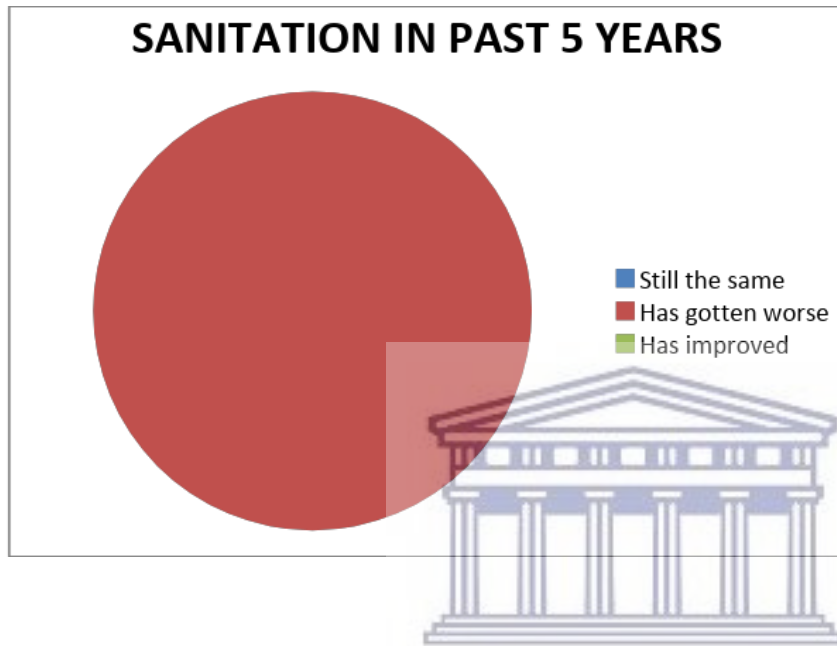
**Figure 12: Frequency of Consultation**



If we talk about sanitation in the community in the past 5 years, what would you say is the state of sanitation (taking into consideration, the physical conditions).

## State of Sanitation

**Figure 13: Sanitation**



Most activists said sanitation was worse. Despite official City reports that sanitation has improved all respondents reported the opposite.

Do you have any idea about how the roles of Provincial, Local government and the local councillor and engagement with communities?

The respondents indicated that they knew what the ideal communication platform should look like but stipulated that this is often not the case as communities are left in the dark due to a lack of engagement from all three spheres of government.

A particular respondent indicated that according to their understanding

The provincial government has been mandated to monitor the implementation whereas the local government has the role of implementation. (SJC activist 2016)

It was agreed that the councillor has a pivotal role to play as he/she is the connection between government and the people.

### **Activist views of the city's understanding the pressing agenda issues of your community**

Two diverging opinions emanated from this question that can be described as follows: The first says the city knows and the other says it does not.

The first opinion is that the City has a good understanding of the pressing issues of the community but has *turned a blind eye* to reprioritizing resources to areas like the CBD. Respondents were of the opinion that the City was aware of the drastic condition of sanitation in the area but were not effectively pursuing solutions. This statement is backed up with the following:

There are only a few toilet structures available that are allocated to a specific number of households; and the bucket system is still being used (SJC activist, 2016).

The second opinion emanated from a statement made by a respondent that

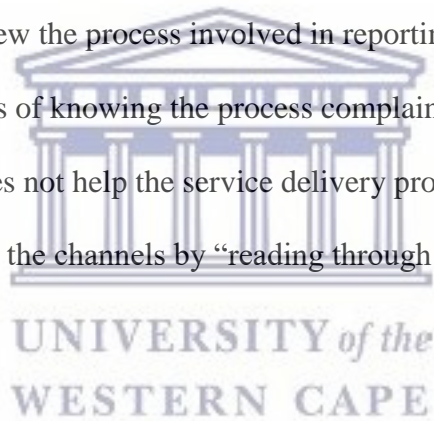
The CoCT is ignorant of the pressing issues of the community. The City has absolutely no clue regarding the understanding of the issues facing the community as there is lack of understanding on their part that is a direct result of the interest level shown towards the community” (Andile Lili Personal Interview 2016).

This statement can be verified said the activist by checking the attendance registers of meetings that indicate the absence of officials from the City. Does the city speak the language of the people?

Respondents mentioned that regardless of the population being isiXhosa officials persist with using “English and Afrikaans translation would then be required and the messages can often be distorted due to translation”.

Are you aware of the proper channels to follow if you are not happy with the services rendered by the CoCT?

Respondents stated that they knew the process involved in reporting poor service delivery but also indicated that regardless of knowing the process complaints fall on deaf ears and the amount of red tape involved does not help the service delivery process. One respondent mentioned that he learned about the channels by “reading through internet and interpretation by the courts”.

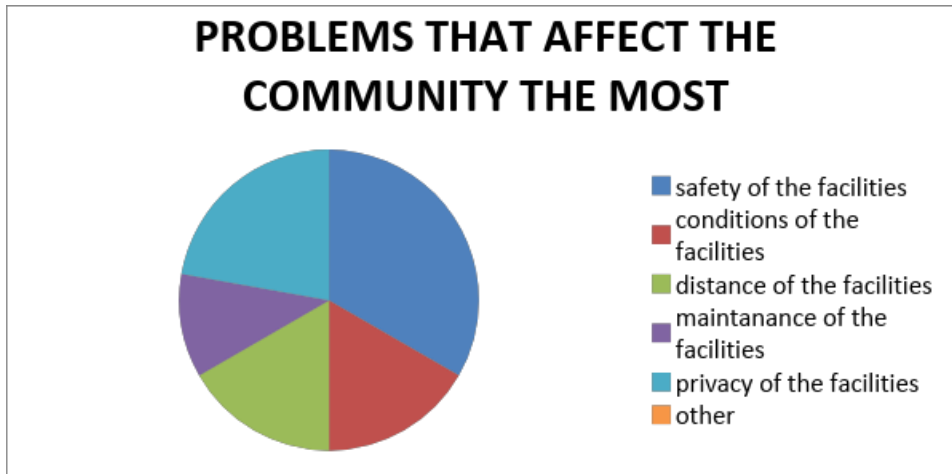


What is your understanding of the key issues for the community compared to the IDP?

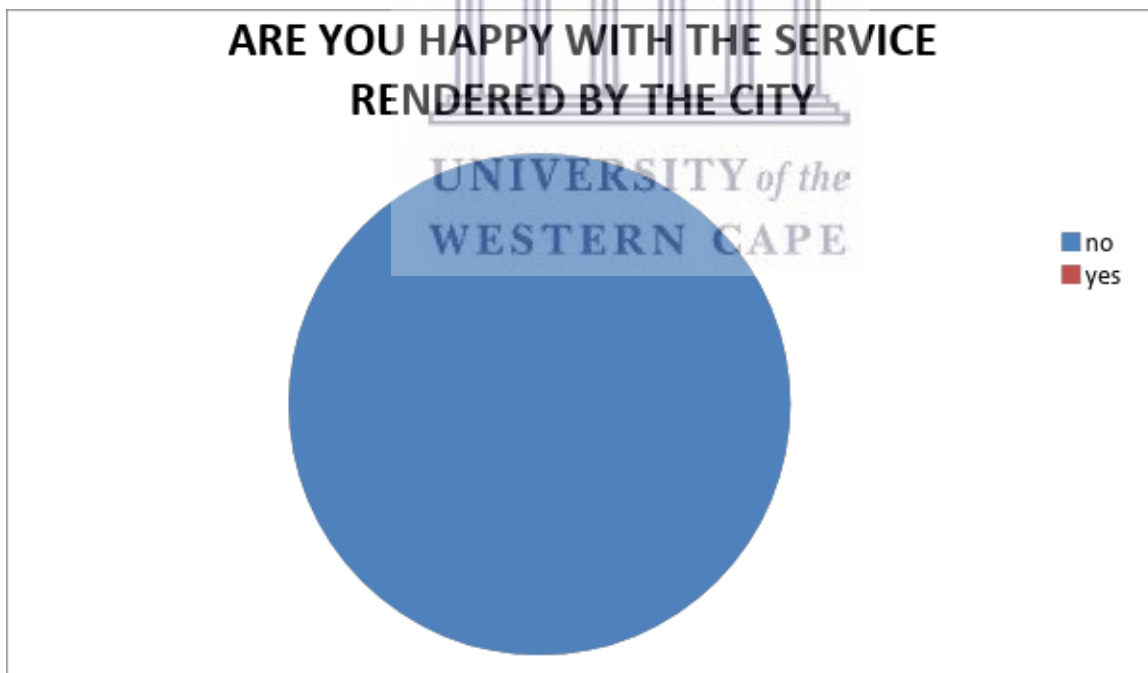
Respondents summarized the IDP as the CoCT’s 5 year plan. They further indicated that the plan should involve the community and that it allows the CoCT to effectively budget according and to plan for infrastructure. Respondents indicated that they were never listened to.

If we can talk of the quality of the sanitation in your area, what are the 2 problems that affect the community most?

Figure 14: Frequent Sanitation Problems in Khayelitsha



Are you happy with the services rendered in your area by CoCT

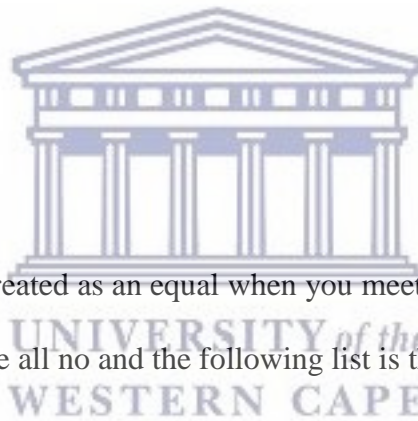




## Complexities in agenda setting

In answering “What in your view makes the process of participation and consultation complex or complicated” the following pointers emerged in my interviews:

- racism towards the area;
- arrogant officials;
- language barriers;
- undermining the communities;
- lack of venues; and
- distance of meetings.



Do you feel like you are being treated as an equal when you meet city officials and councillors? The responses were all no and the following list is the reasons for the negative response:

Community members feel undermined;

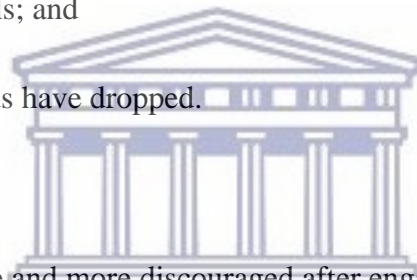
Clear discrimination of community members by officials; and

Discrimination due to “not sharing the same political view.”

Do you feel discriminated against?

All of the respondents responded that they felt discriminated against and listed the following as their reasons:

- not considerate with communication languages;
- no clear plans for informal settlements;
- issues highlighted are not addressed;
- community is undermined;
- no respect for community;
- dictatorship from officials; and
- service delivery standards have dropped.



All of the respondents felt worse and more discouraged after engaging the city and listed the following as their reasons:

UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE

- I do not feel empowered as not all questions get answered and sometimes people leave the meeting”.
- officials of the COCT only come on request;
- officials only discuss agenda points submitted;
- officials sometimes don’t provide answers;
- officials always come up with excuses;
- solutions proposed often work against policies;

- promises never fulfilled;
- CoCT prefers emails instead of paper;

officials are impatient;

- officials have no respect for community; and

officials leave meetings without answering questions.

### **The union representatives (shop stewards)**

As noted earlier I decided to interview worker leaders living in Khayelitsha. The respondents are all part of various unions and have been part of these unions for more than a decade. One particular union representative has been “part of the union since 1992”.

Respondents all agreed that the CoCT does not include unions in the decision making process and mentioned that the CoCT is supposed to communicate with unions in an attempt to make effective decision making. Unfortunately, it is becoming more and more evident that the CoCT are sometimes “very forceful which results in decisions being imposed instead of agreed upon in good faith”.

In answering the question “What is the Sanitation Problem” members replied that drainage; portable toilets; and high population density are key issues. Respondents felt that CoCT is to blame. “There is a shortage of staff members as the CoCT to adequately assist the vast population of over 2.5 million people in Khayelitsha.” One shopsteward suggested

The city instead of addressing the shortage and employing more staff with sustainable job they choose outsourced the cleaning of this portable toilet to the BEE companies. This approach causes more tension between the union and the city decision-makers. We as unions are not even engage on those processes and we will always challenge those decisions (SS3 2016).

As unions we see “meaningful” participation as an effective decision making process in which decisions are made based on mutual consensus. “In meaningful participation decisions should not be imposed.” Respondents stated that the CoCT is improving the suburbs but is neglecting the Cape flats and other poor areas. The example given was that if a call is logged for a leaking pipe or blocked drain in the suburbs an immediate response is given as opposed to the areas in the Cape Flats.

The general response was that workers as community members faced an uphill battle to access housing while finding themselves in the low wage income bracket. SS1 confirmed that although he works for the city he is also feeling the same way as the general community of Site C, he resides in the informal settlement of AT.

During the protests sometimes am tempted to join the protestors for the basic services and scared of my life because they know I work for the city.

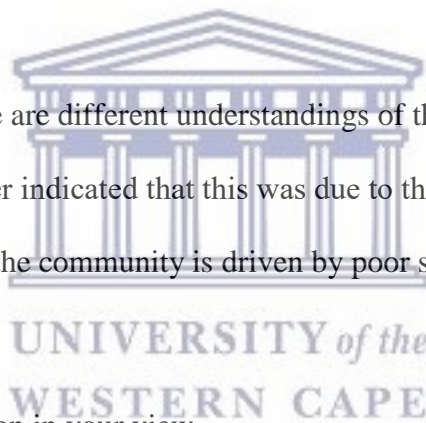
Agenda setting, I explained to shopstewards is the ability to decide what is discussed. Do you think the union/community has a different agenda from the city? It was confirmed by respondents that two separate agendas usually exist.

The CoCT comes with their own agenda while the unions have their own agendas. The setting of the agenda is meant to be a collective approach but the CoCT comes with their own agendas.

One shopsteward felt that the current administration is very stubborn and does not prioritise engaging the unions,

My belief is that they do not see the value of forging working relations with organised workers. This has an impact on our unions losing membership as they view us as not putting pressure to the employer on the issue of outsourcing (SS1).

Respondents indicated that there are different understandings of the vision of the city and community's needs. They further indicated that this was due to the fact that the "CoCT is often compliance driven whilst the community is driven by poor service delivery and social issues".



When asked: What is good citizen in your view.

A good citizen is someone who: has the best interest for his country and community at heart instead of his personal interest; provides information where required; and participates in matters that affect him or her.

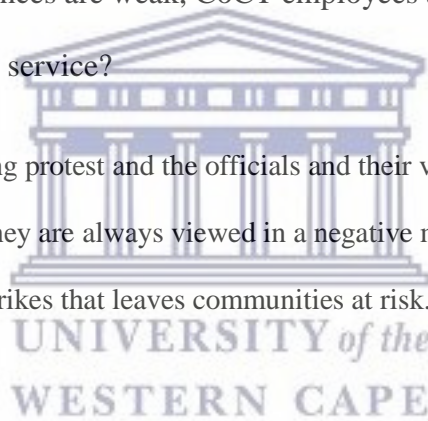
Are citizens asking too much? Respondents were keen on emphasizing the fact that citizens were not asking too much and indicated that it was merely a starting point as they are entitled to benefit based on their Constitutional right.

What is the role of Union representative during IDP processes?

- expected to empower and educate the community;
- expected to be part of the process; and
- ensure equality among partners.

The unionists complained that no status is given to unions during public engagements. Trade unionist believed “The views of the community are not taken seriously”. The unionists felt the community-trade union alliances are weak, CoCT employees are not safe or are seen as the ones providing a bad quality service?

CoCT officials are never safe during protest and the officials and their vehicles are often victim to mob attacks. They are always viewed in a negative manner and are seen as the cause of prolonged strikes that leaves communities at risk.



One respondent suggested that “additional budget should be made available for the Cape Flats communities and that government should not prioritise privileged communities.” While the other suggestions for improvement included:

- allocate adequate budget;
- ensure transparency;

take into confidence the community; and

- recognize unions.

- Stop corruption of awarding tenders for service delivery.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter presented the findings and interpretation of such findings as echoed whilst engaging the participants during interviews and other relevant tools used in this study. The intentions of the study aimed at exploring the complexities in agenda-setting and participation processes in sanitation service delivery by the CoCT Municipality. This is triggered with the fact that there is minimal practical evidence that improves the maximum participation of communities on development, planning and implementation of policies pertaining to service delivery that at the end affect them. There are clear legislative mandates in South Africa that promotes the consultation and participation of communities on developing, planning and decision making. But community activists felt that there is racism towards the area; arrogant officials have attitudes that undermining the communities. Activists insisted that the portable toilet is still a bucket system and one temporary system is replacing another.





UNIVERSITY *of the*  
WESTERN CAPE

## Chapter Seven: Rethinking an agenda of change

This chapter will provide a synopsis of the argument while providing key recommendations for the envisaged improvement of service delivery standards in Khayelitsha. The people of South Africa and especially black citizens have had high expectations that government will make a qualitative difference as they promised during election times. South Africa is on its 24th year of democracy yet there are communities that are lagging behind in what is a socially acceptable lifestyle and standard of citizenship. People are becoming impatient with being regarded as voting cattle and having their needs defined by the state as “basic” with all the implied racial connotations. Citizens have used different methods for seeking attention from the state and thereby implicitly re-setting the policy agenda.

“Sanitation is dignity” the state has asserted. Yet to date, there are families and communities that are still imagining that one day their dignity will be restored and they will have access to proper toilets, clean water that are within close proximity including proper houses. Given vast and unnecessary disparities, people in South Africa are still protesting and challenging government to address the inequalities of the past and reset the agenda of change. These tenacious protests are about basic needs and service delivery, but increasingly protestors are invoking the concept of relative needs, dignity and human rights and taking protests to the powerful and wealthy. In fact, the idea of the state as sacrosanct has been deflated since protestors throw poo at state officials and vandalise state infrastructure. The “poo wars” that broke out in 2012 with poo dumped at the airport and government buildings continued with the dumping of excrement on the Rhodes statue at UCT shows that the poor can sometimes set the agenda of change and force politicians to listen. Among the defensive responses

raised by authorities is that people put their shacks on private land or pieces of land that are not suitable for housing (wetlands). Politically, there are complex issues in the Western Cape, both the Province and the CoCT Metro are Democratic Alliance (DA) run whilst national government is ruled by the African National Congress (ANC). The majority of townships residents are ANC supporters with a few DA Proportional Representative (PR) councillors. This thesis was a qualitative exploration of the complexities in agenda-setting and participation processes in sanitation services in Site C, Khayelitsha between 2010-2013. Residents see agenda setting and engagements as unilateral, as this study found.

A key finding is that by taking poo out of its usual place, taking it out of the private into the public domain and to the rich and by invading their space, the issues of the poor are no longer confined to ghetto townships. Boundaries between state and civil society have become porous. Cape Town's poor residents using portable toilets commonly known as "pota -pota", and also the temporary toilets commonly known as 'Mshengu' have argued that these interim services are not only poorly maintained and dirty but are vastly inferior compared to white areas.

Communities are often engaged but not on their own terms and often not even in their own language. Even more rarely, are they engaged on larger issues such as the kind of society and the city they desire. Failure to consult properly or taking unilateral decisions can trigger to more protests.

In chapter two I reviewed recent literature and identified a gap in the sense that most of the literature does not look at the agenda setting stage and at implicit understandings of adequate services but mostly implementation. Scholars are only beginning to examine implicit views

of how citizens “see sanitation” and how different actors define the nature of the problem (McFarlane and Silver 2017).

This chapter argues that the three spheres of government are implicated in urban development but the IGR system is complex and they have to ensure that they work together to meet the needs of the people. An all-of-government approach is lacking. This causes further problems in agenda setting. The law outlines the interdependence of these spheres regardless of which political party that leads on what level, people on the ground needs services. Chapter five and six presented the findings and interpretation of such findings. The interviews provided rich evidence of the multiple complexities in agenda-setting and participation processes in sanitation service delivery in Cape Town Municipality. A key conclusion is that resistance by communities has come about due to the conflicting life worlds and realities that exist between the residents and the local municipality. Residents have to struggle to eke out an existence sometimes by breaking the law through illegal settlements, “stealing water” as well as through unauthorised protest. The clash comes since the state is committed to a certain form of formal order and control which does not accommodate the people living in them.

## **Recommendations**

The people of Khayelitsha show a very high degree of political awareness. The CoCT takes things for granted and assumes that participation is simply a business as usual affair. The

City officials tend to see places like Khayelitsha in negative terms. Its reliance to IDP as the most important process to engage creates division and tensions because minority people attend the meetings, not because people do not want to attend, there are other factors like time of the meeting, distance, agenda and language used. It is viewed as most critical to comment and have input on rendering of service delivery for buy-in and acceptance of such services. It is recommended that the community participation be considered so that the members of the community practice their role and participate fully on matters of development processes, planning and implementation of service delivery that is meant for them.

Human dignity, health and quality of services has to be valued at all times. The three spheres of government have to consider the interest of the voters beyond who leads at different level. They have to comply with their legislative mandate in ensuring that they do cooperate as they are interdependent and render proper services. While government engaging with communities through sub-council meetings and the IDP meetings the presentations, pamphlets, legislations and policies are mostly presented in English whilst it is commonly known that not everyone is privileged to read or speak the language fluently. It is noted that there is a gap between the authorities and communities hence they end-up protesting against each other.

The types of mobile toilets provided in the informal settlement are also viewed as not really solving the problem. Toilets placed at a distance from the home, inadequate communal facilities, inadequate disposal of waste and other poor sanitation practices result in loss of privacy and dignity, exposure and increased risks to personal safety. It is viewed as worse

for women, disabled persons, elderly and children. There are allegations that some women and children become victims of rape since these toilets are not provided with security and are not locked. The cleaning of these shared toilets is not happening and has great impact on health.

The thesis recommends that the CoCT municipality:

- Prioritise the budget allocation and favour the disadvantaged communities since the need is highest.

The poor should get more and issues of including them physically and geographically needs to become central.

- Provide free transport at designated pick up points on days when major meetings take place.

Maximize the usage of the governance structures and expand on engagement methodologies to include focus groups

- Observe and promote effective community participation as it is legislated in the institutional framework for community participation.
- Make sanitation facilities safe, coupled with maintenance plan and cleaning of the services
- Ensure that land that is unsuitable for shelter is properly designated as such and that such land is fenced in or used for other purposes.

- Formal and non-formal constant interaction with the existing active civil society groups
- Recognition and usage of the community members who hold skills and knowledge of community participation for community awareness and civil education
- Focus more on serving the communities beyond political preference and promotion of cooperative governance.

If the local government addresses agenda setting then much of the subsequent disputes can be resolved. Community participation will be meaningful if people are not seen as a liability for the city but as an asset. All citizens including the rich need to own the problems of the city. Resorting to poo throwing as a form of politics by other means shows that if government continue to overlook these issues it will continue experience even more resistance and service delivery protest will mean destroying existing valuable resources.

The CoCT municipality must make sure that the community understand fully the projects coming to their communities if they are intending to use the consultants on certain projects, the consultants must make sure that they engage the leadership of the community and brief them fully to avoid incidents similar to Makhaza toilet saga. The City must also make sure that when they come to communities, the language used favours the community and material like legislations, policies, IDP documents are translated in all Western Cape languages and are simplified in a pointer form for quick reading and understanding as some people cannot read the thick documents and unable to interpret the figures linked to budget.





UNIVERSITY *of the*  
WESTERN CAPE

## LIST OF REFERENCES

Abels, G. (2007). Citizen involvement in public policy-making: does it improve democratic legitimacy and accountability? The case of PTA. *Interdisciplinary Information Sciences* 13(1): 103–116.

Alexander, P. (2010). Rebellion for the poor: South Africa's service delivery protests-a preliminary analysis, *review of African Political Economy*, 37 (123): 25-40.

Bless, C., Higson-Smith, C & Kagee A. (2006). *Fundamentals of Social Research Methods. An African Perspective*. Fourth edition. Juta & Co Ltd. Claremont, Cape Town. South Africa.

Bidandi, F. (2007). The effects of poor implementation of housing policy in the Western Cape: a study case of Khayelitsha Site C (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Western Cape).

Botha, N. (2018) The Portable Flush Toilet: From Camping Accessory to Protest Totem, *Design and Culture*, 10 (1) 17-31.

Bryman, A. (2006). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: how is it done?. *Qualitative research*, 6(1), pp.97-113.

City of Cape Town. Five year Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 1 July 2012- 30 June 2017.

Cloete, F., Wissink, H., & De Coning, C. (Eds.). (2006). *Improving public policy: From theory to practice*. Van Schaik Publishers.

Cobin, J. & Morse, J.M. (2003). Qualitative inquiry. The unstructured interactive interview: issues of reciprocity and risk when dealing with sensitive topic. Journals. Sagepub.com

Coetzee, D., Hildebrand, K., Boulle, A., Maartens, G., Louis, F., Labatala, V. & Goemaere, E. (2004). Outcomes after two years of providing antiretroviral treatment in Khayelitsha, South Africa. *Aids*, 18(6), 887-895.

Cohen, B.C. (1963). The press and foreign policy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton.

Cohen, L. et al, (2000). Research Methods in Education. Fifth edition. RoudgeFalmer: London.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act no.108 of 1996)

Creswell, J.W. (1998). Qualitative inquiry and research design. Choosing among five traditions. London: Sage Publications

Dearing, J.W., Rogers, E.M. (1996). Communication concept-agenda-setting 6. Sage Publication, Inc, Thousands Oak, California.

Denscombe, M. (2014). The Good Research Guide For small-scale social research. Fifth edition. Open University Press. Berkshire, England

Dooley, D. (1995). Social Research Methods. Third edition. Prentice-Hall. Inc A Paramount Communications Company, Englewood Cliff. New Jersey

Du Toit, D. (2001). Service Delivery governance. Heinemann Publishers (PTY) LTD. Sandown

Fin24 (2012). News 24 Cape Town best city in the world-poll.

Fox, W. and Meyer, I.H. (1995). Public administration dictionary. Kenwyn: Juta

Gontsana, M. (2012). GroundUp: Several protests in Cape Town's informal settlements have turned violent in recent weeks. Residents, activists group and the city's political parties are blaming each other for violence and lack of service delivery.

Ground Up (2013) Portable Flush Toilets. [https://www.groundup.org.za/article/portable-flush-toilets-what-are-they-and-why-fuss\\_1018/](https://www.groundup.org.za/article/portable-flush-toilets-what-are-they-and-why-fuss_1018/) Jun 12, 2013

Gupta, A., & Sharma, A. (2006). Anthropology of the state. Malden, MA: Oxford: Blackwell Publications.

HDA (2012) Housing Development Agency

[http://www.thehda.co.za/uploads/files/HDA\\_Western\\_Cape\\_Report.pdf](http://www.thehda.co.za/uploads/files/HDA_Western_Cape_Report.pdf): 22)

Hart, G. (2011). The Contradictions of Local Government: Challenges for "Development".

Harvey, D. (2003). The right to the city. *International journal of urban and regional research*, 27(4), 939-941.

Henning, E., van Rensburg, W. & Smit, B. (2007). Finding your way in qualitative research. Van Schaik Publishers. Acardia, Hatfield. Pretoria

Hudson, J., & Lowe, S. (2009). Understanding the policy process: analysing welfare policy and practice. Policy Press.

Ife, J. (1995). Community Development: creating Community Alternative-Vision, analysis and Practice. Longman : Australia

Industrial Research Institute (2010) research management. Michigan: Industrial Research Institute

Jain, H. (2010). Community protest in South Africa: trends, analysis and explanations: Local Government Working paper Series No1, 2010 August: Community Law Centre.

Kamarack, E. (2002). Applying 21<sup>st</sup> Century Government to the Challenges of Homeland Security Volume 1, Issue 2, Pages, December 2002

Kleynhans, R., Markham, L., Meyer, W., Van Aswegen, S., Pilbeam, E. (2006). Human Resource Management Fresh Perspectives. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. South Africa: Pearson Education.

Kondlo, K. & Maserumule, M.H. (2010). The Zuma Administration. Critical challenges. HRSC

Kothari, C.R. (2004). Research Methodology-Methods and techniques. New Age International (P) Limited, Publishers. New Dehli

Kravitz, D.A. and Platania, J. (1993). Attitudes and beliefs about affirmative action: Effects of target and of respondent sex and ethnicity. Journal of applied psychology, 78(6), p.928.

Leonard, A. (2005). Affirmative Action in South Africa: Development approaches and legislative requirements. (dissertation). University of Pretoria

Local government: Conceptual issues and perspectives for consideration in Africa's public service delivery and perform review: Volume 1(1), 2012

Mabitsela, N.A. (2012). The impact of service delivery on the quality of lives of the community of Protea South, Soweto in Johannesburg in Gauteng, SA. University of Limpopo. (Dissertation)

Macintosh HD:DA:DA XI: Volume I:006 Intro (What is wealth) June 10, 1996

Malan, L. (2002) Intergovernmental relations and co-operative government in South Africa: The ten-year review. Dissertation University of Pretoria

Marshall, T. (1964) *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*. Cambridge.

Massey, R. T. (2014). Exploring counter-conduct in upgraded informal settlements: The case of women residents in Makhaza and New Rest (Cape Town), South Africa. *Habitat International*, 44: 290-296.

Matatiele Municipality and Others vs President of the Republic of South Africa and Others (2006) COCT 73/05

Maxwell, A, MaCombs, Donald,L, & Weaver, S.D (2007). *Communication & democracy- Exploring the intellectual frontiers agenda- setting theory*: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc Publishers. New Jersey.

Mbashe ,M. (2009). *Barriers to Accessing Water Services in the Motherwell Township*. Master's thesis. Port Elizabeth: Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

MCA, (2006). *Preliminary Impact Assessment for the Khayelitsha Mitchell's Plain*

McComas, K.A. (2003). Citizen satisfaction with public meetings used for risk communication. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 31(2), pp.164-184.

McCombs, M.E., & Shaw, D.L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of the mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36, 176-187.

McCombs, M.E. (1979). Using readership research. Washington, DC: National Newspaper Foundation Community Journalism Textbook Project.

McDonald, D. A., & Ruiters, G. (Eds.). (2005). The age of commodity: Water privatization in Southern Africa. Earthscan.

McDonald, D. A., & Ruiters, G. (Eds.). (2012). Alternatives to privatization: Public options for essential services in the global South. Routledge.

McFarlane, C., & Silver, J. (2017). The political city: "Seeing sanitation" and making the urban political in Cape Town. *Antipode*, 49(1), 125-148.

Mchunu, N.A.(2012) The link between poor public participation and protest: the case of Khayelitsha (Dissertation) University of Stellenbosch.

Mels, A., Castellano, D., Braadbaart, O., Veenstra, S., Dijkstra, I., Meulman, B., & Wilsenach, J. A. (2009). Sanitation services for the informal settlements of Cape Town, South Africa. *Desalination*, 248(1-3), 330-337.

Merriam, S.B. (2009). Qualitative Research: A guide to design and implementation.

Mhone, G & Edigheji, O. (eds) (2003). Governance in the New South Africa: The Challenges of Globalisation. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Ministerial Sanitation Task Team Report: July 2012 (Department of Human Settlements)

Mitchell, T. (2006). Society, economy, and the state effect. *State/culture: State-formation after the cultural turn* in Gupta and Sharma (ed) \*\*



Mouton, J. (1996). Understanding social research. J.L. van Schaik Publishers. Acardia Street, Hartfield, Pretoria.

National Development Plan: Vision for 2030

National sanitation Policy (1996). National Sanitation Task Team .Republic of South Africa.

Nleya, N. & Thompson, L. (2007). Survey methodology in violence-prone Khayelitsha. Cape Town, South Africa

Nleya, N. (2011). Linking service delivery and protest in South Africa: an exploration of evidence from Khayelitsha.

Nleya, N., Tapscott, C., Thompson, L., & Esau, E. (2011). Reconsidering the origins of protest in South Africa: some lessons from Cape Town and Pietermaritzburg. *Africanus*, 50(1), 14-29.

Nqaba, N. (2014) Dissertation: An exploration into the challenges teachers face in implementing HIV/AIDS initiatives and programmes in primary schools: a case study of two primary schools in Nyanga Township.

Ntongana, T.(2016). –architecafrica.co: Khayelitsha residents in stand-off with city.

O'Malley, P. (1994). Reconstruction and Development Programme 1994 hosted by Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Dialogue

Okeke, C. & van Wyk, M. (2015). Educational Research. An African Approach. Oxford University Press. South Africa

- Overy, N. (2013). Social justice Coalition and Access to Basic Sanitation in Informal Settlements in Cape Town ,South Africa
- Picazo-Vela, S., Gutiérrez-Martínez, I. and Luna-Reyes, L.F., 2012. Understanding risks, benefits, and strategic alternatives of social media applications in the public sector. *Government information quarterly*, 29(4), pp.504-511.
- Pillay, U. (2012). Business day BDLive . Delivery protests (06 August 2012)
- Population Register Update: Khayelitsha (2005). Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation.Pretorius, D. & Schurink,W. (2007). Enhancing service delivery in local government: The case of a District Municipality. *SA Journal of Human Resource Management*, 2007, 5 (3), 19-29
- Promotion of bantu Self-Government Act, (Act no 46 of 1959)
- Rajasekar, S, Philominathan, P & Chinnathambi (2013), *Research Methodology*
- Republic of South Africa Millennium development Goals. Country Report 2013
- Republic of South Africa. Water Services Act 108 of 1997. Pretoria: Government Gazette No 18207.
- Republic of South Africa. Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000. Pretoria: Government Gazette No 18207
- Richard Knight, “Housing in South Africa” 2001
- Richie J. & Lewis, J (2003). *Qualitative Research Practice. A guide for social science students and researchers.* Sage Publications, London: Thousand Oaks New Delhi

Robins, S. (2011) Toilets that became political dynamite

<https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/toilets-that-became-political-dynamite-1089289>

Robins, S. (2014). Poo wars as matter out of place: 'Toilets for Africa' in Cape Town  
*Anthropology Today*, 30(1), 1-3.

Robins, S. (2013) Daily news – How poo became a political issue

<https://www.iol.co.za/dailynews/opinion/how-poo-became-a-political-issue-1541126>

RSA (1996). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996). Pretoria:  
Government Printer.

RSA (1997) Batho Pele Principles. Pretoria.

RSA (1998). The Skills Development Act, No. 97 of 1998. Pretoria: Government Printer

RSA (1999) Public Finance Management (Act 1 of 1999). Pretoria

RSA (2000) Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act (Act No 5 of 2000). Pr RSA

(2003). Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act 53 of 2003. Pretoria:

Government Printer.Pretoria

RSA. (2009). The Public Service Commission. Report on the Evaluation of the  
Implementation of the Batho Pele Principle of Information. Pretoria: Silowa Printers.

RSA (200/10) Public Service Commission Annual Report 2009/2010, Pretoria.

RSA (2011) Census 2011. Pretoria.

RSA (2011).Department of Provincial and Local Government. n.d. National Framework For  
Municipal Indigent Policies. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Ruiters, G. (2018). The Moving Line Between State Benevolence and Control: Municipal Indigent Programmes in South Africa. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 53(2), 169-186.

SABC news (March 11,2014).Limpopo residents barricade main road

Seale, C. (1999). Quality in qualitative research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 5(4), pp.465-478.

University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Seeking, J. (2013). Economy, society and municipals services in Khayelitsha. Center for Social Science Research. University of Cape Town.

Social Justice Coalition (2010). Access to Basic Sanitation in Informal Settlements in Cape Town,

Soni, D.V (1991). Emerging urban forms in Rural South Africa. Pp47-49 (ISSN 0066 4812).

Sonneberg E. (2016 ). Why Things Go wrong. <https://city-press.news24.com/News/why-do-things-go-wrong-20160528>



UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE

Stoker, G. (1998). Governance as theory: five propositions. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford, USA.

Strydom, H., Fouche, C.B. and Delport, C.S.L. (2005). Research at grass roots: for the social sciences and human service professions. 3rd ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik

Swardt,C. & Theron, F. (2007). Cape Town African poor: an assessment of poverty manifestation and impact. Vol.37, No 1

The dplg (2007). Guidelines: Sustainable Municipal Infrastructure Provision and Service Delivery:

Thompson, L., & Conradie, I. (2011). From poverty to power? Women's participation in intermediary organisations in Site C, Khayelitsha. *Africanus*, 4(1), 43-56.

Thompson, L. and Nleya. (2010). Passivity or protest? Understanding the dimensions of mobilization on rights to services in Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

Thorn, J., & Oldfield, S. (2011). A politics of land occupation: state practice and everyday mobilization in Zille Raine Heights, Cape Town. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 46(5), 518-530.

Tongco, M.D.C., 2007. Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection. *Ethnobotany Research and applications*, 5, pp.147-158.

Verdoolaege, A., 2003. *Governance, Politics, and Policy in South Africa*. Oxford University Press, 2001.

von Lieres, B. (2007). Citizen participation in South Africa: land struggles and HIV/AIDS activism. In In A Cornwall & VSP Coelho (eds) *Spaces for Change? The Politics of Citizen Participation in New Democratic Arenas*. London: Zed, 07.

Wampler, B. (2000). A guide to participatory budgeting (pp. 1-30). *International Budget Partnership*.

Wolcott, H.F. (1990). On seeking-and rejecting-validity in qualitative research.(Ed.) EW Eisner, & A. Peshkin *Qualitative inquiry in education the continuing debate* (pp. 121-152).

World Bank, (2004). *A country framework report. Private solution for infrastructure in Lesotho* Washington DC.

## Websites/ Internet

Nkomo, S. Cape Argus (17-10-2017), Our toilets are always blocked

<https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/cape-argus/20171017/281629600500940>

\*<https://www.politicsweb.co.za/documents/the-ancs-2014-election-manifesto>

<https://www.politicsweb.co.za/documents/the-das-election-manifesto-2014>

<https://www.iol.co.za/dailynews/opinion/how-poo-became-a-political-issue-1541126>

Architectafrica.com, 23 October 2008

Wampler, B., 2000. A guide to participatory budgeting (pp. 1-30). International Budget Partnership.

Qualitative Research Consultants Association. 2017. *What is Qualitative Research?*

<http://www.qrca.org/?page=whatisqualresearch> [11 June 2017].

AfrikaTikkun.2016. *Broad- Based Black Economic Empowerment*.

<http://www.afrikatikkun.org/how-we-do-it/bbbee/?gclid=CLmorZGtjs8CFQw6GwodR7UI8g> [14 September 2016].

Business Directory. n.d. *Transformation*.

<http://businessdirectory.com/definition/transformation/html> [22 August 2016].

[https://www.groundup.org.za/article/portable-flush-toilets-what-are-they-and-why-fuss\\_1018/](https://www.groundup.org.za/article/portable-flush-toilets-what-are-they-and-why-fuss_1018/) Jun 12, 2013

[http://www.thehda.co.za/uploads/files/HDA\\_Western\\_Cape\\_Report.pdf: 22\)](http://www.thehda.co.za/uploads/files/HDA_Western_Cape_Report.pdf: 22)

<http://qsrinternational.com/what-is-qualitative-research.aspx> 2010/09/08

<http://www.khayelitshastrugles.com/2009/07/evaluation-of-effects-of-poverty-in.html>

<http://www.lbl.gov/Education/ELSO/Frames/rearch-applied-defiened-f.html>

[www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/..../page7162?](http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/..../page7162?)

<http://sahistory.org.za/western-cape-civic-association>

<http://yazkam.wordpress.com/2013/08/13/anc-details-de-lillies-budget-lies/>

<http://www.sarpn.org/documents/d0002956>

<http://history.matters.co.za/how-poo-became-a-political-issue-steven-robins/>

<http://www.enca.com/south-africa/poo-protesters-stopped-running-rampage-police>

<http://www.enca.com/south-africa/cape-town-braces-service-delivery-protest>

[http://www.activedemocracy.net/active\\_democracy.htm](http://www.activedemocracy.net/active_democracy.htm) 2014/01/30

[www.businessdictionary.com](http://www.businessdictionary.com)

[https://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~yanz/Unstructured\\_interviews](https://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~yanz/Unstructured_interviews)

<https://www.politicsweb.co.za/documents/the-das-election-manifesto-2014>

<https://www.politicsweb.co.za/documents/the-ancs-2014-election-manifesto>

<http://resource.capetown.gov.za/documentcentre/Documents/Maps>

[statistics/2011\\_Census\\_CT\\_Ward\\_018\\_Profile.pdf](http://statistics/2011_Census_CT_Ward_018_Profile.pdf)

.