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Community Activism and Social Change of the Urban Poor in the Western Cape: Advocating for Sustainable Sanitation in Cape Town's Informal Settlements.

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Development Studies, Institute for Social Development, Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, University of the Western Cape
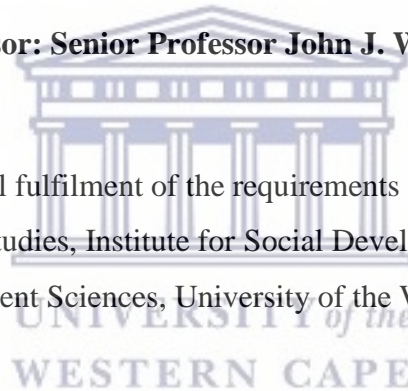
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Abstract

This research investigates the engagements between community activists and urban authorities in the provision of sustainable sanitation services in the informal settlements of Khayelitsha Cape Town. Since 2008, there have been contestations on the exclusion of informal settlements in the planning and delivery of sanitation services by the City of Cape Town. The planning and decision-making of sanitation services in the informal settlement is complex due to numerous stakeholders involved and thus not clear on how sustainable sanitation can be achieved. The challenge has been on understanding the level where decision-making in the provision of sanitation services is more effective for sustainable sanitation. The engagements between community activists and the city coerced the city to install toilet infrastructure in the contested areas and provided janitorial services as demanded by the community activists from Social Justice Coalition. The demand for these services was based on the idea to create sustainable sanitation services in these areas but it is not clear how this can be achieved. The study uses activism discourse and theories of social change to explain engagements in the decision-making process and the sustainability of sanitation services in the urban poor communities. The thesis draws on the 25 in-depth interviews which included 10 residents, 8 community activists, 3 street committee members, 2 area councillors, 1 city official in charge of social services in the informal settlements, 1 Mayoral committee member in charge of water and waste. Two focus group discussions, 1 conducted with 8 activists and 1 with community residents of the BM section. The thesis also uses document analysis, media prints, reports, and records from the Social Justice Coalition, South African Human Rights Commission, Ndifuna Ukwazi, and the City of Cape Town. Due to the nature of the participants, the thesis uses purposive and snowball sampling to identify the participants that suit the criteria. The study suggests that engagement has improved sanitation services in informal settlements but sustainability requires the involvement of communities in the decision-making process. The engagement process is challenged by the poor structuring of community leadership, missing links between service providers and the end-users of the service, and the politics of Khayelitsha Township. The study concludes that the sustainability of sanitation services in informal settlements requires a people-centred approach that puts people in the centre of the decision-making process on issues that affect their community. The study was conducted in three informal settlements: the RR section, BM section, Green Point.

Declaration

I declare that Community Activism and Social Change of the Urban Poor in the Western Cape: Advocating for Sustainable Sanitation in Cape Town's Informal Settlements is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Alex Kihehere Mukiga   August 01, 2021

Signed:

Special Dedication

I dedicate this work to my loving parents Mr. Lauben Kihehere and my late mother Oliver Kwitegyeise and all the informal settlement dwellers across the globe. The community activists (soldiers on the ground) who against all odds work towards the transformation of poor communities.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank God for the gift of life and the strength to endure all the life challenges that I went through during this study.

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ACRONYMS

ACTS	Area Coordinating Teams
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
ANC	African National Congress
AEC	Anti-Eviction Campaign in the Western Cape
ACCA	Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action
ABM	Abahlali Base Mjondolo
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BLM	Black Lives Matter
CBD	Central Business District
CCF	Concerned Citizens Forum in Durban
CCIDS	Central City Improvement Districts
CDA.	Capital Development Agency
CGA	Contravening Gatherings Act
CLTS	Community led-total sanitation
COSATU.	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSSC	Clean and Safe Sanitation Campaign
DA	Democratic Alliance
DFID	Department for International Development
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
DWS	Department of Water and Sanitation
EE	Equal Education
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighter
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GEAR	Growth, Employment, and Redistribution
GPS	Global Positioning System
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HDA	Human Development Agency
HCES	Household Centred Environmental Sanitation
IBP	International Budget Partnership
IRIS	Incident Registration Information Systems

ISN	Informal Settlement Network	
JMP	Joint Monitoring Programme	
KDF	Khayelitsha Development Forum	
LPM	Landless Peoples Movement	
NEMA	National Environmental Management Act	
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development	
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation	
NP	National Party	
NU	Ndifuna Ukwazi	
NSTT	National sanitation task team	
NWA	National Water Act	
MayCo	Mayoral Committee	
MIG	Municipal Infrastructure Grant	
MST	Movement of Landless Rural Workers	
PAR	Participatory action research	
PAC	Pan African Congress	
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme	
RSA	Republic of South Africa	
SACP	South African Communist Party	
SAHRC	South Africa Human Rights Commission	
SANCO	South African National Civics Organisation	
SAPS	South African Police Service	
SASCO	South African Students Congress	
SDA	Service Delivery Agreement	
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals	
SJC	Social Justice Coalition	
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission	
UISP	Upgrading of informal settlements programme	
UN	United Nations	
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund	
WCWSS	Western Cape Water Supply System	
WHO	World Health Organisation	
WSA	Water services Act	

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CHAPTER 1:

COMMUNITY ACTIVISM: CONTESTING SANITATION DELIVERY IN THE URBAN POOR COMMUNITIES

1.1   Overview

Sanitation delivery is a problem in many communities throughout the world; more pronouncedly so in South Africa, especially in the light of the colonial- apartheid based planning for almost 400 years (McFarlane, and Silver,2017, 2018; McFarlane,2019; Miraftab, 2012; Parnell, 1991,1993; Rosemarin, et al., 2008). The challenge of service delivery in South Africa has in most cases invited street protests as poor communities demand basic services such as sanitation (Alexander, 2010; Alexander et al., 2018; Booysen, 2007; Robin, 2014). In this study, the definition of the poor is adopted from the South African National Treasury Statistics, as being poor refers to *"the absence of sufficient resources to meet a specified quantum of basic requirements"* (Statistics South Africa, 2007, p.5). In this regard, community activism is influenced by social struggles in poor communities without access to proper sanitation infrastructure such as toilets.

Community activism is a powerful force in promoting social change in poor communities (Alexander et al., 2018). Community protests happen in both rural and urban areas, but increasingly more so in urban areas where poor people are increasingly living in squalor as they are seemingly all attracted to the possible livelihoods that urban areas provide (Turok, and Borel-Saladin, 2018). The settlements where these people live are often given low priority in the planning of basic services (Andres et al., 2021; Chigbu, and Onyebueke, 2021; Mutisya, and Yarime, 2011) and even excluded in neoliberal and market-friendly interventions (Baxter, and Mtshali, 2020; Guma, 2021). More so, the problem in these settlements seems to be multidimensionally characterized by weak governance of the basic services at the lower levels of governance. Local governments have often been criticised for their inability to deliver basic services but also lower structures lack independence to function effectively (Piper, and Deacon, 2008). The delivery of basic services is sometimes dominated by party and interparty politics that overshadow the functions of lower structures and decision-making processes (Barnes, 2018; Baxter, and Mtshali, 2020; Masuku, and Jili, 2019; Mpangalasane, 2020; Resnick, 2010;

Robins, 2014, 2015). On the other hand, there are non-governmental organisations that work together with community activists to ensure that communities are empowered to demand basic services from urban governments (Robins, 2014, 2015). In addition, squalor is viewed as informal and illegal. There is often no clarity on which department is responsible for basic services. Given the nature of these informal communities, the level where decision-making for improved services is more effective is not clear (Pan, Armitage, and Van Ryneveld, 2015). Sanitation delivery in the urban poor communities is contested under these circumstances in South Africa and across the continent.

The demand for basic services seems to be correlated with the recent rising trend in activism in Africa generally. From the Arab Spring in Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, (Anderson, 2011; Ghanem, 2018), to Walk to Work in Kampala, Uganda (Branch, and Mampilly, 2015; Philipps, 2016; Ortiz, Burke, Berrada, and Cortés, 2013), and Toilet wars, fees must fall in South Africa (Barnes, 2018; Hayem, 2018; Jackson & Robins 2018; Robins, 2014) people have demonstrated their willingness to change the status quo but also to question the lack of responsiveness from those that serve them and make decisions on their behalf.

Across Africa, these actions can be traced in different cities where citizens demand the delivery of basic services (Chigwata, O'Donovan, and Powell, 2017; Philipps, 2016; Ortiz, Burke, Berrada, and Cortés 2013). This means that community activism is not a sudden event. They are propelled by the circumstances faced in poor communities; thus, community activism offers an alternative way to reshape urban structures (Homer-Dixon and Percival, 2018; Nyamnjoh, 2016; Matebesi, 2017) as groups or individual activists apply their ideas to overcome these circumstances. The ideals of social change emerge from the struggle to access decent sanitation such as clean water and toilets. In this regard, the everyday struggles in the urban poor communities are informed by the socioeconomic conditions of the urban social system, especially in South Africa where inequality is still one of the highest in the world (SAHRC Equality Report, 2017/2018). The rich and middle classses occupy affluent suburbs, while the poor are relegated to informal settlements on the outskirts of the city with no access to clean water and toilets.

In 2011, the build-up to local government (LG) elections the undignified sanitation in informal settlements of Cape Town. It was at the forefront of election debates[1]. The issue of open toilets in Khayelitsha made headlines in the media as political parties debated complaints about the undignified cir4cumstances of people in the informal settlements (Human settlements report, 2012). The media headlines on "stink over open-air toilets" in Makhaza caught the attention of the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), acknowledging that the city violated human rights (Sunday Times, 14th March 2012)[2]. In 2011, thousands of residents from Khayelitsha informal settlements queued at well-maintained public toilets in Green Point. In 2013, the struggle intensified as the residents resorted to protests using human waste, pouring it on the streets in townships, on the N2 highway, the national legislature, and at the convoy of the Western Cape premier (Cape Times, 2013). In the space of one week, the protestors spilt human waste at the Cape Town international airport to demonstrate to the world the extent of the smell and indecency of sanitary situation in informal settlements. While some analysts and scholars described these events as "Election Toilets", "Toilet Wars", "Politics of Poos" and "Poo wars", the tragic incidents of rape, murder, assault on women, men and children tell of disadvantaged communities on the outskirts of a city perceived to be world-class[3]. The protests demonstrated the everyday challenges the informal settlement residents encounter while waiting for bureaucratic decisions to be made in the city centre by bureaucrats with no experience of living in shacks.

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[1] Mandy Rossouw (2011) 'The Toilet Elections'. *Mail and Guardian* 15 May 2011 00:00 Available online at https://mg.co.za/article/2011-05-13-voting-gets-down-to-basics. Accessed on Tuesday 09-04-2019 03:25 AM. The 2011 municipal election was contested on issues of basic service delivery that brough to the limelight the issues of governance and performance. After the Cape High Court Judgement on unenclosed toilets in Makhaza section of Khayelitsha and the discovery of unenclosed toilets in the ANC-led "municipality of Moqhaka in the Free State". Both parties were embarrassed by the state of sanitation in the poor areas.

[2] The plight of the poor can be traced across townships in Cape Town and the "*Stink over open-air toilets still festering"* is one of the examples that explains the exclusion of the poor people in the City of Cape Town. As highlighted by the SAHRC deputy commissioner, the exclusion of the poor in the decision-making process deepens the exclusion concerns of the poor. In his words, he expresses dissatisfaction "We are absolutely not satisfied with what we saw in Khayelitsha today. The problem is that the people who make policy are not listening to the people who are at the receiving end of the implementation," Nombembe 14th March 2012 Times Live.

[3] These incidents started with the murder of "Ntombentsha Beja a 75-year-old resident of Makhaza Khayelitsha" who was "stabbed in the chest" on her way to the toilet located 10 minutes from where she stayed. Nandipha Mkeke was also raped and murdered and in 2016 Sinoxolo Mafevuka was also tragically raped and murdered trying to use a communal toilet in SST informal settlement.

The analysis of these challenges is characterized by the historical processes of racialized segregation in the years of colonial settlers on the African continent (Fanon, 1976) taking a new shape of neoliberalism across the cities. McFarlane, Colin Silver, Jonathan (2017) connects Swanson's (1977) conceptualisation of sanitation syndrome while Hart (2014) views the South African political situation as a post-apartheid crisis to indicate how historical processes are shaping South African cities. In other words, the crisis demonstrated in the protests appears to indicate citizens' rejection of neoliberal economics across South Africa including sanitation which is a human right to dignity (Robin, 2014). In this regard, the structural changes that were created after adoptingthe neoliberal global order continue to severely affect the urban poor in informal settlements, particularly in South Africa. These conditions informed the ongoing slow activism by the Social Justice Coalition (SJC), Ndifuna Ukwazi (NU), and other organisations engaging the urban authorities. It opened debates on the everyday challenges of poor people twenty-five years after 1994.

Though the transition to democracy was characterized by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), it focused on solving individual disputes without addressing structural poverty, social inequality, human development, and the question of dispossession. This has led to what many scholars, institutions, and journalists describe as an incomplete transition (Bosch, 2017; Nyamnjoh, 2016; World Bank, 2018). The transitional government led by the African National Congress (ANC) emerged from the liberation struggle with the vision to address the past injustices and issues of inequality with policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994 (South Africa, 1994). This was seen as a redistribution policy that would address the past imbalances created by the colonial and apartheid regimes. Twenty-five years down the road, the poor majority of black South Africans in the informal settlements still struggle to live a dignified life.

The urban poor in the informal settlements seems invisible to the urban authorities and sometimes receive little attention in the planning of basic services (Hall and Posel 2018; Walls, Olivier and Eksteen, 2017). The "Department of Water and Sanitation" annual report (DWS) acknowledged the failures in eradicating bucket sanitation backlog (DWS Annual report, 2017/2018), meaning failures in the delivery of proper sanitation to the urban poor particularly

those staying in the informal settlements. The SAHRC (2018) also noted that "the community continues to battle with poor service delivery, including access to water, sanitation and electricity, poverty and a lack of safety". The challenge of sanitation in the informal settlements exposes women and children to assaults such as rape, robbery, or serious bodily harm (SAHRC, 2018, p.37).

The challenge of poor sanitation and other related services such as safety influenced community activists in the township of Khayelitsha, Cape Town, to unite and engage the structures of the city in sanitation delivery. The activists use slow violence strategies such as petitions, protests, negotiations, engaging different stakeholders, and legal processes to compel the city to honour its obligation for inclusive and sustainable sanitation. Their strategies appear to adopt a reformist approach of applying rule of law also using liberalism, bureaucratic style, and constitutional democracy. These strategies seem to enable the engagement between the activists and the urban authorities in the delivery of sanitation in the informal settlements (Robins, 2014). This is opposed to violent protests like burning properties, street and road barricades (Robins, 2014) but rather influencing decisions in the delivery of basic services.

Evidence from the studies on violent protests suggests that though these protests may attract media attention for a while, they do not necessarily improve and sustain service delivery in urban poor areas (Robins, 2014). However, the two strategies seem to complement each other in engaging the social structures that are still influenced by the past legacies of exclusion. For instance, slow activism has been adopted in areas where violent protests exposed the magnitude of social problems. Slow violence organisations such as SJC, NU, Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), and Equal Education (EE), have been campaigning for proper sanitation in communities that have often used violent protests. In 2016 August, the SJC in partnership with the NU law centre launched a court application demanding that the City of Cape Town provide adequate water and sanitation to the people in informal settlements[4]. Using constitutional

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[4] The court proceeding was supported by the "affidavits of five women living in informal settlements" of Khayelitsha indicating "lack of dignity" and "exposure to illness and violence" women face on a daily basis. Social Justice "Annual report 2017/2018: Fighting for Justice and Equality!" towards dignity and democratic power.

rights, activist organisations made claims for social justice for the urban poor in Cape Town municipality. The social justice campaign is concerned with decision-making in planning and allocation of resources in poor communities. It appears that the planners and decision-makers in the city are disconnected from the everyday reality of the people in the informal settlements. The decision-making on these issues appears to inform ongoing community struggles in Cape Town.

Community activism in South Africa dates back to the colonial era (Hayem, 2018; Nyamnjoh, 2016), and cannot be detached from the current social activism particularly in Cape Town. This kind of activism seems to have its roots in the historical struggles and resistance that African people went through during colonialism which informs the ongoing, continuous struggle for liberation. For example, the student mobilisation and uprising in South Africa in the year 2015 demanded that "Rhodes Must Fall" indicating the continuous struggle of confronting the colonial legacy and the desire to change its systems (Nyamnjoh, 2016). The same year 2016 also witnessed one of the violent student movements (Fees-Must-Fall) that demanded affordable education. Though it was organized by students, it speaks to the overall social system. Even though South Africa gained democracy in 1994, the legacy of apartheid lives on. The past system continues to marginalize the poor or the previously disadvantaged (Hart, 2002; Marais, 2001; 2013; Williams, 2000, 2009). For instance, the City of Cape Town strategic plan report indicates that spatial planning still decides 'where we live and where we work' (City of Cape Town, 2017). Therefore the struggle for fundamental social change particularly for the urban poor is still evident in the urban poor neighbourhoods (Marais, 2013; Williams, 2010). These struggles are very clear in the everyday social protests, petitions, boycotts, legal pursuit, social media campaigns by individuals and sometimes group activists to expose and confront social ills. However, activism and social change may be viewed differently hence the need to define it in the context of this study.

Martin, Hanson, and Fontaine (2007, p.79) in their work on *what counts as activism*, define activism as "everyday actions by the individuals that foster new social networks or power dynamics". In their view, activism triggers "political action" which changes the community and improves formal organisations or expands in scale to arrive at networks that are beyond

their initial surrounding and build new social relations. The new social relations create an opportunity to foster social change in the community. This study views community activism as a group of individuals or organisations from the same or different communities coming together to advocate, lobby, and demand improved services that would benefit the whole social group for a lifetime. In the same respect, different authors have a different understanding of social change. For instance, Merrill and Eldredge's (1952.p.512) discussion on social change proposes that *"social change means that a large number of persons are engaged in the activities that differ from those which they or their immediate forefathers engaged in sometime before. When human behaviour is in the process of modification, that is only another way of indicating that social change is occurring"*. This means that social change is reflected through the transformation of communities and individuals within that community. Considering the historical context of the area under investigation, this study understands social change as the social transformation of sanitation services in previously marginalized communities, particularly informal settlements.

Social change driven by activism among the urban poor can be traced to both the French revolution as well as the industrial revolution in England where social change as a concept for understanding the continued dynamics of social units became increasingly important. From that time, the social philosophers or thinkers viewed social change as *"a property of social order, known as change"* (Luhmann, 1984: 471). In this regard, we can say that social change can be enforced by determined masses through the struggle to establish a social order in marginalized communities, specifically the urban poor areas or the margins of the society.

The urban poor areas referred to in this research are particularly the informal settlement communities. These settlements exist as a result of the collective effort of the urban poor trying to secure access to land, shelter, and work (Huchzermeyer, 2004; 2006; Hunter and Posel, 2012). Poor people migrate from the countryside to urban areas to seek better opportunities (Chiloane-Tsoka, and Mmako, 2018; Turok, and Visagie, 2018). Because of the complex urban system, they then struggle to find their way into formal employment. As they struggle to establish themselves in the informal sector, they are forced by circumstances to live in shacks (Turok, and Visagie, 2018) at the margin of the city. Therefore, migration leads to rapid

urbanisation which poses a challenge to governance. Urban authorities struggle to deal with issues of redistribution in poor communities (Chiloane-Tsoka and Mmako, 2018). On the other hand, the recent tensions between the poor and urban authorities suggest some issues of participation in the decision-making of development planning (Jordhus-Lier, 2015). Therefore, this appears to inform and fuel the contestations, tensions between the urban poor and the urban authorities.

The discourse or debate on the urban poor is informed by the marginalisation that exists among the disadvantaged groups in the urban areas. The recent research indicates that persistent poverty is rooted in social, political norms and institutions (Du Toit, 2013). Several studies have focused on politics investigating chronic poverty and social exclusion (Bhalla and Lapeyere, 1997; Tilly, 2006). Hickey and Bracking, (2005) claim that politics plays a big role in continuation of chronic poverty and at the same time attempting to reduce it. Similarly, social exclusion makes other groups vulnerable to poverty and excludes them from better social services such as improved sanitation. Based on this understanding, the urban poor activists are working towards a socially just system where urban poor areas receive the same attention as in affluent areas.

Community activism and the struggle for social change in South Africa are characterized by the - oppressors and the oppressed who seem to be in the constant struggle for national liberation defined as a two-stage theory by the South African Communist Party (SACP) and socialist alliance. The discussions of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown 1955 acknowledged that all people should have an equal share in the country's wealth. This struggle highlighted the unequal encounters between whites and blacks that created a constant struggle for exclusion, inclusion, and recognition (Nyamnjoh, 2016; Williams 2009). The constant struggle organized within communities and streets has achieved significant social change. The liberation struggle registered its first victory when black people were able to vote for the first time in history, and electing the first black president in Nelson Mandela. This came after a persistent, resistant, defiant organized community struggle by ordinary South Africans. Under the new dawn, the new democratic South Africa adopted the 1996 constitution which restored citizenship where ordinary citizens take part in decision-making processes.

The transformative constitution was meant to correct the past errors and overcome the challenges of exclusion that were created in the colonial era and the apartheid regime (Mandela, and First, 1990; Henrard, 2002). The role of community participation, therefore, has been instrumental in the liberation of South Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2016; Williams 2009). However, though South Africa acquired political power, the struggle for inclusion is still much evident between social classes. The struggle for inclusion at the grassroots level has its roots in the past injustices of exclusion that created social differences and power relations in South Africa (Wale, 2013). It is these social differences that have resulted in a section of those who feel deprived, alienated by the system, and without sanitation services, coming together as activists to confront the conditions through social protests.

The contemporary social protests and tensions as postulated by several scholars started gaining momentum in South Africa in the year 2004 (Atkinson 2007; Alexander 2010; Booysen 2007; Pithouse 2007). From 2004 to May 2016, commence a media database indicates that a total number of 2500 community protests occurred in this period (Runciman, et al., 2016). Furthermore, the PAIA request granted access to 156,230 'crowd incidents' which were recorded by the incident registration information systems (IRIS). It must also be noted that in some cases, communities have opted for democratic means to challenge social exclusion using legal processes (Williams 2008; Jordhus-Lier, 2015). This is because the 1996 South African constitution offers a transformative vision aimed at solving social injustices and promoting meaningful social change (Constitution of South Africa 1996)[5]. However, although a section of the elite in South Africa enjoys progressive social change, this has been the opposite for the majority that call informal settlements their home.

It is against this backdrop that activists under the Social Justice Coalition and Ndifuna Ukwazi took up the initiative to influence decision-making for sustainable sanitation in the informal

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[5] "K Klare 'Legal culture and transformative constitutionalism' (1998) 14 South African Journal on Human Rights" 153; "M Pieterse 'What do we mean when we talk about transformative constitutionalism' (2005) 20 South African Public Law 156161".

settlements of Khayelitsha. In this regard, the study investigates whether the activist's engagements with the urban authorities (municipality officials) enable sustainable sanitation delivery in informal settlements.

1.2   The Setting of the Study

1.2.1   Research Problem

Sanitation delivery in the informal settlements in the City of Cape Town is contested on the lack of a clear plan for the marginalized communities. From the urban capitals of the north and south, people have shown that they want to make cities a better place for all (Marinković, 2013). The international community has also indicated its commitment to end poverty and all its challenges through SDGs in 2030 (United Nations, 2015). Regardless of this commitment, the marginalisation of those who are less privileged is still evident in the outskirts of the cities with no access to basic sanitation. The lack of improved sanitation is associated with numerous problems such as diseases and even death. Vulnerable groups, particularly women and children, are either raped or killed trying to access shared toilets that are located far from their houses (Overy, 2013). The lack of sanitation and other issues such as unequal, unfair redistribution of resources have been contested by social movements. Social movements such as the Social Justice Coalition have for the last ten years advocated sustainable sanitation for the people living in poor communities. In the run-up to the 2011 municipal elections, protests that exported the smell from the shanty townships to the steps of the legislature and Cape Town international airport exposed the lack of basic services of Cape Town Municipality. The transportation of human waste also demonstrated the seriousness of the sanitation situation in the informal settlements as well as the grievances surrounding the structural planning in the city.

The structural planning of basic services appears to possess some similarities to the historical legacies of colonisation and apartheid. In Cape Town, for instance, the previously disadvantaged groups, particularly black and "coloured" people in informal settlements, received less attention in service delivery. The failure of the city to respond to the dire living conditions such as lack of water and sanitation in Khayelitsha's informal settlements has triggered violent protests (Robin 2014; Rodina, and Harris, 2016), at the same time, activists

from organisations such as SJC and Ndifuna Ukwazi have used non-violent approach to advocate for sustainable sanitation services through mass mobilisation of poor communities (Ndifuna Ukwazi 2014; Robin 2014; SJC 2017). The lack of basic services is largely linked to most of the social challenges affecting Cape Town's informal settlements. Thus, activism is influenced by the deepening conditions in the urban poor communities (Redfield and Robins, 2016). The unresolved social problems have had social consequences for vulnerable groups such as women, girls, and children (Mayer et al., 2016) who are gang-raped, murdered while trying to access basic services in distances far from their homes.

The current research indicates that there is an increase in the social problems particularly in the urban poor areas such as gender-based violence, which is linked to lack of sanitation as girls and women are raped fetching water, using toilets in the evenings or early hours in the morning (SAHRC Research Brief April 2018). Between 2016 and 2017, the Human Rights Commission received 5000 complaints with the right to equality as the most violated at 705 complaints (SAHRC Trends Analysis Report 2016/2017). According to the report, the right to access basic services is the second most violated human right in South Africa with many unresolved issues of basic services in the local government. The SAHRC report 2014 indicates that insufficient water and sanitation violates the rights of women and girls in areas with poor sanitation.

The lack of sufficient water contravenes section 27(1) of the 1996 South African Constitution which gives a right to sufficient water for all citizens. Though the constitution does not directly mention sanitation, it is closely linked to the right to dignity and privacy which is provided for in sections 10 and 14 of the constitution. The government has also acknowledged that much still needs to be done to improve the poor people's living conditions (ANC 2017), meaning that there is still a need to work towards a complete social change among the urban poor. However, this seems not forthcoming after more than two decades of democracy. Pieterse, (2009) attributed the challenge of redistribution to the lack of civil society operating at a higher urban level where decisions are made. The recent study stressed that understanding the level where "decision-making processes" are made, and "by whom", can assist to address issues of equity and sustainability (Pan, Armitage, and Van Ryneveld, 2015, p. 230). The lack of clarity on the

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department responsible for sanitation in the informal settlement also proves to be a challenge (Ovary, 2013). Therefore, the engagement of community activists with the urban authorities is an important step towards understanding sanitation delivery in the informal settlements of Cape Town.

A significant amount of work has been done on sanitation and housing in urban poor areas. Social movement scholars such as Barnes, (2018) and Jordhus-Lier (2015) have focused on how individual groups in communities managed to secure low-cost housing in Cape Town through mobilisation and protests. Robin's (2014) study also demonstrates how the ANC youth league in Cape Town tore down toilet structures built with corrugated iron demanding that people in the informal settlements must be treated with dignity. Furthermore, McFarlane, and Silver, (2018) work on sanitation infrastructure in Khayelitsha focus on slow activism sometimes by individual activists in the struggle for the right to sanitation. Other researchers have linked the service delivery challenges to community protests in Khayelitsha Cape Town (Williams 2009, Thompson, and Nleya, 2010; Nleya, 2011). Whereas scholars such as Robins (2014); McFarlane and Silver, (2017); Rodina (2016) have written extensively on toilet wars in Khayelitsha informal settlements. Thus far, no study has been done on understanding the engagements and the level where decision-making is more effective and by whom in the delivery of sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements. In this regard, the research seeks to explore how community activists engage urban authorities in the provision of sustainable sanitation to the people in the informal settlements of Cape Town.

1.2.2   Research Aims and Objectives

The study aims to explore the role of engagements between community activists and urban authorities in the delivery of sustainable sanitation in Cape Town's informal settlements.

To accomplish the aim of this study, the researcher

- Examined the level where the decision-making process is effective in the provision of sustainable sanitation in informal settlements of Cape Town;

- Interrogated how the engagements between the community activists and the urban authorities contribute to sustainable sanitation in the Informal Settlements City of Cape Town;

- Analysed how the engagements influence policy and implementation of sustainable sanitation in the City of Cape Town;

- Explored the successes and challenges of engagements between community activists and urban authorities in the City of Cape Town.

1.2.3 Research Questions

This study is directed by this research question: How are community activists engaging urban authorities in the delivery of sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements of Cape Town? This triggers the following questions;

- What level of the decision-making process is effective in the provision of sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements of Cape Town?

- How do engagements between the community activists and the urban authorities contribute to sustainable sanitation in the Informal Settlements City of Cape Town?

- How do these engagements influence policy and implementation of sustainable sanitation in the City of Cape Town?

- What are the successes and challenges of the engagements between community activists and urban authorities in the City of Cape Town?

1.2.4 Existing research and the research gap

Social movements protests have received substantial attention from social movement scholars (Alexander et al., 2018; Alexander, Runciman, and Ngwane, 2016; Ballard, Habib, and Valodia, 2006; Barnes, 2018; Jordhus-Lier, 2015), focusing on socio-economic rights (Langford, Cousins, Dugard, and Madlingozi, 2013; Madlingozi, 2007; Pieterse, 2008), social welfare such as housing, utilities, and delivery of other basic services (Alexander et al., 2018; Alexander, Runciman, and Ngwane, 2016; Ballard, Barnes, 2018; Habib, and Valodia, 2006).

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Scholars have also investigated decision-making in mega projects (Jordhus-Lier, 2015), sanitation infrastructure, and implementation (Taing, 2015). Ballard, Habib, Valodia, and Zuern, (2005) work reviews the approaches of social movement studies and the effect of globalisation in South Africa. The democratisation in South Africa took place alongside social, economic, and political interaction with the outside world. The resultant policies received protest action (McKinley, D., 2006) from poor communities as it presented challenges of job losses, poverty, inequality, and social exclusion as well as the marginalisation of the poor.

For instance, (Ballard, Habib, and Valodia, 2006) discuss the emergence of social movements in post-apartheid South Africa and indicate that these movements were supported by the poor, marginally employed, and pensioners. The authors however note that protest actions appear to be organised for the poor rather than being organised by them. However, the sanitation protest action in Khayelitsha Cape Town was organised in full consultation with the communities. It is worth mentioning that the community activists also reside in those specific informal settlements and hence form a good representation of the community interests. Given this background, it is clear that there are limited studies done on understanding stakeholder engagements in decision-making and its effectiveness in sanitation delivery at the local level. This does not suggest that there are no studies on sanitation delivery in informal settlements in South Africa. However, the existing studies do not explain the effective level of stakeholder involvement in the delivery of sustainable sanitation in Cape Town's informal settlements.

The current digital, print and online media suggest that community activists engage urban authorities at the municipal level where service delivery decisions are made focusing on offices and individuals responsible. This has not yet received scholarly attention from urban movement scholars in Cape Town. Thus, it is critical to know the role of these engagements and understand the level where decision-making in sanitation delivery is more effective in the informal settlements in Cape Town. This study contributes to research on social change in South Africa particularly Cape Town. Another keen interest of this research is to demonstrate how engagements can work effectively in the provision of sanitation and enhance social change. In this regard, this study explores the engagements between community activists and urban authorities in the delivery of improved sanitation in the informal settlement of Cape

Town. The study examines the successes and challenges of engagements between community activists and urban authorities in the delivery of sustainable sanitation in informal settlements.

1.2.5 The significance of the study

Community advocacy is an important element of social change in the delivery of basic services in urban poor communities (Hwang, and Suárez, 2019; Joshi, Shah, Nazareth, and Mahadevia, 2010; van Welie, and Romijn, 2018; Yan, Lin, and Clarke, 2018). This comes from the understanding that basic services particularly sanitation are basic human rights and a fundamental basic need for good healthy living (Habitat 2016). However, the urban poor communities in the post-apartheid government are yet to enjoy the promises of a better life for all (Williams, 2006; Pieterse, 2009). The idea of a better life for all informed the government's idea of community development workers to advocate for fundamental social change with special reference to sustainable service delivery (Williams, 2006. p.4). Regardless of this idea, Williams describes community participation in the post-1994 government as "spectator politics" where citizens become mere "endorsees of pre-designed planning programs" and become targets for 'administration manipulation' (p.2-3). This is possible because, in South Africa, the public claims and redistribution decisions are made at the higher levels of governance. The metropolitan system of government means that most decisions are made at the metropolitan scale and to a lesser extent at districts or ward levels (Pieterse, 2009). In this regard, the absence of strong advocacy coalition groups makes it hard for urban poor communities to have the voice to assert pressure and ensure that there are checks and balances in the delivery of services at the local level.

The emergence of community activists was influenced by the plight of the urban poor people in Cape Town's informal settlements. The lack of basic sanitation services is associated with the problems faced such as crime, rape, and murder, including the deadliest xenophobic attacks on foreigners of African descent in 2008 (Overy, 2013, Robins, 2014). These problems make the use of toilets difficult for vulnerable groups such as women and children (Robins, 2014, Taing 2015). The existence of these challenges suggests a gap in governance and exclusion of urban poor communities. The urban governance, particularly at the local level, appears to be weak to effectively deliver services to the people living in the marginalised communities. Yet

the primary objective of the post-1994 government was to ensure the redistribution and improving living conditions such as sanitation. Therefore, activists' engagements with the urban authorities help to promote citizen participation and improvement of service delivery. This is important in the way that activists or social movement groups partner in the development of poor communities but they are also knowledgeable in the politics of service delivery and thus able to influence higher levels of governance (Pieterse, 2009).

This entails the politics of advocacy planning that requires rigorous negotiations with urban governments and manipulating the environment to achieve the desired goal on behalf of the "client population" (Williams, 2006, p.10). This is so true because communities or individuals on their lack the courage to intervene in the *"formal planning domain as agents of social change"* (p.10). Hence advocacy planning becomes a potentially efficient driver of social inclusion of the historically marginalised South Africans. Williams suggests that advocacy planning must identify, confront and seek to change the structure that keeps poor communities in the present circumstances. This builds a strong voice for urban poor communities and their demands can be effectively presented and addressed.

The most recent advocacy planning and accountability approach was made by the Social Justice Coalition and Ndifuna Ukwazi activists when they conducted a social audit in partnership with other local and international organisations. The social audit focused mainly on sanitation particularly public toilets in the informal settlements of Khayelitsha (SJC, 2016). This reckons with the views of Williams, who acknowledges that articulate and powerful individuals or groups can engage in development planning (Williams, 2006). However, Williams warns that these strategic interventions may not diminish in the short run the influence of the "minority elite" in influencing planning bureaucracies, in their favour. He suggests that determination and consistent information sharing and improving community trust finally erodes these tendencies.

In this study, I argue that community activists' engagements with the urban authorities can offer an opportunity for ensuring sustainable sanitation in informal settlements. Activists use social networks and their expertise to strengthen the demand for social justice for the people

living in poor conditions. Community activists are capable of engaging in vigorous negotiations with the urban governments for change using the constitutional founding values of section 1(a) on the advancement of human rights and freedoms (RSA 1996). By interrogating the processes that underpin activists' engagements with the urban authorities, contestations, and negotiations as well as mechanisms put in place by activists to ensure that there is accountability for service delivery. Understanding the role of activists in urban politics helps to bridge the gap utilised by elite urban decision-makers and avoid elite capture which perpetuates inequality and fuels violent protests. This study builds on existing literature on counter-activism discourse, and social change discourse to contribute to the contemporary community activism discourses in the delivery of sustainable sanitation in the urban poor areas with a specific focus on Cape Town informal settlements.

1.2.6   Research Assumption

The study assumes that the engagements between community activists and urban authorities create a sustainable provision of sanitation in informal settlements. This is because activists understand the local government service delivery processes and engage constructively using the provisions of the constitutional democracy. Furthermore, activists can pool resources together to gain leverage over the bureaucratic processes and other tendencies that hamper the delivery of sanitation services in informal settlements. This research seeks to contribute to the understanding of policy implementation practices to provide sanitation and related services to poor communities.

1.3   Neoliberal Urbanisation and Encounters in the Margins of Community

The literature on the rights to the city appears to suggest that urban movement activists are struggling against neoliberal urbanisation (Uitermark, Nicholls, and Loopmans, 2012). Contemporary urbanisation under neoliberalism embraces the development of a market-friendly environment that enables markets, businesses, and tourism to thrive (Sequera, and Nofre, 2018; Speake, and Kennedy, 2019; Vives Miró 2011; Visser, 2019). Neoliberalism is understood *"as a political ideology that advocates private property, the privatisation of social resources, the flexibilisation of regulatory frameworks that might hinder free-market values, and the supposed withdrawal of State intervention"* (Vives Miró 2011.p. 1-13). Neoliberal

urban policies tend to prioritise the development of city centres and tourism spaces over human development in the margins of the community which in turn result in income inequality and uneven geographical development (Vives Miró 2011; Watson, 2009). The contestations of service delivery in the margins of the society in the City of Cape Town indicate the neoliberal priorities on the planning frameworks as opposed to the inclusion of the urban poor. While defining the neoliberal city, Leitner et al., (2007, p.4) observe that it directs *"all its energies to achieving economic success in competition with other cities"*. In so doing, the inhabitants of the city particularly the most vulnerable (the poor) are left out of development planning and transformation programs.

The majority of urban social movements today emerge to fight and challenge neoliberal urbanisation using their organised local groups for more equitable and just cities (Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer, eds., 2012; Fainstein 2010, 2014; Harvey 1973, 2003, 2008; Harvey and Cities, 2012; Purcell 2008; Smith and McQuarrie, 2011). The most noticeable social group operating in many cities globally is the *Reclaim the city* movement which fights for social justice and equality in the urban space (Gregory, 2019; Harvey 2008; Leorke, 2015). Thomas, (2018) points out that *reclaim the city* was founded in Cape Town in February 2016 to reverse the spatial apartheid planning in Cape Town. The Reclaim the City movement is slowly but surely influencing grassroots movements which are formed by groups and individual activists to fight for the rights of the urban poor. Social movement studies further suggest that the rise of social protests in the cities is due to citizens' frustration and economic inequality as well as human rights violation (Tilly, and Wood, 2015), as cities focus on private development and ignore the urban poor people. In South Africa Cape Town, the SAHRC has on many occasions revealed that the City of Cape Town continues to violate human rights and socially exclude the poor people living in the informal settlements (SAHRC 2012;2017).

The urban poor in the informal settlements have thus devised means to challenge for proper and inclusive, sustainable sanitation using their local organisation and sometimes forging coalitions (Jordhus-Lier, 2015; McFarlane, and Silver, 2017). These coalitions have been formed on a basis that sanitation is a major determinant of wellbeing and therefore a basic human right to health. Health activism has recently become prominent in the literature focusing

on activists' involvement in the struggle for inclusive health/wellbeing. This involves challenging the "existing order and power relationships that are perceived to influence some aspects of health negatively or impede health promotion" (Parker, et al., 2012; Zoller, 2005). In the view of this study, community activism attempts to challenge inequality and exclusion in the provision of sanitation services. As indicated before, the sanitation struggles appear to challenge a global order that tends to prioritise businesses and ignore the plight of the poor in marginalised communities such as informal settlements. In this regard, community activism enhances social change through collective action for better and inclusive sanitation delivery.

1.3.1   The Global Dimension of Neoliberal Urbanism, Activism and Social Change

The idea of neoliberal urbanisation that is believed to have been reshaping the urban landscape for more than three decades appears to be the source of failures and crisis in the cities globally (Peck, Theodore, and Brenner, 2009, 2013; Fisker, Chiappini, Pugalis, and Bruzzese,2019). The neoliberal global order has affected the urban poor and swept them away to the peripheral where social services are rarely offered (Watson, 2009). The commodification of social services has ignited mistrust against the neoliberal class and chanted slogans such as "drain the swamp" aimed at governments' systems (Putzel, 2020, p.418). The failures in social services and crises have influenced social movements to be born particularly urban movements among the marginalised. At the beginning of the 21st century, many people across the globe recognised the term "social movement" as a huge call that counterweighs anti-people government policies and other oppressive power or directives as people mobilises themselves against a wide range of "scourge" (Tilly, and Wood, 2015). These movements are composed of individuals from diverse communities who engage in organised activities for purposes of change and the right to the city. As these social groups of powerless people are formed, they boost their capacity using their knowledge and alliances to confront the social institutions that manipulate the conditions of the urban poor (Harvey, 2008; López, 2019).

Across the globe, the claims of rights to the city have become evident with new and different dimensions, starting from Occupy Wall Street, Black Lives Matter in America, *indignados* of Spain and Greece, to the Arab spring. Wachsmuth, Harrison and Hoyler, (2018) describe what Lefebvre termed as *a cry and a demand* (1968/1996, p.158), as the urban poor people make

claims for a transformed urban life and a fair system where these demands can be fulfilled (Marcuse, 2009). In the words of Martinez (2019: p.26), he observes that the *"prevailing economic and political elites have set up many mechanisms to prevent meaningful attention to those at the bottom of power structures based on class, gender, ethnicity, age, abilities, knowledge, and other social conditions"*. The urban working poor and the middle class are caught up in these mechanisms engineered by neoliberalism which benefits the owners of production (Harvey 2008). The global economic system has thus created inequality (Pieterse 2009) and most countries have been caught up in this trap that has made the circumstances of underprivileged social groups complex.

Amidst these circumstances, the homeless and slum dwellers become more vulnerable to all kinds of social challenges such as dire poverty, violence, and health issues. In this regard, neoliberal urbanisation fosters activism as the urban poor are left out in the delivery of basic services particularly sanitation. Sanitation is a universal fundamental human right and needs that every individual is entitled to it. However, UNICEF (2015) indicates that approximately two billion, five hundred million people across the globe lack access to basic sanitation[6]. The report also highlighted that an estimate of 892 million people globally are still using open defecation while 856 million are still using unimproved sanitation services, such as bucket toilets, hanging toilets, pit latrines, and so forth. The figure below indicates access to sanitation globally by 2015.

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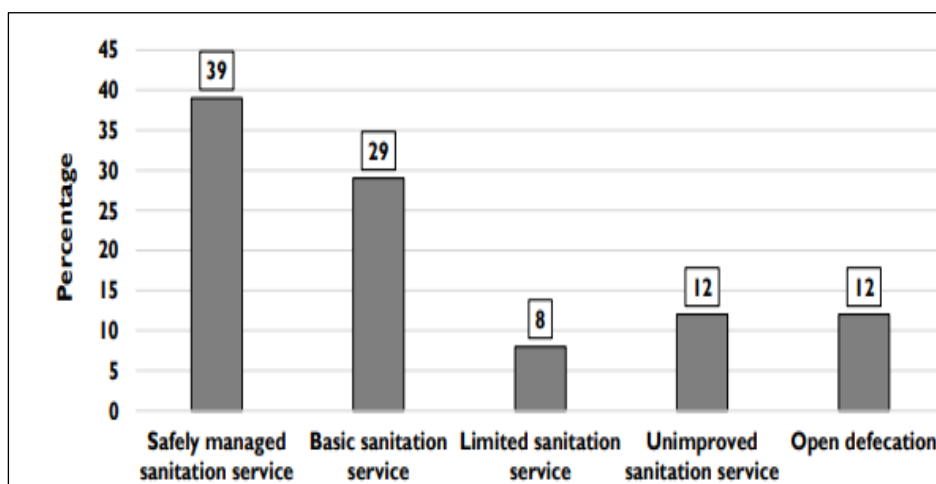
[6] United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 'Sanitation', July 2017

Figure 1.1. The Global Access to Sanitation Services (Percentages), 2015
Source: (UNICEF – Sanitation, July 2017, p.28)

In the years 2010 and 2015, the international community formally realised the need for human rights to water and sanitation (Fawzi, and Canavan, 2019; see also WHO/UNICEF 2015). Focusing on the human rights approach enables states to develop frameworks that incorporate water and sanitation into key national development goals. This helps to reduce the challenges of inequality, diseases, gender-based violence among the urban poor communities. However, much as these initiatives have been taken, the right to dignified living in the city is still heavily contested globally. Perhaps we should question why these systems are not working out for the urban poor. The liberals are not meeting the expectations and the aspirations of those who need bailout most (Martinez 2019). Martinez observes that capitalism appears to be the "endless source of authoritarian rule, from the workplace to the stock markets" (p.26). This suggests that the increase in wealth on an international scale reduces the chances of building equal, just, as well as sustainable communities.

The absence of sustainable communities seems to be associated with the poverty of vulnerable groups in urban areas. As a result, these groups find themselves in difficult circumstances with fewer chances of survival and let alone have a roof on top of their head. For instance, the 'financial speculation' and the 'dismantling of welfare services' since the 80's affected the urban poor immensely (Martinez, 2019; Roitman 2019). Martinez's work in *Contested Cities and Urban Activism* explains the global 2008 financial crisis and how it affected the urban poor in Southern Europe. This situation created the emergence of an urban movement of homeless people who took to the streets to make claims of their right to a decent living. After witnessing minors and their parents taking part in the demonstrations in Rome, Martinez observes that it "tells a dramatic story of poverty and violation of basic human rights at the heart of a wealthy country" (ibid. pp. 29). This example explains how neoliberal urbanism triggers activism in cities as the poor start questioning the system of inequality and exclusion in service delivery.

Activists in urban movements advocate for different interests in different forms of activism depending on the magnitude of the claim. Some last for a shorter period and others take longer

forming permanent structures (Martinez 2019). Both movements, however, emerge out of dissatisfaction with the status quo and tough conditions that certain groups encounter. Therefore, these movements are formed to counter the conditions created by neoliberal policies such as those that triggered the global financial crisis in 2008 (González et al., 2018). Movements also endeavour to influence the 'redistribution of public resources' that forms an important dimension of capitalism for the reproduction of the labour force (Ibid, p. 33). For capitalists, their mind is focused on profit maximisation and does not necessarily care about the privatisation of welfare services as long as they can earn some profits. Nevertheless, human rights defenders in these movements are well aware of capitalists' motives and thus they push for policies that assist the urban poor such as affordable electricity, housing, equal education, water, and sanitation to mention a few.

The contestation on the pro-poor policies suggests that capitalism has become a burden to most people living in the outskirts of the city, mainly in the global south and "urban fringes" of the north (Martinez 2019: p. 34). United Nations (UN-Habitat 2016), suggest that 900 million people live in informal settlements in developing countries. This means that one out of eight people in an urban setting live in an informal settlement. Though there is a relative decrease from 39-30%, between 2000 -2014, absolute numbers seem to be growing. Therefore, 1/8 world population are still in dire need of proper housing, electricity, water, and sanitation which is a nightmare in informal settlements. The dire situation in these informal settlements has thus attracted the attention and the emergence of activists who operate in global network organisations such as "Asian Coalition for Housing Rights", "Slum/Shack Dwellers International", International Alliance of Inhabitants, and Habitat International Coalition.

1.3.2 Sub-Saharan Africa

Sub-Saharan Africa ranks among one of the world's least urbanised regions but surprisingly has the highest number of informal dwellings (Alaazi, and Aganah, 2020) commonly known as ghettos, slums, squalors, informal settlements, etc. The UN-Habitat global regional estimate on slum dwellers in Sub-Saharan Africa indicated that 56% of the urban population lived in slums suggesting that it has the highest number in all the world's regions (UN-HABITAT 2016). The region also has the highest number of urban households without water and proper

sanitation such as toilets connected to sewers. In 2015, only 11% of Africa's urban population had toilets connected to the sewer (WHO and UNICEF 2017). The available statistical data on the provision of water and sanitation is presented in terms of the country's urban population but not based on the city or informal settlements in the country. However, the majority of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa failed to meet the MDG sanitation target in 2015.

Sub-Saharan Africa with a sanitation coverage of 30% did not meet the 62% MDG sanitation target in 2015, though some countries made significant progress (Munamati, Nhapi, and Misi, 2016). The improvement in sanitation was made in rural and urban areas but in urban, marginalised communities particularly informal settlements still lack sanitation infrastructure such as toilets. The urban growth in Southern Africa has attracted urban migration and the creation of informal settlements (Smit, 2021) where delivery of basic services such as water and sanitation is limited. Urban governments are responsible for the provision of sanitation infrastructure to all areas within their jurisdiction (Satterthwaite, Sverdlik, and Brown, 2019). Ironically, the urbanisation processes in Sub-Saharan Africa, appear to be directed by the Utopia dreams of smart cities even when the majority of the inhabitants in these cities live in poor conditions (Watson 2009, 2013) with non-existent sanitation infrastructure. The utopia planning is engineered by the neoliberal policies which favour markets, tourism over the inhabitants in these cities. The influence of globalisation is also worth noting as these cities see the need to be at the same competitive levels as other global cities. We should question whose interests are served by smart cities. Smart cities would assist in the improvement of sanitation particularly waste management but these require political will which is lacking in marginalised communities. In this regard, the planning and delivery of sanitation services in Southern Africa is still characterised by social exclusion of the marginalised following the same patterns ascolonial planning.

1.3.3   Colonial legacies, Neoliberal urban planning in South Africa

The urban municipal infrastructure struggles in colonial South Africa appear to have informed the contemporary urban planning practices and governance (Miraftab, 2012). These practices often focus on the apartheid and neoliberal agenda known as the Washington consensus and fail to explore colonial legacies. Miraftab's work suggests that neoliberal urban planning in

South Africa started in the 19th and 20th centuries as the industrial revolution started taking shape in urban capitals. The politics of neoliberal urbanisation and sanitation struggles can be traced in the colonial and apartheid governance particularly in the so-called *orderly urbanisation* policy in the 1986 white paper (Miraftab, 2012). Through the policy of orderly urbanisation, only blacks with formal employment were considered for housing (Geyer, 1993; Smith, 2003). The exclusion of people based on social class and status resulted in the mushrooming of squatters in the urban space as those without work found accommodation in zoned spaces for the unemployed. In this regard, the problem of informal settlements and sanitation has much to do with the policies and politics of urbanisation.

The urban government's approach to development of cities in terms of global competitiveness has meant that cities' governance has turned its attention to the city centre and alienated the planning of the peripherals where the marginalised groups live (Pieterse, 2009; Watson 2008). This kind of approach has been heavily criticised by those at the left arguing that the cities must be for people but not for profits (Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer, eds., 2012; Mayer, Thörn, and Thörn. eds., 2016; Pieterse, 2009). However, neoliberal urban ideas date back to the colonial and apartheid government. Neoliberal urbanisation can be traced to the early days of privatisation elsewhere, for instance in Britain under the Thatcher government. The South African government within 2 years of political freedom, *"embraced wholehearted integration into the neoliberal global economic system by pre-empting trade reforms and lowering barriers and tariffs even before this was strictly necessary"* (Pieterse 2009, p.2). The working class has suffered most resulting in the most unequal economy globally as well as furthering spatial divisions.

 After embracing the idea of privatisation, the state abandoned the direct provision of social services and opted for the benefits of accelerated urbanisation that have come with enormous costs (Smith, 2003). This entails some reforms that capitalist cities have adopted and some of these patterns also apply in the City of Cape Town which makes it fall under the category as one of the neoliberal cities (McDonald, 2012, p.30). As a result, this has had serious repercussions on the spatial patterns in the South African major towns and cities in terms of development. Pieterse (2009) observes that the plan of the post-apartheid city in South Africa

has changed into *"neo-apartheid spatiality since both the urban sprawl and intra-class divisions have worsened since 1994"* (p.13). In this regard, democratic South Africa appears to have changed little for the majority of blacks who still struggle in urban spaces that still possess the patterns of the colonial and apartheid legacies. Pieterse (2009, p.12) also notes that the "cumulative legacy of colonialism and its apartheid successor left deep scars and often grotesque psychic on the social body of the country manifested in the disproportionate and arbitrary capacity for violence that marks almost all classes and races" .

The challenge of sanitation delivery can also be understood as a structural issue that started more than two centuries ago. In the mid-19th century, the greater Cape Town was diverse inhabited by people from various backgrounds. This cultural diversity was later erased systematically in the years that followed using policies of segregation and relocation (Williams, 2005). The colonial government started the settlement of the Cape Flats around 1877 and 1910 on purpose and before then, there was no separate provision of settlement for the natives in Cape Town. The state used the Reserve Location Act No 40 of 1902, also No 8 of 1906 which indicate the initial move by the state to create separate segregated areas for the Africans. The acts made a compulsory settlement of Africans in Ndabeni unless one received permission to stay outside or was a registered voter. As indicated in Chapter 4, these policies were also used as a way of removing Africans from white areas since they were seen as sanitation hazards. Such policies created the spatial patterns in Cape Town that reflected exclusion in the delivery of sanitation services.

A study on google maps (satellite images) to identify and compare settlement patterns suggests that the pattern of past legacy is still visible even today (Schoeman, 2018). Schoeman argues that though apartheid ended two decades ago, the legacy of "separate development" is still visible in the current system of South African cities. These patterns reflect the power relations and economic divide since the colonial era. The current pattern of development system still reflects the establishment of colonial settlements in South Africa which took place in the 19th century (Krige 1996; Schoeman 2018). The European town planning systems created cities for whites, and blacks were relegated to the outskirts of the city. Though colonisation ended in 1910 when the union of South Africa was established, the separation according to race in urban

areas did not change. The legislation such as the native act 193 that affected urban areas, required black African men to carry permits at all times to allow them access to towns and the cities (Smith, 2003). The introduction of the permits which were known as *passes* forced the African people into locations on the outskirts of the towns and cities. Between the years 1911-1950, non-whites were not provided with adequate housing and this led to the creation of informal settlements (squatter camps). The informal settlements which reflect the spatial patterns created by the racial system (Schensul, and Heller, 2011) have no proper sanitation infrastructure for improved service delivery in large parts of metropolitan Cape Town.
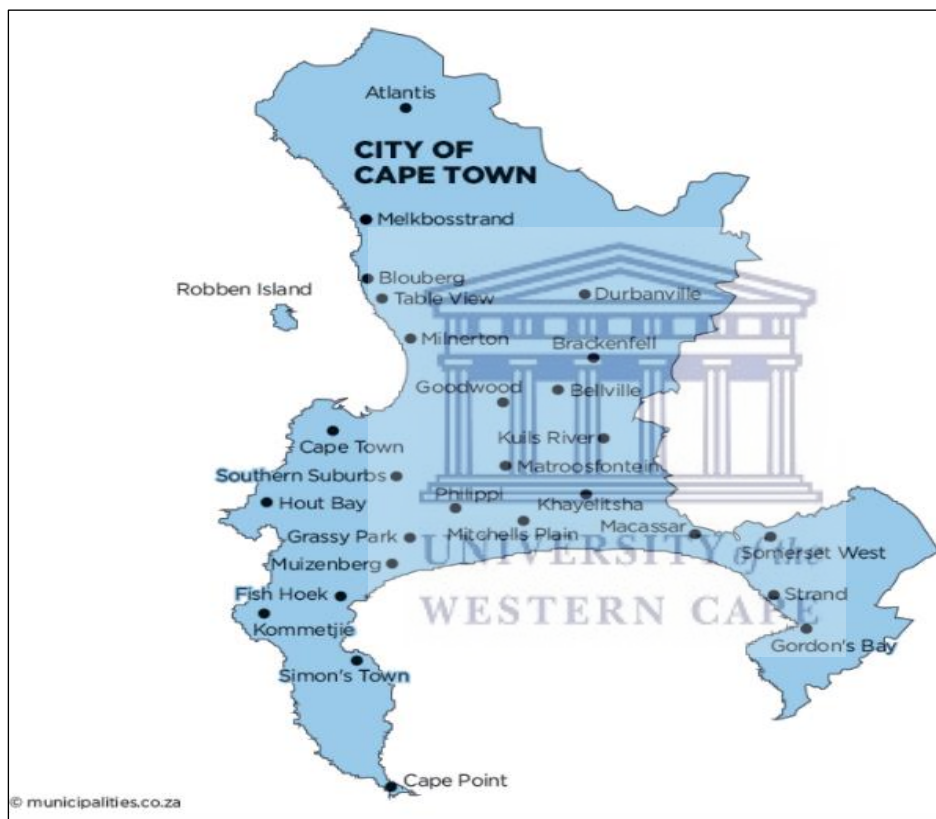
Figure 1.2. The Map of the Metropolitan Cape Town
Source: Municipalities 2021

Between the years 1950-1985, the apartheid city was born with the introduction of the Group Areas Act of 1950. This was introduced by the apartheid government and it contained specifics of separate residential and business areas based on the racial groups. The racial groups were Whites, Coloureds, Asians, and Blacks. The purpose of this Act was to remove non-whites from the areas close to the city centre and developed urban areas reserved for whites. The non-

whites were forcefully removed (Du Plessis 2014) and were taken to the Sandy Dunns of the Cape Flats. The development of apartheid townships started between 1945 and 1965 and Gugulethu became one of the first townships where the neighbourhood town planning principles were implemented (Williams, 2005, p.221). However, the shortage of housing led to the development of shacks by the informal settlers using unconventional building materials like corrugated iron sheets, scrap wood, etc. The attempt to stop shack development by the authorities was unsuccessful because of the housing shortage and to resolve this, the influx control was introduced in the 1950s.

In 1986, due to international pressure and the persistent collective struggle of oppressed South Africans, the apartheid government abandoned the influx control of black people to urban areas. This changed the settlement dynamics in South Africa which is described in the literature as black urbanisation (deV Graaff, 1987; Mabin, 1988; Bank, 2017). Between 1986 and 1994 the apartheid city in transition introduced the "concept of orderly urbanisation" in the 1986 white paper (Smith, 2003, p.2), which meant that only those with formal employment were provided with formal housing. Very few provisions were made for those that were earning less and this resulted in a big number of informal houses being created in the backyards. In the post-apartheid government, black urbanisation still exists and spreads widely on the outskirts of every formal settlement (Turok, 2014). Furthermore, neoliberal agendas have led to the urban poor being pushed away (Watson, 2009), to the periphery of the city. A recent example is the black people that were dumped in Wolwerivier and Blakkiesdorp temporary relocation camps 30 km from the city[7].

Gentrification one of the neoliberal agenda has been heavily contested in the City of Cape Town. The contestation has been due to evictions of the urban poor who lived in areas close to the City their entire life. These contestations led to the formation and emergence of new movements such as Reclaim the City which fights for the rights of the city in Cape Town (Thomas, 2018). The consequences of these evictions are unbearable especially for the people who have lived in the area for their entire lives. Most of the evicted residents end up homeless

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[7] https://mg.co.za/article/2015-07-30-apartheids-bitter-legacy-taints-capes-new-urban-removals/

and others find their homes in the informal settlements where there are no basic sanitation services. Informal settlements also welcome those that are hit hard by the rising cost of living due to neoliberal policies and hence find it hard to afford the rising rentals in the formal settlements. In this regard, the work of community activists in advocating for the urban poor attempt to solve the problems created by neoliberal urbanisation.

In South African urban areas particularly Cape Town, the poor in the informal settlements are faced with difficulties accessing basic sanitation. The research report of the Human Development Agency (HDA) analysis of the census 2001 and 2011 indicates an insignificant change in the access to services particularly sanitation by the majority of residents in informal settlements of Cape Town.
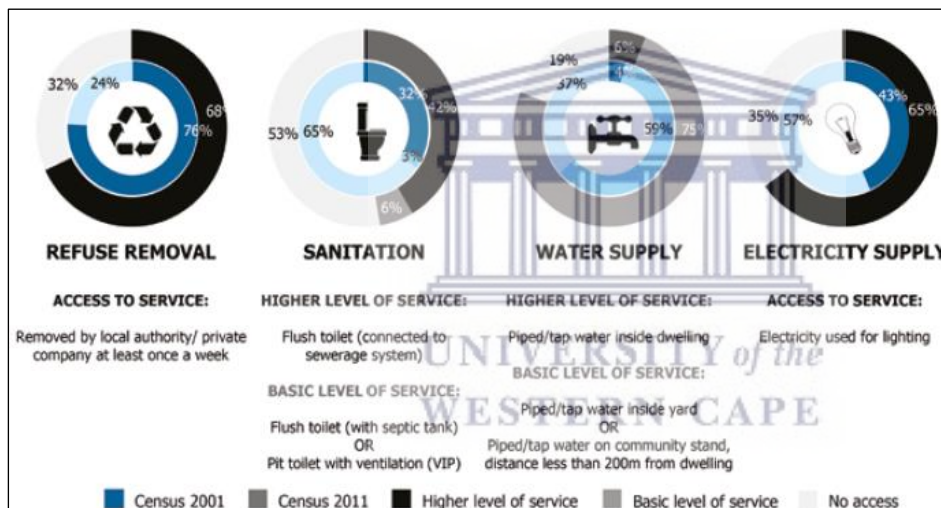
Figure 1.3. The Services Accessed in 2001 vs. 2011 City of Cape Town-Household Residing in "Shacks".
Source: South Africa Census 2001, Census 2011

The data do not indicate the location of toilets in the dwelling or yard. The graphs below indicate the type of toilet facility as well as those responsible for refuse collection and access to piped water.
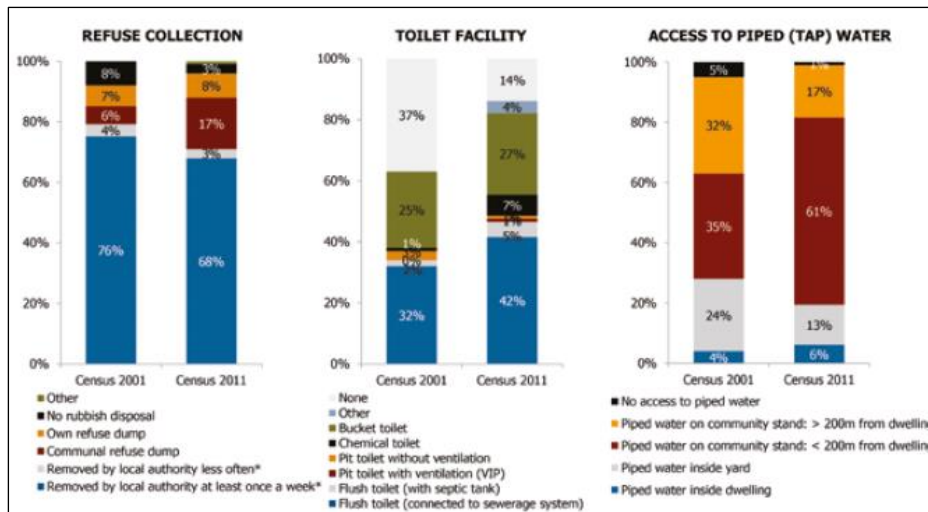
Figure 1.4. The Services Accessed in 2001 vs. 2011 in the City of Cape Town - Household Residing in "Shacks".

Source: South African Census 2001

The data do not indicate the location of toilets in the dwelling or yard.

Though the analysis indicates noticeable service improvement in 2011 compared with 2001, the big percentage of those living in shacks still have no access to services. The distance to flush toilets and piped water is projected to be within 200 meters from the dwelling which presents security concerns for the vulnerable groups. Rights to access services and security concerns have been heavily contested by the community activists from SJC and Ndifuna Ukwazi since 2011 (Ndifuna Ukwazi, 2014).

1.4   Activists and Alliances in the Struggle for Change in Cape Town Municipality (2009-2017).

Activists as drivers of change (Hawkins, Blackett, and Heymans, 2013) have continued to bridge the gap left behind by the dysfunctional state institutions and representing the voiceless. The activists from the Social Justice Coalition and Ndifuna Ukwazi have been fighting for social justice of the urban poor in the City of Cape Town particularly those that stay in the informal settlements. The SJC and NU closely work together in the demand for equity and sustainable sanitation services and inclusive service delivery in the city. The Social Justice Coalition supported by the Ndifuna Ukwazi launched two campaigns for social justice in the informal settlements of Khayelitsha. These campaigns are – "Clean and Safe Sanitation

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Campaign" (CSSC) and the "Justice and Safety for All Campaign". The two campaigns are interlinked in a way that using toilets in the informal settlement is the most dangerous activity with consequences of rape, robbery, stabbing and even death (Ndifuna Ukwazi, 2014; SJC, 2014, p.1). In 2011 on 27 April, the activists organised a march of approximately 2500-3000 people from different communities in Khayelitsha to hand over the petition entitled Memorandum on Access to Clean and Safe Sanitation Services in the City of Cape Town demanding a proper sanitation plan, which the City accepted (SJC, 2011; Weyers and Bawa 2018, p.69). In 2016, the group took the City to the High Court and the Equality Court demanding the right of access to sanitation of the poor, black and marginalised residents of informal settlements.

It's important to note that during the activism, SJC and NU have also worked together with other organisations such as Tshisimani Centre for Activist Education, Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), Equal Education (EE), and the Abahlali (Ndifuna Ukwazi, 2014). In this regard, the collaboration of activists appears to influence the political agendas and shift the power dynamics in urban areas in South Africa. These power dynamics are steadily impacting the social body of the urban sphere.
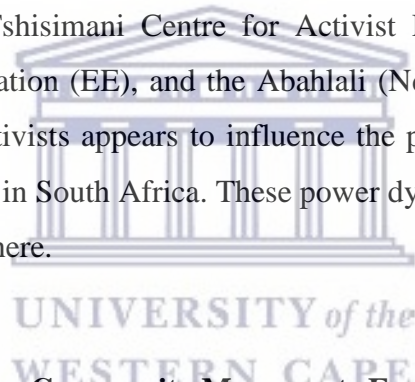
1.4.1 Social Justice Coalition: Community Movements Encountering the City on Sustainable Sanitation in the Informal Settlements (2009-2017)

SJC was formed in 2008 after the eruption of deadly xenophobic violence in Cape Town's Townships which claimed the lives of 60 people. The progressive civil society organisations that were based in Cape Town at the time, joined together to respond to the crisis (Ndifuna Ukwazi, 2014). After assisting the displaced people during the violence, the group of loose coalitions engaged each other in a reflection on the socio-economic drivers that they thought were the root of xenophobic attacks. The engagement with the communities suggested that poor service delivery of basic services, poverty, high-density of informality, and the competition of limited resources was some of the reasons for the attacks.

Meetings were held by loose groups of activists working around Khayelitsha township. During the meetings, the activists conceded that the respective organisation they represented in the

coalition were not engaging in social challenges at the grassroots level. Finally, the SJC emerged from the same loose coalition as a social movement focusing on the fight for spatial justice, equal distribution of resources, and building a strong voice for the urban poor people in Cape Town. Since its formation, the SJC has engaged in advocacy, negotiations, public protests, building branches in other informal settlements across Cape Town, and educating the activists. The movement has also done several social audits to ensure the accountability of service providers and local government officials (SJC 2014). The SJC is a member-based social movement with leadership structures and the employed workers that organise, plan for the movement. In the last ten years, they managed to *"influence the political agenda of the poor and working-class people into spaces of power"* (Weyers, and Bawa, 2018, p. 67).

The activists from the SJC partnered with the Ndifuna Ukwazi a movement that works and supports various movements operating in the City of Cape Town. The movement has jointly worked with the SJC in Sanitation campaigns in the informal settlements of Khayelitsha. The focus of this movement is on research, advocacy, education, litigation, audits, and drafting budgets to indicate the unfair budget allocations in the city. In 2014, the Ndifuna Ukwazi trained 15 activists from the SJC in courses such as policy, law, governance (Ndifuna Ukwazi, 2014). Their training aims at equipping activists with the knowledge of policy and legal procedures and how to hold leaders accountable. On 30 April 2015, the Ndifuna Ukwazi and Social Justice Coalition submitted a joint budget draft for the year 2015/2016, indicating unfair budget allocation in the City of Cape Town (SJC and NU, 2015). The idea here is to engage the decision-makers but also to understand how allocation decisions are made and who is responsible for decisions that affect people in informal settlements.

1.4.2 Khayelitsha Informal Settlements (RR Section, BM Section, Green Point Section)

The sanitation campaign covered many of the informal settlements around Khayelitsha Township such as Taiwan, Kanini, Indoveni, Empolweni, Makhaza, Msindweni, etc. However, the study focuses on the three informal settlements namely the RR section, BM section, and Green Point section. All three settlements are located in Khayelitsha Township. During the sanitation campaign, two of the informal settlements (BM section and Green Point section)

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received installation of toilet infrastructure. Whereas the RR section did not receive the installation of additional toilets but activists assisted in the identification of areas for improvement.

1.4.3   A brief Context of Khayelitsha

Khayelitsha was formed in the 1980s, becoming one of the segregated planning apartheid townships in Cape Town. Khayelitsha Township is situated in the South-Eastern part of Cape Town municipal area with a high concentration of poverty. Cape Town has one of the highest levels of inequality in the world, (UN-Habitat, 2010; Smit et al. 2016). It is also the highest across the cities in South Africa. Khayelitsha is one of the townships in Cape Town with high levels of unemployment and 54.5% of households living in informal settlements (Smit et al. 2016). More than 10% of Cape Town's population are residents of Khayelitsha and thus a home of approximately 392000 out of 3.7 million people residing in Cape Town as per census 2011 (Cole 2013; Smit et al. 2016).

Khayelitsha is the biggest African Black Township in the Western Cape with the largest informal settlements (Cole, 2013). The area has few houses with plumbing and water connections inside the houses, which means that the majority of the toilets particularly in the informal settlements use shared toilet units *"grouped together away from the units"* (Blair, 2012, p.10). The Greater Khayelitsha consists of both formal and informal settlements that are located within the four 'villages' and ten wards under the administration of Sub-council 9 in the Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality. The map below shows the location of Khayelitsha and area wards.
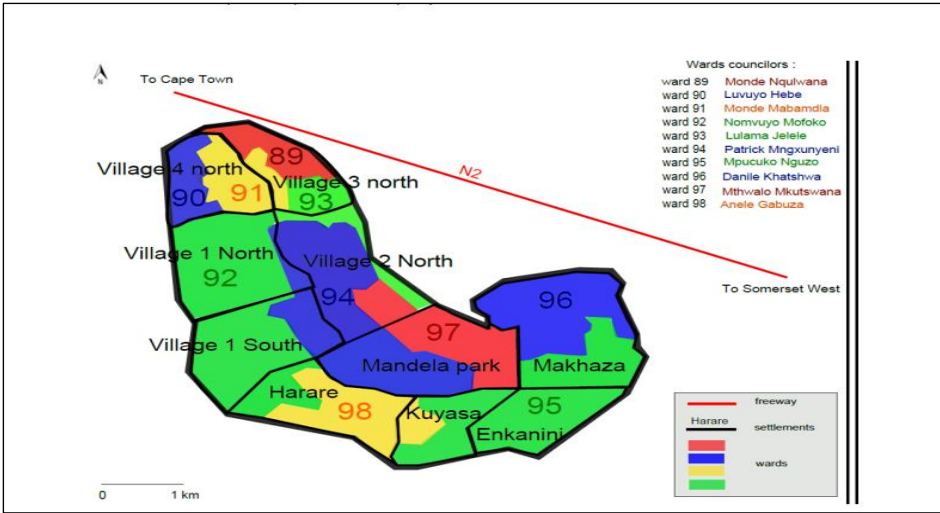
Figure 1.5. The location of Khayelitsha and the Wards
Source: DAG 2014.

The map below shows the location of Khayelitsha in the South-Eastern Cape Town CBD and the area location of the three informal settlements.
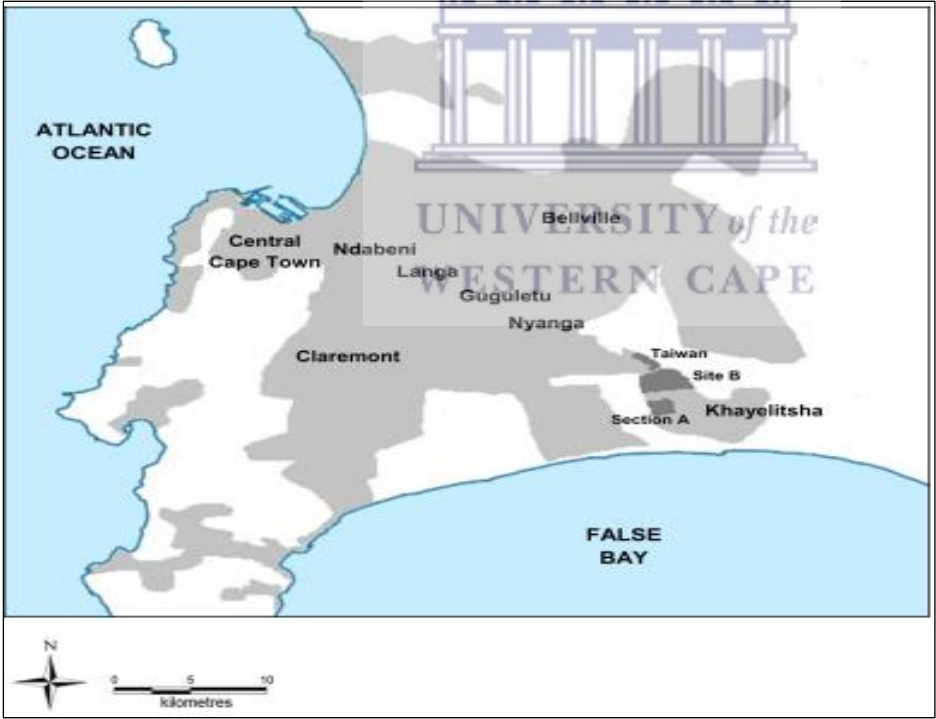
Figure 1.6. The Location of Khayelitsha in the South-East of Cape Town
Source: Smit et al. (2016).

1.5   Structure of the Thesis

This section presents chapters of the thesis and the discussions in each section of the chapters. The first chapter introduces the research problem, questions, aim, and objectives. The chapter contextualises the study giving a brief historical background and the forces behind the policy shift that appears to have an impact on sanitation priority areas in the city.

Chapter two explores the historical context of sanitation contestations in South Africa since the colonial period to the present. The chapter discusses the politics of sanitation that was characterised by land dispossession, wealth accumulation of the colonial masters (elite merchants-British and middle-class business-the Afrikaners), poor wages, selective sanitation budgeting, race, and ethnicity. The advice to the state on sanitation particularly by medical practitioners and their engagements with the colonial administration on the living conditions of the poor people is also covered here. The chapter also discusses the discontent of the natives that started taking shape with the emergence of the squatter movement and continued with boycotts and resistance until the system started showing signs of strains. The year 1994 marked the end of the apartheid regime and set the new dawn for a democratic South Africa. South Africa became a new democratic country with high regard for human values. Indeed, Article One of the founding constitution talks about some of the values of the new era as *'human dignity, achieving equality, advancing human rights and freedoms, voting rights, good governance, responsiveness accountability'* and so forth (RS 1996). The chapter finalises by giving the sanitation policy shift and contestations by the urban poor communities.

Chapter three presents the methodology, specifically the research methods, sampling procedures, field study, analysis, and presentation of data. Finally, the chapter explains the ethical consideration.

Chapter four presents the theoretical and conceptual debates on civic engagement, social action, and sanitation delivery in the global North and South. The chapter discusses the theories on community activism, advocacy for urban change, and social transformation. The historical events that changed sanitation planning in Europe are also explored to give the study lessons

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and inform the sanitation priorities in the global South. The global debates on the sanitation of marginalised communities and various sanitation approaches are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter five explores community activism and social change of the urban poor in the post-apartheid city. The chapter discusses the processes of engagements between the community activists and the urban officials with a special focus on the three informal settlements found in Khayelitsha Township. The chapter looks at the contestations on sanitation planning and the decision-making processes. The chapter also shows how community activists engage the urban officials on issues of sanitation in informal settlements. The chapter further explores the primacy of activism in the margins of society. It discusses the radical engagements and their role towards sustainable sanitation in the settlements of Cape Town. The engagements revolved around the demand for a sanitation plan that addresses the issues of toilet infrastructure, budgeting, information and awareness, safety, janitorial services, and job opportunities for residents.

Chapter six analyses the contestation towards urban change. It presents a brief history of sanitation policy development in South Africa and how the contestations have helped to shape the discussion around policy reforms. The chapter also presents the dynamics that affect sanitation delivery in the informal settlements of Cape Town.

Chapter seven presents the critique, recommendation, and conclusion. The chapter presents the key discussions in the study, giving a critique of the decision-making process in sanitation delivery in informal settlements. The chapter highlights the decision-making structure and the representation of the residents in the decision-making process. The engagement approaches and the contestations on the sustainability of sanitation as well as progress in sanitation policy demand are highlighted. Finally, the chapter recommends how sustainability of sanitation can be achieved.
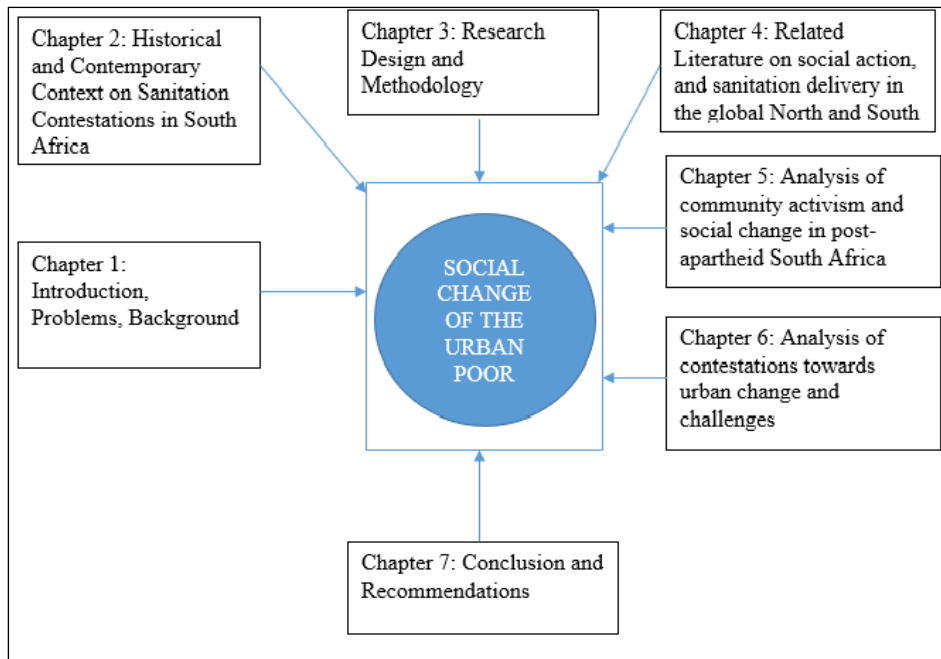
Figure 1.7. Thesis Coherence Flowchart
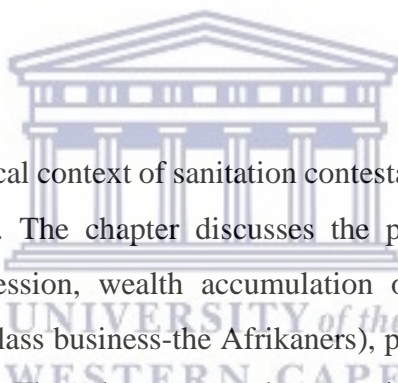
Source: Authors Construct 2021

CHAPTER 2:

SOCIAL STRUGGLES AND URBAN POOR SANITATION IN SOUTH AFRICA:
FROM COLONIAL AND APARTHEID 1872-1993

This section of the study deals with historical experiences on social and community activities during colonial and apartheid South Africa. The reason for reviewing the historical perspective, I believe that understanding the past will inform the approaches needed to tackle the present and the future challenges (Hunter, 2016; Balaton-Chrimes et al., 2016) faced by the urban poor in contemporary South Africa. This section is presented in chapter 2 after the introductory chapter on community activism and the background on social change and contestations that inform sanitation activism in contemporary South Africa. The background presented here also informs the analysis of chapters 5 and 6 on the historical sanitation planning contest that still affects the current development patterns in post-apartheid South Africa particularly Cape Town.

The chapter explores the historical context of sanitation contestations in South Africa since the colonial period to the present. The chapter discusses the politics of sanitation that was characterised by land dispossession, wealth accumulation of the colonial masters (elite merchants-British and middle-class business-the Afrikaners), poor wages, selective sanitation budgeting, race, and ethnicity. The advocacy work on sanitation particularly by medical practitioners and their engagements with the colonial administration on the living conditions of the poor people is also covered here. The growth of urbanisation created the challenge of disease outbreaks in the nineteenth and twentieth century and later resulted in the segregation of African natives. Just like any other struggles, the living conditions of the black people in South Africa were achieved under contestations. The chapter also discusses the discontent of the natives that started taking shape with the emergence of political mobilisation, particularly the ANC established in 1912, the squatter movement, and continued boycotts and resistance until the system started showing signs of strain. Throughout history since the 19th century, the studies indicate that the black less-skilled labourers lived in overcrowded dirty places and were at the receiving end of both colonial and apartheid systems. The literature seems to suggest that the past situation created by both colonial and apartheid segregation policies, still haunt the social fabric of the poor disadvantaged urban communities. Throughout this chapter, the

reviewed literature reveals that the period of the colonial and apartheid eras were characterised by segregation and lack of engagement between the colonial state and the subjects.

The issue of sanitation struggles in South Africa was first viewed as segregation but later came to be seen as racial discrimination. This section presents the periodisation of a brief historical background of sanitation struggles in pre-1994 South Africa. The review of these events can be understood in the context of social struggles, exclusion, and segregation using disease outbreaks as a political tool. In the colonial and apartheid system, sanitation infrastructure was used as an "apparatus of state control and was central to its attempts on social engineering" (Penner, 2010). Worth mentioning is that the period from 1882 to 1994 (pre-1994) as reviewed in this section, was a time where the minority whites oppressed the majority blacks referred to in this section as natives. In this regard, the period from the 19th century up until the late 20th century was a period of unequal powers with no socio-economic rights for black people. However, it is also true that the big part of the 20th century was dominated by contestations on the freedom and rights of the oppressed black people. The following is a summary of some of the events in the struggle for sanitation and socio-economic rights.

1882 – The Outbreak Small Pox exposed the sanitary challenges and the conditions of the poor.

1901 & 1918 – The Outbreak of bubonic plague and influenza and the pressure mounted by the taxpayers demanding for the relocation of blacks to Ndabeni and others later called for the locations to be removed from the city.

1910 – Colonial government deliberate settlement of the people of colour to Cape flats in a separate provision of native settlements. These were later followed by forced removals.

1912 – The formation of ANC as a movement to respond to the impending Natives Land Act of 1913 and thereafter 37 years the formation of ANC youth league as a radical wing.

1940's – The squatter movements of the discontented black communities.

1955 – The adoption of the Freedom Charter by the ANC and the alliance members.

1960 - The growing mobilisation by the PAC to resist and abandon the pass laws and other policies triggered a series of protests such as the Soweto uprising of 1976.

2.1 Dispossession, Capitalism, and Sanitation Challenge in Colonial South Africa.

The sanitation challenge in African cities particularly in South Africa appears to show historical patterns of colonial spatial planning that was characterised by dispossession, segregation, and impoverishment of Africans. African communities lived peacefully in the rural homestead until the colonial administration started imposing strict laws that seemed to favour the emerging capitalists who needed labour for production in the early 19th century (Callinicos, 1987; Feinberg, 1993; Fraser, 2007; Hall, 2014; Modise, and Mtshiselwa, 2013). The colonial administration introduced the land Act of 1913 that denied Africans the right to own land. The Act was followed by the unfortunate droughts, which forced the African people to move to the Rand (currently Johannesburg) in search of work. This exodus of African people in search of work later ended up creating overcrowded slums with no services provided to these areas by the municipality (Callinicos, 1987). However, the municipality would provide good services only to white areas which were separate from areas where Africans lived. Since they were very poor to pay rates, the poor African blacks had little said in the affairs of the municipality and how they were governed.

In colonial urban governance, those who owned properties as landlords and paid rates had a say in the affairs of the city. This meant that black Africans' existence in the city was only meant to provide cheap labour to colonial masters (Callinicos, 1987; Parnell, 1991). However, as per British policy of division and rule, some Africans worked closely with the British and hence were given a special status (Mamdani 2018). This suggests that through these processes, the social fabric of African communities was further detached from the social norms, and the spirit of cooperation, trust between the African people was destroyed. Even among the African working class, a different class started emerging. As capitalism started taking shape, Africans were even divided further along with social classes.

The emergence of industrialisation created two groups of workers - the skilled and the unskilled. The skilled workers lived in areas separate from where the unskilled lived and hence

had better living conditions (Callinicos, 1987). However, the houses these workers lived in were very small yet they were paid low wages and for the workers to manage and survive on the low salaries, they were forced to share their space so that they can pay less on rent. This led to poor living conditions as the result of overcrowding that finally captured the attention of medical practitioners.
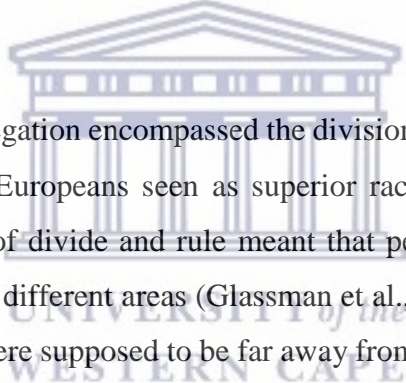
Meanwhile, the situation worsened in the African poor areas and the conditions were dire, the white voters continued to block every proposal to improve the living conditions of the poor (Callinicos 1987). In 1882 there was the outbreak of smallpox that became a threat to the life of the workers in crowded spaces and the neighbourhoods and caught the attention of health practitioners. The Medical practitioners in the towns of Rand continuously complained about the conditions the poor people lived under. The town council was compelled to appoint "an Insanitary Area Improvement Commission" in 1902 to inquire into the situation of 'Brickfields – Burghersdorp' deplorable structures of tin and iron (Callinicos 1987, P.72; Mabin, and Smit, 1992; Phillips, 2014). Even then, the action was only taken when the diseases hit the towns and started to spread all over the municipality including white areas. The outbreak of a dangerous disease called plague that killed many people in Europe hundreds of years ago threatened the wealthy whites due to how fast it spread. However, instead of improving the living conditions of the poor black people, the council gave them a location called 'Nancefield' out of town near the sewage dump (Callinicos 1987, P.72). This area later developed into a township known as Orlando in the 1930s which later become one of the suburbs of the famous Soweto.

The segregation of African people with no basic services such as water and sewage came with consequences not only for the blacks but whites as well (Callinicos 1987; Mabin, and Smit, 1992; Phillips, 2014). The outbreak of diseases that claimed the lives of both Africans and whites in the following years was due to the unhygienic living conditions of poor people.

2.1.1 Community Activism, Sanitisation, and Urban Segregation in Colonial South Africa

The colonial state in South Africa, just like in any other colonial state on the continent, used divide and rule as an instrument to disorganise, destabilise and disassemble Africans from

uniting to organise for liberation. Through separating Africans into groupings such as ethnic groupings, race groupings, and the creation of national bourgeoisies, the colonialist was able to break the African social bond. In other words, the plan to destabilise the social fabric of African communities would enable them to turn Africans into sham Europeans (Mamdani 2018). In the context of South Africa, the colonialists used other instruments to further downgrade and undermine natives. For instance, the colonialists initiated the system of segregation that created places only for whites, and blacks were never allowed to encroach on such areas reserved for whites. More still, under the system of segregation, the whites used race, wealth, and ethnicity to exclude certain groupings. More importantly, it was used to isolate non-whites from the places and services that were received by whites (Deacon, 1996). Scholars such as Parnell, (1991) claim that segregation was used by colonialists as a measure to sanitise areas that were occupied by whites through mass removals of Africans in areas that were occupied by whites.

The strategy used in urban segregation encompassed the division of Africans into groupings of race and ethnicity with white Europeans seen as superior race and ethnicity. The colonial system that practised the idea of divide and rule meant that people of a different race were separated and therefore lived in different areas (Glassman et al., 2018; Mamdani, 2001, 2018; Odukoya, 2018). These areas were supposed to be far away from where the white people lived and settled (Callinicos, 1987). In this regard, the system of segregation that divided people along racial lines was practised in the settlement of African people in urban areas.

The colonial government started the deliberate settlement of people of colour to the Cape Flats in Cape Town between 1877 and 1910, but before then there was no separate provision of native settlements. The segregation of African blacks was also taking place in other cities such as Johannesburg. According to Charles Porter who was appointed by Lord Milner in 1901 to be the first Johannesburg Medical Health Officer after being selected by Lionel Curtis who soon became colonial secretary, argued that blacks were very poor and their tribal habits made them less prepared to handle the health and social hazards in the city (Parnell, 1993, p.479). In this regard, porter believed and saw restricted control of blacks as an integral part of public health control that would reduce overcrowding and transform the urban sanitation status.

However, even when porter believed that this would solve the challenge of overcrowding, locations were left overcrowded regardless of his claim to demonstrate the relationship between health and poor housing development as the reason for these restrictions. These policies would eventually see more rights to the city for blacks being reduced and slowly leading to dispossession and segregation.

The colonial South African government policies practically implemented these laws of separating blacks and whites and other groupings on land, segregation on separate electoral rolls, and separate residential areas for different races. The proceeds of these policies also included the Natives (Urban Areas) Act which was first discussed in 1912 and put into law in 1923 and further underwent several amendments up until 1964 (Davenport, 1969, p97-98). The label of these ethnicities such as Natives, Coloured were a mere creation by the whites in directing policies and used by black elites to challenge policies or security services for their people (Bickford-Smith, 1995, p.445). The unfair Urban Areas Act of 1912 was a motivation to the formation of the African Native National Congress on 8 January 1912 to respond to the impending Land Act of 1913(Plaatje, 2004). The Act became a basis of territorial segregation and the stripping off of the rights to citizenship of all black Africans (Hall, 2014; Walker, 2014). The ANC adopted liberal means of activism tactics/protest such as petitions, publication, and delegation in decision-making to challenge the unjust colonial policies. In 1943, a section of ANC's young members protested the organisation's liberal approach in challenging injustice and formed the Youth League. The Youth League managed to persuade the ANC in 1949 to adopt a program of action taking a radical approach. In the years that followed, the ANC in alliance with other organisations such as the South African Indian Congress, Coloured People's Congress, South African Congress of Democrats, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions held a congress of the people in Kliptown Johannesburg and adopted a Freedom Charter in 1955(Alliance, S.A.C, 1955; Mazibuko, 2017). The Freedom Charter was very significant in a way that for the very first time African people gathered to plan their alternative society where the rights of everyone who lives in it would be respected. The Freedom Charter is thus one of the activism approaches undertaken by the African black people in response to the Urban Act that robbed the natives of their rights.

The following sections discuss the urban politics and sanitation situation in colonial South Africa that led to resistance by the oppressed black Africans. In the search for equal rights, the black African people had to bear the inhuman treatment and further labels of associating blacks to sanitation syndrome (Swanson, 1977).

2.1.2 Urban Politics, Change and the Filthiness in the Segregated City of the Cape Colony

While the great stink in London was due to the reluctance of the leadership to act, the filthy conditions in the Cape Colony were due to racial segregation. The urban development of Cape Town and the design was to a greater extent influenced by the colonial masters of Europe - London. Miraftab (2012) demonstrates how different professionals such as doctors, journalists, engineers always thought of advice from their home countries on the urbanisation of Cape Town. This indicates how the future of the colonial town seemed to define and shape the human settlement even in the years to come. Scholars in urban geography and history point out how the sanitary reforms in Cape Town were influenced by the sanitary reforms that took place in Britain during the health revolution of the great stink (Miraftab 2012; Warren, and Broodryk, 1992). This was after the English-speaking elite merchants criticised the sanitation of Cape Town in 1875 and advocated for a proper drainage system.

It is worth noting that in 1872 the population of Cape Town had increased to 45000, and approximately 35000 people lived in the municipality yet they still used an open drainage system. The wealthy class would pay for cleaners who were cleaning their neighbourhood but the poor class would clean neighbourhoods themselves (Miraftab 2012; Warren, 1986). Due to an increasing population and poor drainage system, the filth smell invaded the city which as result in 1876, Cape Town was labelled a *"city of stink"* (Miraftab 2012). It was until 1882 when the outbreak of smallpox forced the municipal board's councillors and elite merchants to push for sanitary reforms by introducing bills that raised taxes to finance the sanitary reforms. Even then, the politics of race, wealth, and ethnicity determined who would enjoy the transformed sanitation.

The rapid urbanisation in Cape Town in the late 19th century (1881-82) changed the dynamics of the local politics as the Act introduced then replaced municipal boards with municipal councils that had many powers (Warren, 1986). These powers were to a greater extent connected and influenced by ethnicity, wealth, and race. This means that the politics of ethnicity started playing out with the Europeans in much control as property owners and then in racial terms with the whites enjoying all the infrastructure benefits because they both had the powers to elect and be elected (Miraftab 2012) as opposed to other race. These superior powers exercised based on ethnicity, wealth and race led to the segregation of other groups and later excluded the people of colour (Feinberg, 1993). In this regard, the development of sanitation infrastructure in the nineteenth century was based on ethnicity, wealth, and racial politics. Urban inequalities of the 20th century were born out of racial exclusion.

In racial terms, blackness was associated with filth and this led to the exclusion of blacks in the development of sanitation as other races were not deemed fit to have proper sanitation infrastructure. The development of sanitation was allocated based on wealth, property, race and exacerbated by stereotypes that viewed blacks as dirty. This further fuelled segregation as the disease outbreaks particularly smallpox later led to the relocation of non-Europeans out of the capital into specific zoned locations (Parnell, 1993). The removal of non-Europeans gave birth to the creation of wealth for the whites and the beginning of white privileges. The poor started lodging complaints on the neglect of peripherals as these areas did not receive services of garbage collection or sanitation development as much focus was on the centre of the town, leaving the poor neighbourhoods in filth and smell (Warren, 1986; Warren, and Broodryk, 1992). Scholars such as Mamdani, (2018); Miraftab, (2012); Ranger, (2007); and Watson (2009) have thus argued that the current contestations in South Africa are deep-rooted in the past colonial arrangements of segregation and exclusion that were later amplified by the apartheid system.

2.1.3 Contested Urban Governance, Segregation, and Change in Colonial Cape Town

The colonial administration in Cape Town only focused on the development in the centre of town, neglecting peripherals. Scholars such as (Warren, 1986; Warren, and Broodryk, 1992) demonstrate how short market streets, the long street was first to be paved in what they viewed

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as selective expenditure allocation. The colonial administration was assisted by the ward commissioners and ward masters to run the colony. Due to marginalisation, the ward masters who were in charge of collecting fees, counting the number of tenants and overseers on behalf of colonialists would oppose the selective budgeting and demand for services to be approved for other parts of the municipality instead of giving attention only to the centre of the town. The contestation and conflict also arose as the demand for services between the municipal board and the colonialists over the responsibilities of each party including the householders intensified (Bickford-Smith, 1983).

One of the demanded services was the supply of water that redefined 1842 to 1847 anticolonial struggles in Cape Town that later united the municipal board and ward commissioners. However, the bid to force the colonial government to pay for its water services failed when the colonial government threatened to withdraw its financial muscle from the treasury (Bickford-Smith, 1983). Their motive was always to reduce the expenditure since they used indirect rule and the profits would be sent to England. This means that their intention was only to invest in areas that were beneficial to the colonial masters. Thus, it seems to suggest that even in the early years of colonialism, the development interests were much focused on businesses and property rather than human development.
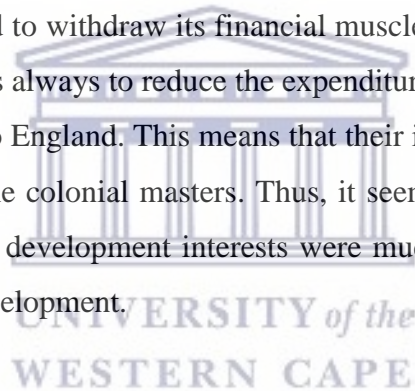
The demand for equal allocation of development ignited the struggle for an independent government with proper representation. The struggle for an independent government was pursued by the united group of municipal boards and commissioners' boards. This was also due to the changing composition as some of these were increasingly becoming wealthy (Bickford-Smith, 1983). In the process of establishing representative governments, Cape Town municipality became the first municipality to have representatives. This was a big victory for the middle class who seemed to defend the interest of local businesses than the elite merchants who worked for the colonial home country. However, the period that followed in the 1870s with the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly affected the temporary victory as class interests in the urbanisation of Cape Town infrastructure took a different turning point. These contestations came to form Cape Town's uneven municipal developments, with segregation on

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cards and the urbanisation processes that emerged out of these complex processes would then give birth to the system of apartheid and the current tensions in post-apartheid South Africa.

The contestation and debates on sanitation are deep-rooted in the colonial past and nothing new. The white community's attitude on race and sanitation was self-evident particularly by the head of health Charles Porter. One thing that seems similar is how different stakeholders engaged in sanitation development from colonial time to the present. Miraftab (2012) discussed the contestations between the clean party and the dirty party (as labelled by the media in nineteenth-century politics) on sanitation development. While the clean party advocated for the investment in sanitation, the dirty party strongly opposed the idea and defended their interest which they thought such development that needed an increase in taxes would affect their profitability as property owners. Though the clean party who saw themselves as reformers won and succeeded in reforming sanitation, the system of segregation slowly emerged out of this sanitation development, natives had no provisions in these reforms.

The focus of this study is not merely tracing the history of South Africa but to understand the politics of sanitation in Cape Town and demonstrate the impact that history has on the social engagements, cooperation between the state and the people in poor communities more in particular urban areas.

2.1.4 Blackness and Forced Removals as Sanitation Threat in the Segregated Cape Colony

The struggle for sanitation in Cape Town was characterised by racial bias and contestation for the urban space. The forced removals in the early 20th century in Cape Town were disguised as underlying racial preconceived as the matter of health, it was later disguised under racism (Miraftab, 2012). In the 1940s and 1950s, Cape Town became a segregated city (Williams, 2005). The racial removals were then extended to other racial groups such as Indians and coloureds.

2.1.4.1 Blacks' wants to be heard: Whites wants them removed

Since segregation was associated with sanitation syndrome, the outbreak of bubonic plague in 1901 saw the mounting pressure and calls from ratepayers in Cape Town demanding for the city to restrict blacks in white areas. Though the plague was carried by rats, the outbreak was still blamed on the presence of blacks in the city. Shortly after the outbreak, approximately 7000 blacks were relocated to Ndabeni controlled location which was initially established as a temporary location. The 1918 epidemic of influenza also raised calls from those who demanded that the location should be removed and the inhabitants took out of the city (Maylam 1995).

In response to the looming relocation, the representatives of the Ndabeni black community approached the minister in charge of natives' affairs to talk about the future of their community. The spokesperson of the community indicated to the minister that the whites wanted their "hands" to do the labour but were not willing to see their "faces". He wondered whether it was possible to send their hands to work without their faces appearing in the city (Maylam 1990, p.57). As Saunders observes, the creation of Ndabeni emerged out of pressure exerted by the white community who called for the creation of the location zone for black Africans. Therefore, the creation of Ndabeni like any other locations such as Langa, Nyanga, Khayelitsha, came as a result of segregation that pushed Africans out of the city and developed industries along with those areas for labour production.

The separation of people according to race and ethnicity in the Cape colony set the precedent of spatial patterns in Cape Town until today. In the post-Apartheid Cape Town, these patterns seem to be continuously deepening under neoliberalism that has further created social classes where the marginalised groups live in the urban fringes. Miraftab (2012) demonstrates how contemporary business improvement districts are quite similar to the colonial style of native area creation. In these improvement districts or central city improvement districts (CCIDS) only those with property rights have a say in the development of these areas. (Miraftab also argues that the neoliberal policies that are viewed to have originated from the north in the 1980s have their roots in the colonial past. Therefore, the past colonial and apartheid policies are heavily linked to the challenges of sanitation in contemporary Cape Town.

The white community in the colonial and apartheid eras largely influenced how the affairs of the state would be directed. The system of segregation was not only pursued by the colonial state but to a large extent driven by the pressure and demand from the white community. The policy of separation particularly was as a result of racial attitudes mainly by the whites (Swanson, 1977) who could not mix with the blacks. This is to suggest that segregation was born out of racism. Maylam (1995, p.25) cautions that it would be a "mistake" to perceive 'sanitation syndrome' as something that geared segregation. This brings him to an agreement with Swanson who believes that race relations played a role in portraying disease, infections and epidemics (Swanson 2017).

The outbreak of epidemic increasingly became a basis for segregation of other races on account of sanitation (Miraftab 2012). During this period of outbreak, the white communities demanded the removal of blacks who were seen as a sanitation challenge. This was to say that the presence of blacks in the city harboured the epidemic of plague and this was argued that their sanitary conditions were responsible for the spread of the epidemic (Miraftab 2012; Swanson 2013). In this regard, the white factor reigned over the Cape colony as it has been described by researchers such as Deacon (1996, p.291) as the "oldest and whitest city in the nineteenth-century South Africa" that hold a "special place in the history of segregation". Through the masterminding of racial cards and present English ethnicity as superior, they were able to create a white social class and privilege (Bickford-Smith, 1983).

The oppressive and intolerant treatment that was discussed in the previous sections, created a situation of discontent and tensions that will be discussed in the section that follows.

2.1.5 Contradictions, Discontent, and Squatter Movements

In the 1940s, these contradictions indicated in the discussions above started to raise a lot of discontent from the black communities and squatter movements started to gain momentum. Even before the 1940s, Maylam indicates how Africans campaigned against passes from 1910 until 1980 when the system started to show some "signs of breakdown" (Maylam 1990: p.78). The widespread of squatter camps was partly attributed to the treatment of African blacks by

the white masters in locations. In this regard, black Africans would prefer to stay in squatter areas where they were freer without the supervision of white masters (ibid).

The squatter resistance that emerged in the 1980s was part of the mass mobilisation and the discontent of the natives arising from the oppressive system of pass laws (Wale, 2016). In the 1940s and '50s, most Africans lived in squatters in Cape Town along the city's peripheries in areas such as Windermere. In the 1950s, Qotole, (2001) demonstrate how Africans used to manipulate the gaps within the system by squatting in the hope of getting housing. According to the law, the municipality would not be able to remove squatters if they could not provide housing for them. However, the nationalists worked around the clock to change the law to enable local governments to implement removals. The Act of 1951 "preventing of illegal squatting Act" and the "Natives laws amendment Act 0f 1952" later aided local governments to ban squatting (Qotole, 2001, p.108). However, some resisted this move and further demanded water, refuse services to be provided. For instance, the squatters in crossroads resisted removals and the government called it an emergence camp and provided amenities (Chadya, 2017). In this regard, community activism has always played a great role in ensuring that the state delivers basic services that are entitlement to the citizens and the community at large. It is community activism that ignited resistance to urban injustices in sanitation and other rights.

2.1.6   Urban Injustice, Sanitation, Resistance and Boycotts in Colonial South Africa

Throughout history in both the colonial and apartheid era, the oppressive conditions forced black Africans to opt for resistance and boycotts than democratic engagements with the regimes. These situations were dictated by the unfair political and social-economic systems that characterised these regimes (Musemwa, 1993). From the reviewed literature and records by different historians, it is very clear that the system of segregation eventually pushed Africans to act through different means such as boycott, resistance to removals, burning passes, squatting, and refusing to coordinate/cooperate with the oppressors (Maylam 1990, 1995; Musemwa, 1993).
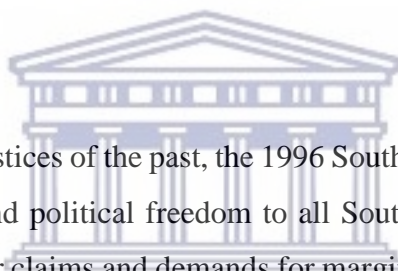
The resistance that started gaining momentum in the 1940s appears to have links with the social-economic situation that faced blacks in the South African townships particularly in Cape Town. Due to overcrowding, the sanitation situation in the townships started getting worse and disease outbreaks such as influenza, Tuberculosis became a threat to the black population. These conditions were made worse with the colonial policies that limited the movements of blacks and finally attracted resentment from the oppressed. Musemwa, (1993) demonstrates how the burning of passes that started in the Langa township and ignited other townships such as Kayamandi in Stellenbosch to follow suit. The demand and the message to the oppressor were to relieve them of restrictions such as passes that limited their movements and doing business. In this regard, it appears that the policies of the colonial government were a measure that was well designed to trap blacks in poverty and remain suppliers of cheap labour.

The victory of the National Party (NP) as the ruling party in 1948 did not bring any good fortunes and hope to blacks as one would have anticipated with the changing of guards. The National Party maintained the same restrictions of carrying passes and intensified the segregation of races through the system of apartheid. The growing injustice forced the oppressed to start mobilising African workers mainly under the Pan African Congress (PAC).

In 1960, Cape Town saw the growing mobilisation under PAC to resist and abandon the pass laws (Lodge, 1978). However, this campaign is viewed as a failure (ibid) but one would certainly agree that it laid a good foundation for resistance that later weakened the apartheid system. Steven demonstrates how non-violent action in South Africa weakened and led to the collapse of the apartheid regime (Zunes, 1999). It appears that a combination of resistance approaches on segregative policies including the famous Soweto uprising of 1976 was influenced by the character of the apartheid regime towards structural changes in the economy and society (Ndlovu, 2006). In this regard, community activism has historical and contemporary relevance in South Africa. The country's difficult experience and unfair past that possibly damaged citizen's trust has been a new task of a democratic government focusing on rebuilding a socially just society based on Batho Pele principles putting all the people first. This was made possible through the constitution that emphasises a deliberate, fair, and democratic engagement with communities and all other interest groups.

2.2 Democratic Dispensation and Sanitation Activism in the New Era of Constitutionalism from 1994 to Present

The year 1994 marked the end of the apartheid regime and set new dawn for a democratic South Africa. It was indeed a long walk to freedom' as the former president Nelson Mandela put it (Kotzé, 2006). The walls of the apartheid regime had fallen and the new era of constitutional rights had ushered in. The expectation of a better life for all was as evident as people queued in long lines to vote for the first black president (Desai, and Desāī, 2002). South Africa became a new democratic country with high regard for human values. Indeed, Article One of the founding constitution talks about some of the values of the new era as *human dignity, achieving equality, advancing human rights and freedoms, voting rights, good governance, responsiveness accountability* and so forth (RS 1996). In this regard, the understanding is that observing these values would form a basis for the social inclusion of the previously marginalised communities.

In an attempt to address the injustices of the past, the 1996 South African constitution promised the rights to socio-economic and political freedom to all South Africans. It is through these promises that activists base their claims and demands for marginalised communities. This is to suggest that, though the political rights have been achieved, the social and economic rights are still far from being achieved (Alexander, Runciman, and Ngwane, 2016; Alexander et al., 2018; Booysen, 2007; Hickey, and Du Toit, 2013), particularly in the context of this study, it is evidenced by the everyday frustrations and contestations of the marginalised people in the informal settlements. In 1994, the struggle to put an end to the oppressive regime had ended but the cracks of the past remained a challenge for the new democratically elected government.

The anti-apartheid activists in the new democratic government had to re-strategise on how to address these challenges in a new environment of a democratically elected government (Camay, and Gordon, 2002; Lamb, 2006; Pieterse, 1997). The culture and the style of interaction had completely changed as new political institutions guaranteed opportunities for engagement (Houston, 2001). However, after few years of inauguration into democracy, the movements continued to advocate for the social change of their members and most notably these include the unions, the ratepayer's associations, advocates for those forcefully evicted

from their land, environmental advocacy, and community-based organisations that advocates for the social justice (Camay, and Gordon, 2002).

After 1994, social movements took a back seat and allowed the democratic government to take charge of tackling key issues of national importance (Camay, and Gordon, 2002). This was based on the understanding that the state's aim was also to focus on achieving the same goal of social justice. Soon later, it became apparent that there was a need to continue monitoring the state as they delivered on the promises made to South Africans. The enactment of the 1996 Constitution allowed them to continue working alongside the state on the issues related to the Bill of Rights as stated in the constitution. In this regard, they worked along with the state on account of building a democratic state that embraces the human social, economic, and political rights of all South Africans. Camay and Gordon point out that much is still needed to protect citizens' rights and making the state account. This accountability is made possible through state-citizen engagement channels such as integrated development planning processes, discussion of policies, public hearings and consultation of the public, petitions, and so forth (Houston, 2001).
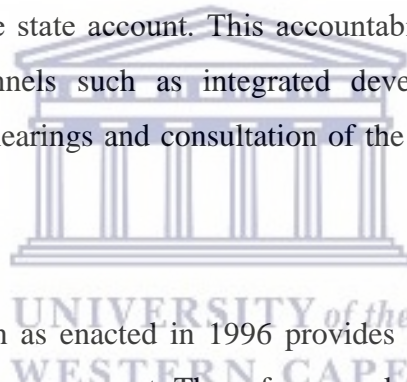
The South African constitution as enacted in 1996 provides for the necessary institutional frameworks that allow citizens engagement. These frameworks facilitate citizen participation in decision-making (Parliament of SA 2019). Section 59(1) and 72(1) obliges institutions with decision making powers to involve citizens in making a decision. In other words, involving in making decisions is a constitutional right as indicated in chapter 2 Bill of Rights.

The rights of participation meant that the constitution would then create "new democratic spaces" (Cornwall and Coelho 2007) of engagement where all South African citizens were invited to participate. It is then these spaces that mediate between the state and the society. These "intermediary spaces" act as channels where 'negotiations, exchange and sharing of information' take place (ibid: p.1). Cornwall and Coelho (2007: p.1) indicate that the "state" or "constitutional guarantees" provide these spaces. Cornwall and Coelho claim that these are the spaces exploited by non-governmental organisations to demand social inclusion. In other

words, they are spaces that elevate policy processes, and thus the discussions on the borderline between technical and political take place in this sphere.

Through these spaces, citizens express their frustrations and discontent through social activities such as protest, picketing, petition, and lobbying (Overy 2013; Thompson 2014). The actors in these spaces bring on different views or understanding of engagement (Cornwall and Coelho 2007) adding to new ways of engaging the state, hence showing different dimensions of participatory democracy. The participation of citizens in the decision-making process is acknowledged in the government's policy framework as public participation.

The national policy framework of 2005 defines public participation as the involvement of selected individuals in an open discussion where they can influence decision making. The definition further emphasises the active role of citizens in the development and operational services that affect them (Ministry of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2005, 2007)[8]. In this regard, the main objective of the lower structures of the government is to encourage citizens to partake in these processes.
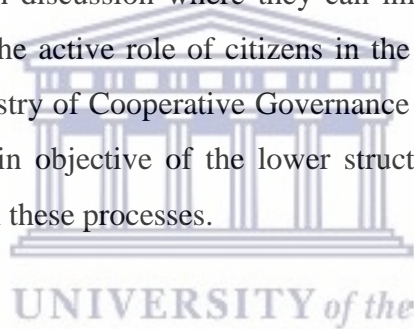
The Constitution further devolved the powers to the grass-root level to reach and encourage citizens and community organisations to participate in issues of local government (SA 1996). The aim was to ensure a democratic and accountable government at the lower level, provision of sustainable services, empowerment, and ensure a safe and healthy environment for the citizens. To achieve these requires the inclusion of key stakeholders in the processes of planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. Therefore, the involvement of communities in health or sanitation planning plays a big role in achieving universal health coverage.

According to WHO (2017, p.12), a community engagement framework for health services is defined as "a process of developing relationships that enable stakeholders to work together to

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[8] Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (2005; 2007)

address health-related issues and promote well-being to achieve positive health impact and outcomes". In this regard, the relationships between social movements-community activists and the state play a vital role in the development and social change of communities.

2.2.1   Spaces of Engagement and the Shifting Citizen State Relations

The main aim of the 1996 arguably progressive constitution was to build a democratic and socially just nation. As previously indicated in the previous section, after 1994, civil societies permitted the government to take a lead in delivering on the mandate received from the South African citizens as a democratically elected government. In this way, civil society assumed that the state was pursuing the same agenda and fighting the same cause. However, soon later they realised that it was necessary to keep a close watch on the state. The promises of equitable resource distribution and social rights as stipulated in the constitution were not forthcoming. In this regard, most of the social movement's organisations started finding ways to engage the state basing their claims in defence of the constitutional rights of the marginalised South Africans (Murray, and Spronk, 2019; Robins, 2008; Robins, 2014). The inherited governance challenges and lack of capacity at the local government level slowly started opening up spaces for "self-created" mobilisation and governance structures documented by the researchers as "invented" spaces (Cornwall, and Coelho. 2004, 2007; Miraftab, and Wills, 2005; Thompson, 2014).

The challenges of representation in the formal governance structures consequently led to the emergency of "invented" spaces for participation (Thompson and Conradie 2011; Thompson 2014). The most contested issues in the formal governance structures have been the limited agency to the urban poor community residents. The formal governance structures at the lower level appear distant and enjoy less trust from the people they represent (Thompson, 2014; Thompson, Conradie, and Tsolekile de Wet, 2014; Williams 2009). Thompson's study claims that the residents in urban poor areas (townships and informal settlements) seem to trust informal (invented) spaces of governance (Thompson 2014). This is to suggest that there are some strong networks of community engagement structures available to urban poor residents in South Africa and Cape Town townships in particular (Chiwarawara, 2014). However, it is

important to categorically make it clear that these networks work differently with different approaches and tactics depending on the issue at hand.

The approaches and tactics of these networks are influenced by the issues and the challenges faced by the members of the community. Amidst these challenges, the politicisation of these issues often comes into the mix as some of these spaces are turned into arenas for political contestation (Overy 2013). In this regard, some networks and their style of operation may also be influenced by the alliance partners (Tapscott, 2017). However, this claim can be explained by exploring both "invited" and "invented" (Formal and Informal) spaces of participation, tracing their partnership links and how these links largely influence their operation style in informal settlements more in particular Khayelitsha.

2.2.2   Invited and Invented Spaces in Sanitation Contest: Tracing their Links

The research breaking publication on the invited and invented spaces of participation edited by Cornwall and Coelho (2004) indicate how the democratic and constitutional reforms created an opportunity for citizen participation spheres. In this edition, Williams (2004) observes that constitutional guarantees have created a chance for citizens to contribute meaningfully in the matters of local governance. He, for instance, indicates that the local leaders were obliged to consult residents on matters of integrated development planning at the local level. For this reason, in 1999 the City of Cape Town created the Area Coordinating Teams (ACT) in different townships as an attempt to empower the historically marginalised groups. However, the study revealed that public participation in ACTs had structural limitations as they served the purpose of those that consulted residents (Williams, 2004). Since the ACTs involve city officials and the councillors in the ward committees, this posed a temptation of power relations and possibly elite capture within this inviting space, the ward.

The ward committee is the lowest institutional channel of communication in the local government in the Republic of South Africa. The Act on municipal structures 1998 requires the municipality to establish mechanisms through which communities and community organisations can be consulted and allowed to take part in the planning and development programs of their community. The ward committee becomes the link between the ward

representative (councillor), the community, and the municipality. In this regard, the ward committee becomes a consultative body of the municipal council on the following matters:

- Representation of the community in compiling and implementing the integrated development plan,

- Enabling a meaningful interaction between the community and the municipality

- Acting in all matters that affect and are beneficial to the community

- Enable the community to actively participate in the municipal budgeting process (Cogta, 2020)9.
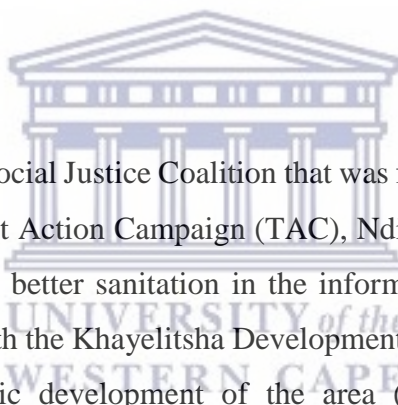
However, ward committees as invited spaces have been questioned as to whether they have managed to fulfil these functions (Qwabe, and Mdaka, 2011; Smith, and De Visser, 2009). The study conducted in the Msunduzi municipality of Kwazu-Natal, Piper, and Deacon, reveals that the ward system was poorly developed to work independently. They claim that the success of the ward relies heavily on the strength of the ward councillors, the political will of parties involved, and the support from the municipality. Over-reliance on the three factors makes ward committees inefficient in fulfilling the initial obligation which is enhancing participation and empowering local marginalised communities. This partly explains the emergence of invented spaces of participation in the local politics of South Africa.

On the other hand, some of the invented spaces have not escaped the over-dependency syndrome from the alliance partners. Some of the "self-created" mobilisation structures have some close ties with political parties, for example, the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO). Formed in Uitenhage Eastern Cape in 1992 by the ANC royalist in the struggle and other non-governmental organisations, it enjoys a good support base in Cape Town townships. Some of the social movements which had close ties with political parties had difficulties after 1994 as most of their members were absorbed into the new democratic government (Thompson and Conradie 2011; Thompson, Conradie, and Tsolekile de Wet,

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9 The municipal ward committees: What you need to know. Available at: http://www.cogta.gov.za/?p=2134. Accessed on 5/1/2020. 2:43 am. See also the Municipal structures Act of 1998 section 74 (a) and section 74 (b).

2014) and in the past, there have been claims of factional battles amongst members of this grouping.

There was also rivalry between the two prominent poo activists who were leaders of the Seskhona People's Rights Movement and former councillors of the ruling party (Colvin and Robins, 2017). These were part of ANC activists' group and Youth League who discovered open toilets in Makhaza and started battles with the city on the account of violation of human rights. The movement used a radical approach to the demand for sanitation and employment of the marginalised people in Cape Town townships (Barnes, 2018; Baxter, and Mtshali, 2020; McFarlane, and Silver, 2017). The movement had a close link with the ruling party (ANC) but later fell out on claims of unfulfilled promises to the people in the informal settlements. This group initially worked with other coalitions to demand sanitation but later disagreed on the approach of protest.

Social movements such as the Social Justice Coalition that was formed in 2008, also work with other movements like Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), Ndifuna Ukwazi (NU), and Equal Education (EE) in the fight for better sanitation in the informal settlements in Khayelitsha. These movements also work with the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF) formed in 1992 to facilitate the socio-economic development of the area (Thompson 2014; Thompson, Conradie, and Tsolekile de Wet, 2014). Due to high levels of unemployment and poverty, Khayelitsha is also characterised by informal settlements and thus organisation like Informal settlements Networks (ISN) also operates in these areas.

Most of these social movements work with the local governments (Thompson, Conradie, and Tsolekile de Wet, 2014) and provide a link between the state and the residents. In this way, they try to promote community involvement in community development programs. Thompson (2014) claims that social movements with no links of political affiliation seem to enjoy support and trust from the residents in the townships as a result of less trust in political representation. Thompson, Africa, and Tsolekile de Wet, (2014) claim that residents have become sceptical of the need to engage in governments representation channels in decision-making processes (See also Alexander, 2010; Alexander, Runciman, and Ngwane, 2016; Alexander et al. 2018;

Booysen, 2007). This means that community-based organisations are viewed by the residents as an alternative channel of representation for the marginalised people in the informal settlements.

2.2.3 Policy Contestation, Representation, and Activists Issue-Based Struggle

The representation of the marginalised communities by community activists appears to be based on the issues affecting their members (Camay, and Gordon, 2002; Naidoo, 2010). The issue-based struggles became more apparent in the new democratic government as the urban poor started resisting the neoliberal approaches (Naidoo, 2007). For instance, the Soweto electricity crisis fought vigorously to prevent their members from paying electricity and another resistance was against water charges. The water and electricity were cut off as the cities of Johannesburg and Cape Town demanded the poor to pay for these services, consequently led to the resistance of the urban poor organised under social movements.

Between the years 1994 to 1999, the government received criticism from the organisations such as COSATU, SASCO, and SANCO (Naidoo 2010, p.128) because of policy changes from RDP to GEAR that dramatically increased the number of poor people being evicted. Another contestation arose from the students and community protests as government policies became more questionable as to whether they are pro-poor (Bond 2000). For instance, in the protest that took place in Eldorado Park a coloured township in 1997 that resulted in the death of 4 people, the residents demanded lower municipal rates on basic services (Naidoo 2010). Many of these struggles argue Naidoo led to the emergence of new movements such as Concerned Citizens Forum in Durban (CCF) which fought against evictions and cut-offs, the Anti-Eviction campaign in the Western Cape (AEC) which defended the evictions on the cape flats, the Ant-Privatisation Forum which saw the students and communities protesting against privatisation at Witwatersrand University and the City of Johannesburg, the Landless Peoples Movement (LPM) in 2001 that aimed to protect the interests of farmworkers and demanded redistribution of land, Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) an activist group that fought for the provision of HIV drugs to HIV patients and demanded that government improve the urgency on the matters of HIV/AIDS priority and finally the shack dwellers movement Abahlali Base Mjondolo

(ABM) that started 2005 in Durban demanding that the state attends to the matters of the homeless and the people staying and living in the Shacks (Ballard et al.,2006; Naidoo, 2010).

This clearly explains that the policy priorities of the post-apartheid government were getting off the rail to the response that would be expected from the once revolutionary organisation that was now in a driving seat. The adoption of the reconstruction and development program (RDP) of 1994 had raised expectations (Naidoo, 2010) and hopes for many South Africans who were forcefully dispossessed of their land, properties, and lacked necessities (Desai, and Desāi, 2002). The RDP had set up ambitious targets to provide the basic services such as 'housing, land redistribution, electricity, water supply, sanitation, health care, education, nutrition and environmental, telecommunication services, transport' within five years (Blumenfeld, 1997, p, 70). The sudden abandoning of the program for growth employment and redistribution (GEAR) of 1996 which is described as "a gradual embracing of neoliberalism" (Adelzadeh, 1996.p, 66) crushed the dreams and hopes of the poor and the marginalised.

The contestations from these social movement groups and sometimes community activists were driven by the demand for social transformation and promise that RDP had envisioned. This was certainly a challenging time for the ruling government as they tried to engage those on the left. It was expected that the democratic government would fulfil the obligation to bridge the gap of inequality through equal distribution of resources. In this regard, the local government would be an important factor in bringing services to the grassroots level and this of Couse meant that they would also engage key stakeholders in the planning processes. However, the challenge of governance at the local level has been linked with the poor service delivery in the local governments (Atkinson, 2007; Tapscott, 2017) and this appears to have influenced the emergence of community activists to fill in these gaps as earlier discussed.

2.2.4   Transformation towards Sanitation Policy Development

The literature in the previous sections on colonial and apartheid reveals that the colonial and apartheid governments were highly centralised, characterised by minority white domination and racial segregation. Thus, the first task of the post-apartheid South Africa under a transformative constitution was to decentralise the governance system through municipal

governance structures, extending services to all South Africans particularly blacks (Hattingh et al. 2007). The bill of rights contained in the constitution entitles all South Africans to live in a good environment, which does not threaten health and well-being (RS 1996). This was due to the realisation that the previous regimes excluded the majority of South Africans from socio-economic opportunities.

In 1996, the national government began to implement new policies to establish sanitation systems in areas that were already occupied by the black South Africans (Hattingh et al. 2007). The municipal governments were mandated to fulfil the promises enshrined in the constitution by providing equitable services like water and sanitation. The policies to this effect included the "Water services Act" (WSA) of 1997, the "National Environmental Management Act" (NEMA) of 1998, and the "National Water Act" (NWA) of 1998. The services were assigned to the "Department of Water Affairs and Forestry" (DWAF) through community programs for water supply and sanitation (Muller 2003). These programs were implemented on the premise that "Water is Life, Sanitation is Dignity". In this regard, every South African would enjoy safe water as well as dignified sanitation services. It was expected that these institutions would be more responsive to the community and engage those that they serve.

The decentralisation of basic services into the Municipal Systems Act began in 2000. This meant that local governments were given the responsibility to deliver water and sanitation services to the residents within their jurisdiction. The local governments would use the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) approved by the national government to fund the water and sanitation programs intended at improving water supply and sanitation services. Alternatively, local governments would also use funds that were collected at the local level.

The national government launched another policy plan called "the water ladder" to ensure the effective distribution of sanitation services to all beneficiaries (Sindane, 2006). The sanitation system was to ensure that the supply of communal facilities is close to the households meant to use these services. The toilets for the households would then be connected to the municipal sewage management system to ensure improved sanitation for all residents ().

Since 2003, there has been significant improvement in sanitation across all provinces in South Africa. Some households have access to flush toilets but a certain percentage still use pit latrines and bucket systems (Alexander, 2010; Amisi, and Nojiyeza, 2008; Atkinson, 2007; Robins, 2014; Thompson and Conradie 2011; Xabendlini, 2010). In urbanised provinces particularly Gauteng and Western Cape, there are flush toilets connected to the public sewerage systems. However, the state of these public toilets is still contested particularly those in the informal settlements. The density of informal settlements poses security threats especially at night which forces residents to resort to bucket toilets as the only option to relieve themselves at night.

The plight of the poor in the informal settlements has captured the attention of the media, scholars, non-governmental organisations, and community activists (Robins 2014c). Most of these community activists have built an alliance with several networks to push for social justice in marginalised communities. The demand for a clear policy has been part of their campaigns.

2.2.5 Sanitation Policy in South Africa

The development plans and policy reforms on sanitation in South Africa started with the establishment of the "Department of Water Affairs and Forestry" (DWAF) that incorporated all previous staff into a single unit. The Water supply and Sanitation white paper were drafted in 1994 as a basis to address the local government backlog (DWAF 1994). Local governments were tasked by the 1996 Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) to provide sanitation services to all. However, the DWAF remained with the mandate to provide water and sanitation to areas where local government structures are lacking. The plan to provide and extend sanitation services to all led to the formation of a national sanitation task team (NSTT) that worked closely with the Mvula Trust formed in 1995 and together with all stakeholders led to the compilation of a 1996 White paper on sanitation. The White paper formed a basis for the improvement of the sanitation program in 1996 and was later reviewed in 1998(DWAF 1998). In the year 2000, the NSTT initiated a plan to update the White paper with the developments gained over time on national and local government, this finally formulated the White paper on Household that was endorsed by Parliament in 2001 (DWAF 2001). In all these processes, the involvement of communities in decision-making and implementation was always emphasised. However, due

to a lack of clear policy guidelines specifying the tasks and plans, the implementation of these programs did not meet the expected goals as millions of people still lacked access to sanitation (Mjoli 2010).

The debate on sanitation policy development in South Africa started gaining ground in 2002 at the conference for African Sanitation and Hygiene held in Durban South Africa (Lane, 2004). The conference aimed at accelerating the African sanitation policy which was used as a case study in South Africa. The policy was discussed in line with the millennium development goals and the purpose of the "New Partnership for Africa's Development" (NEPAD)[10]. The South African vision on sanitation was to reduce the backlog by 2010 and achieve the MDG (Mjoli, 2010). The study that reviewed sanitation policy and practices in South Africa indicated a lot of bottlenecks that hampered the development of sustainable sanitation in the marginalised groups (Mjoli, 2010). The lack of policy guidelines on how to service the informal settlements also proved a big challenge to local governments. In this regard, there is a policy gap in addressing the needs of the vulnerable groups such as the poor, the disabled, HIV/AIDS patients, elderly, women, children, child-headed households, and so forth.

In 2012, the department of human settlement together with stakeholders in sanitation reviewed the household policy of 2001 to create a draft national sanitation policy that was used to regulate sanitation nationally (DWS 2016). The national sanitation policy draft of 2012 was never submitted to the cabinet for approval. Nevertheless, the sanitation policy review of 2016 included the part of the 2012 national sanitation policy draft that was still relevant to the current environment.

The next section discusses some of the highlights and the landmarks of the community activist's sanitation struggles in Cape Town Township particularly Khayelitsha. This section also explores the key moments that defined and influenced the community social action starting

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[10] The sanitation policy draft document prepared for presentation at the Durban 2002 African Sanitation and Hygiene conference. This document initially designed as a case study on sanitation policy implementation and practice. https://www.gov.za/documents/sanitation-policy-and-practice-development-preliminary-draft-paper.

from 2008 to 2016. The condition of sanitation infrastructure in informal settlements is explored.

2.2.6 The Sanitation Challenges facing the Urban Poor in Cape Town

The efforts of the new democratic government to improve the daily lived experience of the marginalised poor seemed clear on paper but certainly the opposite in practice. The promises in government documents like the white paper on the sanitation of 1994, the Constitution of the Republic 1996 on the Bill of Rights, raised hope and expectations. After 1994, the democratic government started facing the reality of poverty, unemployment, and marginalisation created by the colonial and apartheid regimes. The 1996 constitution had restored the people's rights and citisenship with entitlements to dignified living conditions but somewhat the social conditions appear to remain the same (Tapscott, 2017). It is important to note that the past regimes were characterised by dispossession and exclusionary policies that marginalised African people socially, economically, and politically (Desai, and Desāī, 2002; Tapscott, 2017, Williams 2005; 2006, 2009). Even after the launch of democracy, the colonial and apartheid spatial planning, particularly in Cape Town, did not change. The anti-eviction campaign that happened in Cape Town immediately after democracy attests to the social imbalance as marginalised communities claimed the right to dignity. In this regard, the social movement struggles post-1994 signified the plight of the poor engaging the complex urban system that was historically designed to exclude and marginalise other groups.

The social struggles that transpired after the inauguration of democracy most of which were inspired by the activists from the poor communities, were the struggles fighting for dignity (Desai, and Desāī, 2002; Heywood, 2020; Johansson, 2019; Williams, 1989). Though some of them never received exactly what they wanted, these struggles were very significant in making claims of the demand for social change (Williams 2005). In this regard, the struggles for service delivery like water and sanitation define the everyday life of the urban poor particularly those in the informal settlements.

The widely acknowledged landmark of people's struggle in Cape Town was the Grootboom case of 1998. The group of 390 adults and 510 children (Williams 2005, p.219) were living in inhumane conditions. With the help of activists and attorneys, they approached the court after

their homes (shacks) were bulldozed because they had occupied the land illegally. The court pronouncement made it clear that the state had failed the obligation to the people. The court then ordered the state to provide them with temporary shelter with water and portable toilets, and the state obliged. This case proved significant in the struggle of the urban poor as it triggered questions on how to improve the lives of the people in the informal settlements as noted by Williams (2005, p.228) quoting the response of the former minister of housing Sankei Mthembi-Mahanyele. In this regard, the Grootboom struggle raised questions of resource allocation and the need to prioritise improvements in the lives of people living in deplorable conditions.

The community struggles in the Western Cape continued against the eviction of poor people from their homes. The anti-eviction movement group in the Western Cape was formed in 2001 by organisations from marginalised communities to fight evictions and water cut-offs (Oldfield, and Stokke, 2006). During the campaign, the activists seemed to demand their constitutional rights, delivery of basic services, and protection against neoliberal policies affecting the lives of the poor (Miraftab, and Wills, 2005). Miraftab and Wills argue that the campaign also opened the gaps for inclusive citizenship challenging the bureaucratic limited space of formal participation. The activists vigorously engaged the authorities and the city of Tygerberg to stop them from evicting their poor members and denying them a chance to have a shelter and other services like water and sanitation.

In 1999 the evictions in Mandela Park were on cards which saw 13 families being evicted in September and the united force of the community fought back the police and the sheriffs to return the evicted families to their houses (Desai, and Pithouse, 2004; Miraftab, and Wills, 2005). The community through the Anti-Privatisation Forum got in touch with the Anti-Eviction Campaign and finally linked with other areas that were affected by the evictions. This was a spontaneous poor people's effort to resist the neoliberal practices and thus popularly viewed as "Poor People's Movement" (Gibson, 2004; Tournadre, 2017).

In 1986 the banks working with the government at the time purchased the land and built low-cost housing with private contractors. These houses were ready for occupation in 1988 and the

people paid a deposit of R500 to the banks. The tenants complained of poor-quality finishing, cracks in the houses, and other related problems but their complaints were ignored. The tenants in these houses then refused to pay bonds and demanded that these problems be attended to but others claimed that they did not have money to pay (Desai, and Pithouse, 2004). Furthermore, since it was private property, there were no public developments provided around or near these houses such as schools, clinics and tenants had to pay for electricity and water. However, it must be noted that the resistance was a collective effort of both the community and activists fighting for the dignity and social transformation of the society (See also Williams 1989).

Though this was seen as a fight for dignity, twenty years later the poor people, especially in the informal settlements, are confronted by life-threatening sanitary conditions. Since 2008, events have unfolded as the urban poor contest the deplorable conditions in the informal settlements. The next section discusses the genesis of the sanitation campaign and community activist programs that paralyzed the City of Cape Town's bureaucracy.

2.2.7 The Genesis of Sanitation Campaign and the Community Activists' Action Programs

The sanitation wars in Cape Town did not start with the ongoing contestations between the community activists and the urban establishment. The climax of these contestations emerged from the 2008 xenophobic attacks that left many foreign nationals dead, injured, and displaced. The unprecedented level of violence caught the attention of community activists who assessed the level of community social intolerance. In 2008, a group of loose organisations met to deliberate the causes of the xenophobic. After considerations it was clear that the worsening social conditions in the informal settlements triggered the anger of those who felt that their situations were caused by the foreign nationals taking their jobs. However, they realised that there was more to the violence than just foreigners taking away their jobs. During the meetings, the issues of sanitation and safety were tipped as part of the problems that created anger and frustrations (SJC, 2014). In this regard, social decay in the urban poor communities led to the formation of a community movement that later was organised under one umbrella as the Social Justice Coalition.

The Social Justice Coalition launched sanitation campaigns were in 2009. The campaigns demanded access to clean water and toilets that are dignified and can be sustainable. This coalition was used to engage different structures of the city that are responsible for the social infrastructure in the informal settlements. Several other campaigns included police resources which demanded a commission of inquiry into policing in Khayelitsha. It was popularly known as the O'Regan-Pikoli Commission of Inquiry[11]. This campaign started in 2011 where activists approached the Western Cape Government to establish a commission that would look at individual cases where rights were violated. The commission took place after an unsuccessful court challenge by the minister of police to stop it or weaken its powers. Like the Grootboom case, this was also a significant battle won by the Khayelitsha community and the activists that represented them in court.

The third campaign is commonly known as SJC10 that applied civil disobedience to compel the city to engage the activists. On 11 September 2013, a group of 21 activists chained themselves in front of the Cape Town Civic Centre where the Mayor of Cape Town's office is allocated. The group was arrested and charged with breaking sec 12(1) of gatherings act (CGA) which they later challenged in court as unconstitutional and a remnant of apartheid regulation. The final judgment ruled declaring the act unconstitutional. The ruling stated that

> "The criminalisation of a gathering of more than 15 on the basis that no notice was given violates s 17 of the Constitution as it deters people from exercising their fundamental right to assemble peacefully unarmed…the limitation is not reasonable and justifiable in an open and democratic society, based on the values of freedom, dignity, and equality…Section 12 (1) (a) of the RGA is hereby declared unconstitutional".

The high court ruling was however appealed by the minister of police in the constitutional court. The SJC10 case was then presented in the constitutional court on the 21st of August 2018. The constitutional court also ruled that sec 12 (1) gatherings act was indeed found not constitutional. Here is the detail of judgment:

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[11] See the SJC Website available at: https://sjc.org.za/campaigns/police-resources

"People who lack political and economic power have only protested as a tool to communicate their legitimate concerns. To take away that tool would undermine the promise in the Constitution's preamble that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, and not only a powerful elite. It would also frustrate a stanchion of our democracy: public participation. This is all the more pertinent given the increasing rates of protest in constitutional South Africa lately."

Thus, the determined spirit of the community activists in poor communities cannot be understated.

The safety and justice program in 2016 launched a campaign on public lighting in informal communities. Lack of public lighting in the informal communities has been highlighted as one of the major causes of crime that leads to murder, robbery, and serious bodily harm. The activists obtained the public lighting map of Khayelitsha and Nyanga which shows how resources are unequally distributed. The engagements between the activists and the major yielded some positive results as the R40 million was committed for lighting in the next three years. The informal settlements face complex challenges due to density and the lack of land tenure for the upgrade.
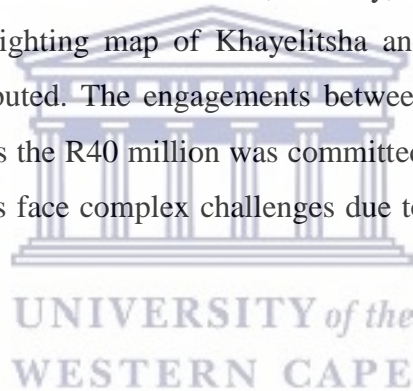
The land tenure and upgrading of the informal settlements program (UISP) are also being pursued by the activists in a bid to advance the social conditions of the poor people in informal settlements (Overy, 2013). Land tenure is one of the major challenges facing the urban poor in urban slums around the globe. In South Africa, this challenge is exacerbated by the country's history of dispossession during the colonial and apartheid regime. In this regard, the activists are advocating for in-situ upgrading that allows communities to stay in the same area, without being relocated and maintain their social ties. They argue that this can be done by adopting the incremental approach where upgrades will be done in four stages and that this will not disorganise the social life of the residents (SJC Website[12]). The activists also call for the

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[12] SJC advocates for In-situ upgrading that adopts incremental approach that will be planned in 4 stages/phases. The first stage- Application-registration of households, Second stage- as "project initiation-Acquiring land where required through" negotiations/repatriation or owned by municipal, 3ʳᵈ stage-Implementation-formalizing of land

security of tenure that will allow residents to stay on the land without threats of evictions. Though the idea of in-situ upgrading using an incremental approach sounds interesting, the activists concede the possible complications that may arise as the project progresses and thus indicate that it will require a case-by-case assessment.

In the past, the City of Cape Town has challenged the activists for not offering alternative plans in solving the plight of the poor in the informal settlements. Therefore, it appears that this in-situ upgrading using the incremental approach is a response to the city's challenge.

2.2.8 Community Public Toilets in the Informal Settlements on the Spotlight

The contestations on sanitation in Cape Town date back in history but the post-apartheid battles particularly in Khayelitsha informal settlements caught the global and the nation's attention in 2008 after a deadly attack on foreign nationals. Since 2008, there has been a series of events that have attracted the attention of the media, scholars, commentators, and politicians. This section discusses the events that started in 2011 to 2020. The events include the famous local government elections dubbed variously in the media as election toilets, the poo protest, sanitation summit, demands for participatory budgeting, debates on the informal settlements upgrading, challenging the view that informal settlements are illegal and the unprecedented global Corona Virus pandemic.

The politics of public toilets in the City of Cape Town is very complex. It appears to be defined by the spatial planning of the past colonial and apartheid regime. Traversing across Cape Town, one would realise that there is a differentiation in public toilets based on location, social class, and race. This has been a point of contention between urban authorities and community activists in poor communities' particularly informal settlements (Robins, 2011; 2014). The comparison has been on the state of public toilets in the privileged areas such as sea point and public/shared toilets in the informal settlements (SJC 2014). On March 20th 2010, during the

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occupation rights, 4th stage-"Housing consolidation-the decision on who is responsible for building the houses" including the "top structure" is done here. See SJC website on https://sjc.org.za/campaigns/uisp.

World Toilet Day celebrations, hundreds of people approximately 600 lined up at sea point public toilets that are well maintained, well-guarded simply to demonstrate how it feels like when a multitude of families have to use one toilet (Overy, 2013). On Freedom Day, 26 April 2011, approximately 2500 activists and community members lined up on temporary toilets that were positioned in front of the Civic Centre by SJC to highlight the dilemma of access to sanitation in the informal settlements.

Before the 2008 xenophobia attacks, the issue of public toilets/human waste seems to have been rarely talked about in the public domain and probably viewed as taboo in African culture (Robins, 2014). The media and scholars' focus was mainly on housing and water delivery in black townships. This brings us to these critical questions that perhaps may explain the politics and the marginalisation of the poor people in the City of Cape Town. The questions that arise in this regard are: - Why did toilet protest erupt on the eve of the 2011 elections? Does this mean that these issues were always ignored and lacked channels for engagement? Which force was behind these protests and demands for community engagements? Is it possible to build sustainable sanitation without community engagements anyway? Some of these questions have been answered in chapter one and the proceeding chapters will further highlight and clarify these questions raised here.
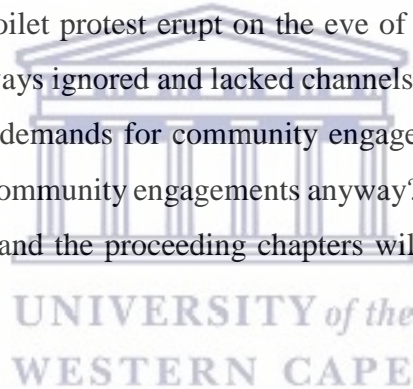
In the build-up to LG elections 2011, the news about the unclosed toilets in Makhaza, Khayelitsha shocked the nation. The city claimed that the installation of 1316 flush toilets in Makhaza and other settlements was started in 2009 on an understanding that residents will build structures to close the toilets for privacy (Taing 2017). The 1265 toilets were enclosed by the residents but the rest remained unclosed. The public outcry from the images of uncovered toilets forced the city to cover the toilets with corrugated structures (Overy, 2013). The African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) protested by removing the structures

which prompted the city to remove the toilets. The ANCYL then decided to take the city to court where the court ruled that the city failed to fulfil its constitutional obligation[13].

These contestations appeared to define the political struggle in black townships and the lack of policy guiding the planning and implementation of sanitation programs and community engagements in the informal settlements. The institutional and policy framework appears to fail to comply with the constitutional provisions and government obligations (Buccus, et al., 2008). Though the guidelines for public participation were developed by provincial governments and municipalities referred to as "invited spaces" by Cornwall (2004), (Buccus, et al., 2008) questions have been raised as to whether these will improve public engagements at the grassroots level or just a "formality" (Buccus, et al., 2008, p.297). They argue that the public servants are unenthusiastic about the processes whereas the communities are not well conversant with the substance.

The laxity in the formal processes has influenced the civil society to identify the need for advocacy, approaching the government, and making sure that the engagement processes yield successful results (Buccus, et al., 2008). The demand for effectiveness in these processes has taken a form of a "self-created" space of engagement as Cornwall would call it (2004) witnessed in protests, demonstrations demanding services, and engagement of communities. However, what was not clear and highly debated within civil society was whether these processes will enhance participation that will lead to social change. This debate raises important aspects of citizenship and participation of the poor in the urban setup. it is uncertain whether the urban poor can indeed successfully challenge the state and demand the fulfilment of its obligation to the people without the support of community activists. The mobilisation of these events perhaps gives a hint on the politics of participation and citizenship in the marginalised communities (Kramer, 2017). The issue of toilets is a public cause and, in most cases, communities are required to be at the forefront. However, some of the events such as the

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[13]The Western Cape High court ruling on the open toilet battle: Mail and Guardian report on the 29 April 2011. City of Cape Town loses open-toilet battle. Available online: https://mg.co.za/article/2011-04-29-city-of-cape-town-loses-opentoilet-battle/. Accessed 4/20/2020. 1:55am.

public spilling of faeces seem to have been planned and executed by a few activists from a community-based organisation.

The weaponization of raw sewage caught many by surprise. The smell was exported from the city fringes to the central business area, freeways (N2), and tourist sites such as airports (Robins 2011, 2014). The activists claimed they were highlighting the sanitation situation in Khayelitsha's informal settlements. The protestors blocked the N2 highway that connects most of the workers and owners of capital to Cape Town Central Business District (CBD). The protestors also poured sewage at the Cape Town Airport and provincial legislature (Redfield, and Robins, 2016). Nine people including two prominent community activists Andile Lilli and Loyiso Nkohla from Ses'khona civil rights movement were arrested for this incident. The two prominent community activists also served as councillors for the ruling party in the constituencies of Khayelitsha. However, Loyiso Nkohla later defected to the Democratic Alliance the governing party in the Western Cape. During the community protests in Langa hostels, residents demanded sanitation, Nkohla was selected to take part in negotiations with the community due to his influence and experience in community work[14]. In this regard, it appears that the spreading of sewage was dominated by party politics and power struggles. However, it brought the discussion of sanitation in the marginalised communities to the fore.

The protest certainly demonstrated the ideological differences between different camps of community activists in the City of Cape Town. For instance, while others believed in disorganizing the status quo, others opt for democratic processes to challenge the status quo. It also highlighted the politicisation of sanitation in the marginalised communities between dominant political parties which in most cases brought ugly scenes of using untreated human waste as a means of protest (Kramer, 2017). On the other hand, some of the activists' camps tend to follow the processes that would address structural planning issues and create a

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[14] A community activist who threw poos and fought the city on sanitation conditions in Khayelitsha was chosen to be the negotiator on behalf of the city. See the link "https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2016-09-21-poo-thrower-now-citys-protest-negotiator/".

sustainable sanitation plan. An example of this is the sanitation summit organised by the members of the Social Justice Coalition and other stakeholders held in 2014.

The summit in 2011 and 2014[15] intended to engage the city and other stakeholders on a clear sanitation plan in the informal settlements (Kramer, 2017). On the 15th of September 2011, the SJC hosted the inaugural sanitation summit in Cape Town to develop an interim plan on the maintenance, monitoring, and coordination of public toilets in informal settlements. This summit involved different NGOs, government representatives, academics, technicians, experts, activists, and different stakeholders. The summit discussed the joint plan to improve sanitation in the informal settlements of Cape Town. The mayor opened the summit together with the Reverend Archbishop of Cape Town and community representatives (SJC 2011)[16].

The summit came after months of intense pressure from community activists and community members in the informal settlements. On 27th April 2011, an estimated 2500 members of SJC and other coalition partners marched to the CBD and camped at Mayor's office to demand attention to the deteriorating sanitation conditions in the informal settlements (Kramer, 2017). On the same day, a "petition signed by more than 10,000" Khayelitsha residents was submitted to the City Mayor (Overy, 2013, p.15). The petition called for "both interim and long-term plans" regarding sanitation in the informal settlements. These demands received a positive response from the Mayor as the city agreed to offer janitorial services to the Khayelitsha settlements that lacked services. The city also promised to employ 500 people in the janitorial program particularly those staying in the marginalised communities (Overy, 2013; Taing 2017). In this regard, healthy engagements between community activists and the authorities enable the sustainability of sanitation in marginalised communities. Stressing the impact of engagement, one activist observed that they have "made tremendous steps forward by working

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[15] In April 23rd 2014 the SJC hosted the sanitation summit to discuss the plan of sanitation in the informal settlements in Cape Town. See the Ground up report titled: Sanitation Summit: "Our dignity is undermined". Available at: https://www.groundup.org.za/article/sanitation-summit-e2809cour-dignity-underminede2809d_1729/. Accessed on 4/20/2020. 2:43am.

[16] The SJC press release ahead of the inaugural sanitation summit 15th September 2011 to discuss the sanitation plan in the informal settlements in the City of Cape Town. Available online at https://sjc.org.za/posts/sjc-to-host-cape-town-sanitation-summit. Accessed on 4/19/2020. 2:37 am.

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internally with the city rather than partaking in public disputes with it" (Overy, 2013, p.12). Thus, Overy argues that there must be a continued engagement between community activists and the authorities regardless of political representation "sustainable citisen engagement requires that this kind of relationship continues, no matter who the mayor is or which political party he or she represents" (Overy 2013, p.22). Through these engagements, other issues that are needed to address the structural imbalances such as budget allocation also emerged.

2.2.9 Contestations on the Budget Allocation

The sanitation summit was followed by processes of accountability as community activists dug deep into the budget allocation of the city (Kramer, 2017). The issue of budget allocation as seen in the first section of this chapter trace back to history where there was contestation on the budget allocation for the city centre/ CBD and other areas outside the city. In the same manner, the budget allocation contestation has been on the money allocated to affluent areas versus the amount allocated in the informal settlements. The toilet queuing of activists and informal settlement residents in Sea Point 2011, claimed that the city had spent R770,000 (equivalent to US$ 95,000) on the improvement of public toilets whereas a multitude of people in informal settlements still used bushes to relieve themselves (Overy 2013).

The activists further submitted to the "budget steering committee" a budget proposal for the janitorial services that the city had proposed to offer to the residents of informal settlements (ibid; Kramer, 2017). The issue of budgeting has become an important aspect of activism engagements with the city authority and with the help of partners such as the International Budget Partnership (IBP) undertaking training of their members on budgeting (Kramer, 2017). This was done in an attempt to know the city's budget allocation on sanitation and being able to make informed engagements. However, the activists reveal that it is extremely difficult to access information from the city regarding budget allocation on sanitation. This is challenging especially when the city still views informal settlements as temporary and hence, they argue it is not viable to invest a lot of money there (Kramer, 2017; Taing 2017). In this regard, the activists have argued that most of these settlements have been in existence for many years and thus should be treated as permanent or upgraded.

The debates surrounding the informal settlements upgrade have started to gain momentum as the result of the activist's sanitation campaign in the informal settlements (Overy, 2013). Though informal settlements in South Africa and Cape Town, in particular, have existed for more than 15 years, the urban authorities still treat them as temporary (Kramer, 2017). Overy stresses that this makes it difficult for activists to campaign for sanitation as the urban authorities use the issue of informality as a scapegoat. However, he observes that some of the local councillors acknowledge that there is a need for policy shift where informal settlements are upgraded to a level where they can become formal. Such acknowledgements are surfacing due to constant engagement between community activists, representatives, and the urban authorities on the plight of the poor. The empowerment programs have also helped to build awareness and support base within communities to demand an improved standard of living.

The most contested issues have been against relocation as activists and communities call for in-situ upgrading. SJC has in this regard argued for the incremental approach as discussed before, which does not require relocation of communities. The in-situ upgrading was also advocated by the Slovo Park informal settlement in Johannesburg where the residents challenged the city to court. The city had planned to relocate the residents to 11 km away from where they stayed. The court ruling in the Melani case indicated that the city must adopt the holistic approach in development where residents are included (consulted) in the planning and development (Farha, 2018). This has become a global concern as the UN special report on the right to adequate housing noted: "The world has come to accept the unacceptable. It is human rights imperative that informal settlements be upgraded to meet the basic standards of human dignity" (Farha, 2018, p.1, Farha 2015). In other words, the fight against poor sanitation in informal settlements is a fight to restore human dignity which requires the continuous engagement of different stakeholders.

The deteriorating conditions in the urban poor communities are a global concern and an issue that affects everyone regardless of class, status, and location. The current unprecedented Corona Virus (COVID-19) global pandemic has taught us that an outbreak can get to all corners of the globe within weeks. The virus that broke out in Wuhan in December 2019 (Bai, et al., 2020; WHO, 2020) has not only travelled but has also brought the whole world to its knees and

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destroyed global economies. One of the measures or precautions to avoid the infection is the maintenance of proper hygiene such as washing your hands regularly (Hopman, Allegranzi, and Mehtar, 2020). The announcement of lockdown measures in South Africa saw the protest of the poor in the informal settlements who demanded that they do not have water to wash their hands. The state immediately started planning for the temporary supply of water in the informal settlements. The Community activists in Johannesburg called Total Shutdown Group in Alexander and Cape Town called Action Group Network mobilised and distributed sanitisers to communities. However, though the activists have attempted to convince residents of informal settlements on the need for social distancing which is one of the measures to avoid the spread of the virus (Preiser, Van Zyl, and Dramowski, 2020), in reality, the nature and density of these areas make it practically impossible to socially distance. In this regard, informal settlements present a case of human rights violation and thus call for the attention of all relevant stakeholders.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the historical context of sanitation contestations in South Africa from the colonial, apartheid period to the present. The sanitation delivery during colonial, apartheid was based on the exclusion and marginalisation of black Africans. The challenge of sanitation has its roots in the policies of dispossession which left African workers in overcrowded and less planned excluded areas. The areas where black people lived received selective sanitation budgeting; in other words, they were less prioritised in sanitation planning. These tendencies led to disease outbreaks which worked as a catalyst for further isolation of black Africans from white areas. The black African workers were moved to locations with no planned sanitation services and this became a health hazard.

The living conditions of black African workers led to advocacy by medical practitioners who engaged the colonial administration on the living conditions of the poor people. The black less-skilled labourers lived in overcrowded dirty places and were at the receiving end of both the colonial and apartheid system. The growth of urbanisation created the challenge of disease outbreaks in the nineteenth and twentieth century and later resulted in the segregation of African natives. The discontent of the natives started taking shape and with the emergence of

the squatter movement, boycotts and resistance weakened the apartheid system. The period of the colonial and apartheid eras were characterised by segregation and lack of engagement between the colonial state and the subjects.

The 1994 democratic dispensation raised much excitement and hope for a complete social transformation in the living conditions of the previously marginalised. It was indeed a long walk to freedom' as the former president Nelson Mandela put it (Kotzé, 2006). The walls of the apartheid regime fell and the new era of constitutional rights was ushered in. South Africa became a new democratic country with high regard for human values. In an attempt to address the injustices of the past, the 1996 South African constitution promised the rights to socio-economic and political freedom to all South Africans. It is through these promises that activists base their claims and demands for marginalised communities.

However, the anti-apartheid activists in the new democratic government had to re-strategise on how to address these challenges in a new environment of a democratically elected government (Camay, and Gordon, 2002; Lamb, 2006; Pieterse, 1997). The culture and the style of interaction had completely changed as new political institutions guaranteed opportunities for engagement (Houston, 2001). After few years after ushering into democracy, the movements continued to advocate for the social change of their members and most notably these include the unions, the ratepayer's associations, advocates for those forcefully evicted from their land, environmental advocacy, and community-based organisations that advocates for the social justice (Camay, and Gordon, 2002).

The post-apartheid activists have adopted issue-based advocacy but also aiming at changing the system of marginalisation put in place during the colonial and apartheid era. Through formal and informal spaces of engagement, they have pushed for policy change in sanitation delivery. The contestations have exposed the plight of the poor particularly those living in the informal settlements. For instance, the 2011 local government elections were used to expose the sanitation situation in the informal settlements of Khayelitsha using the poo protest. The activists have also used courts to compel the city to meet its obligation to the people in informal

settlements. The events such as the sanitation summit point to the achievements of activists who work on improving the sanitation situation of people living in informal settlements.

CHAPTER 3:

THE RESEARCH METHODS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF CONTESTATIONS AND ADVOCACY IN SANITATION

The chapter gives a thorough explanation of the methodological approach that assisted me in the collection and analysis of data gathered from the field. At the beginning of this chapter, I highlight the methodological issues that have previously been identified in the social movement research. This is very important because it guides me to understand the critique levelled against the previous studies and endeavour to avoid such issues. In the next step, I highlight the issues that the study focuses on and the sources of data guided by the four research questions posed by this research. The reason for doing this is to choose an approach that addresses these issues. The study uses qualitative research methods and the following tools were used to collect data: Semi-structured in-depth interviews, multi-sited ethnography and participant observation, life history, and document analysis. These tools were informed by the study questions and the nature of the participants.

The chapter also explains how the integrity of data is preserved and how field data was handled. The interpretation of the data is done using the actors' analysis, process analysis, visual analysis, and software analysis. Process analysis focuses on the engagement process of the actors or stakeholders in the struggle for sustainable sanitation in informal settlements. These engagement processes start at the grassroots level and descend to the municipal level where decision-makers are stationed. The actor analysis takes a keen focus on the actions of community activists/residents, city officials, and other stakeholders. The study also uses visual analysis that helps to analyse images, sanitation infrastructure, and visible elements. The data analysis is done by the ATLAS.TI to manage the volumes of data, make sense of these processes and actions. The findings of the study are presented as Khayelitsha informal settlements with a keen focus on the three informal settlements located in two wards 93 and 89. BM Section and Green Point Section informal settlements fall under ward 93 while RR Section informal settlements fall under ward 89. Headings and subheadings are based on the themes that emerged from the data.

3.1　Approach issues in Social Movement Research

Social movement studies attempt to understand the process of social change in communities. The processes create the zeal that triggers the advocacy for social transformation in the marginalised communities and creating social justice for all (Calmore, 2004). In the 1970s there was a drastic theoretical shift in social movement scholarship and methodological research became part of this shift. The research design became more diverse, wrongly replacing the previous methodological order. Researchers started using the unit of analysis other than individuals and in this way, they started focusing on mobilisation and "political opportunity structures as key independent variables" (Crist, and McCarthy, 1996, p.1). In this regard, research may firstly start with investigating *the "production structure in order to identify social forces as the key collective actors"* (Bieler, and Morton, 2003, P.8). This means that research can help to promote social justice by examining the social environment. However, there are methodological and epistemological challenges that may impede the progress of research in activism (Bodini, Baum, Labonté, Legge, Sanders, and Sengupta, 2019).

The recent study that was done in four years across six countries aimed at understanding the five domains of civic society engagement (Bodini, et al. 2019). The research approach of collecting data and analysis were designed in such a way that it fulfills the objectives of enhancing activism practice and at the same time addressing the challenges highlighted during the design process. The methodological challenges highlighted in this issue were: "making meaning, aligning research and action, managing power relations, valuing experiential knowledge, chaos and contingency, challenging preconceptions" (Bodini, et al. 2019 pp 386-397). The framing of this study was done with the need to understand the activists' worldview. However, the need to champion the subjectivity of the activist versus the objective of the researcher created methodological issues. These methodological issues were addressed by allowing the project to adopt an open-ended approach so that changes in priorities and learning would be accommodated. There was also a need to learn from the activists' experience which necessitated the researcher to respect the learning process and avoid power relations.

On the other hand, Della Porta, (2014), demonstrates methodological issues that arise in the visual analysis across countries. When using visual images, the message might be portrayed

differently depending on how visual images are captured and analysed. The protest styles also differ across the borders due to cultural differences which makes it hard to have a comparative trans-national study. The fact that the source of this information sometimes relies on the internet, with the increasing policy rights of Google, Facebook, and other online platforms, presents a methodological challenge. However, though this study is using visual analysis, the methodological challenges will be minimised because the study has been narrowed down to a smaller area.

Della Porta (2014) also mentions the challenges faced by activists' researcher who has to collect evidence during protests. This requires researchers to adopt a neutral ground where they can freely engage with the activists as an insider. Muchadanyika (2017) also sees the need for one to become an activist researcher when researching social movements. The definition of activists' researcher explains that an individual who finds "value in radical education and the public debate of ideas" that are aimed at challenging the norm (Chatterton, 2008, P. 421). Therefore, activist researchers may be viewed as part of movements that collaborate through participatory methodologies (Otto & Terhorst, 2011). In this regard, the involvement of the activist researcher gives him a deeper and clear understanding of the movement activities hence broadening the knowledge base of the study. Muchadanyika (2017) points out that activist research may often draw attention from the political elites and the authorities who might view this as counter-hegemony.

In this case, Della Porta's (2014) idea on the neutrality of the activism researcher may seem tricky in another context. For instance, some researchers question the objective and neutral aspect of activist researchers especially in the case of the "victim" or the "marginalised" and or the social movement (Higginbottom 2008, P.158). This is a precarious situation for most researchers as participants who might be "victims" or "marginalised" can trigger emotions. This requires vigorous analysis to examine whether they are indeed victims or there is more to the side of the status quo. The fieldwork experience demonstrates that this situation is possible as researchers may be easily carried away by emotions and do not dig deep to question the validity of the information. The marginalised for instance tells an emotional story of how they have been alienated by the local leaders and authorities. In this case, the researcher should

make a thorough analysis of the information collected from the marginalised and the authorities.

Though there are numerous challenges, activist researchers contribute enormously to the entire academic fraternity, communities, and social movements (Freire, 2006). In other words, the work of an activist researcher is "designed not only to explain, but also to provoke social change" (Fine, and Vanderslice, 1992, p.199). The role of researchers, in this case, is "facilitation and documentation of structural and social change processes". Fine and Vanderslice advance Lather, (1986) argument "*not only for research on change, but for research as change"* (Fine, and Vanderslice, 1992, p.200). This is to say that researchers do this with a "commitment to disrupt and transform existing social arrangements, and to design research to understand how such change occurs". In this regard, the researcher does this with the zeal and politics of being labelled bias, they ask questions, choose methods of investigation, interpreted to make sense of the world as they trace for answers in their final drafts.

Activist researchers sometimes use participatory action research (PAR) in their research. The significance of PAR is that the researcher and participant work together as a team, it involves working with people instead of working on them (Auriacombe, and Sithomola, 2020; Haverkate, Meyers, Telep, and Wright, 2020). Therefore, the researcher must build a good connection with the activists on the ground. In most cases, these connections and relationships may take time to develop because of the nature of work and how activists operate. The research approach of this study is structured in a way that is will help participants to easily engage on issues of sustainable sanitation in the urban poor areas. This is necessary because PAR serves to understand space and society using analysis that is critical and radical that ultimately targeted at ensuring social change by challenging and transforming structures and systems in place (Pain, Kindon & Kesby, 2007, p. 28). This is vital for a city like Cape Town where systems and structures are still contested. The urban poor communities have realised the need for social transformation and improvement of sanitation in their communities. This is a very big component of PAR where communities first realise that certain development is needed other than being told by the outsider (Walker, 1993).

However, PAR does not escape criticism as some feel that the methodological approach that focuses on participation, democracy as well as the involvement of external ownership might reduce the validity and rigor of scientific research outcomes (Walker, 1993). Some have argued that there is no neutral participation politically which they analyse as a trap and that sometimes it may be used to promote certain interests (Miranda, Fine, and Torre, 2020). Drawing from Walker's (1993) argument that communities must start the process and initiate a program towards the restoration of social change before outsiders or researchers gets involved. In this way, the research would be used as a lens to identify and analyse how a complete social transformation can be realised.

Analysing intersecting inequalities through PAR in the urban space brings out people's experience of how groups face constraints in the struggle for equal standards of living (Wheeler, Shaw, and Howard, 2020). The researcher has to understand the community concerns and the processes of engagement with political elites and other dynamics to solve dilemmas facing these communities. Careful attention to various networks and politics in the community is vital in understanding the implementation of sustainable sanitation in urban poor communities. Thus, the focus of the study is an attempt to understand community activism and how their interaction with urban authorities gives a potential for sustainable sanitation. The methodology of this study is thus based on the PAR. This is because community activism is a collective action that can be clearly understood through PAR. The section below will look at important issues and data sources through which this study approach is informed, that is the research methods and the interaction between activists and urban authorities.

3.2   Analysis issues and Data Sources

As indicated above, it is necessary to expand on the analysis issues for every research question. The goal here is to precisely describe the data sources and the challenges understudy to reach the best methods and techniques of data collection. In other words, the key areas of data analysis will be described and clearly explained.

To get a better sense of how community activism contributes to sustainable sanitation in informal settlements, this study looks at five key areas: - the engagement process, sanitation

infrastructure, maintenance and job creation, community ownership and lived environment. The engagement process has been used as a model to improve the "effectiveness of the strategy implementation" and its significance of the engagement process is that actors can be emotionally or physically attached (Haugen, and Davis, 2009, p.396). In this process, stakeholders or interest groups interact and find the way forward.

The Western Cape Water reconciliation study report defines a stakeholder as "individuals, groups or organisations that have an interest, are affected by or can affect the outcome of an initiative". The document also defines stakeholder engagement as "the ongoing interaction with such role-players, aimed at improving decision-making during the planning, design, implementation and evaluation phases of the WCWSS" (der Berg, Killick, and Anderson, 2007, p.64). I thus focus on formal and informal engagements between activists and urban authorities. Here the study seeks to understand the approach used by stakeholders/interest groups in the engagement process. The study focuses on the actions, lobbying, negotiations, dialogue between community activists and the city authorities to make sense of the system amidst the quest for social change. In other words, it looks at the processes through which the activists under-went to coerce the city to act on the issues of deplorable sanitation in the informal settlements of Cape Town particularly Khayelitsha.

The next key area of analysis is sanitation infrastructure in this case the toilet structures. The demand for toilets in the informal settlement formed part of the contestation. After the city agreed to the provision of toilets, the community demanded to be part of the project and work as janitors and cleaning of informal settlements streets. Thus, the maintenance of sanitation infrastructure meant that the city employs janitors and street cleaners. Therefore, the maintenance of the infrastructure provides jobs to the community.

The sustainability of community projects entirely depends on community ownership of the project (Georgiadou, Loggia, Bisaga, and Parikh, 2020), hence I focus on community ownership and lived environment. Here I analyse the organisation of informal settlement residents who are end-users of sanitation services and stakeholders in the process of ensuring sustainable sanitation. I look at how the community has worked together with the local

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leadership to ensure sustainable sanitation. I try to understand the connection between the activist groups and the community residents as well as street committee members. I also look into how residents on their own have organised themselves to ensure the sustainability of sanitation facilities. Their views on the city authorities, local leadership, and community activists are also incorporated in this study. The lived environment captures the everyday experience of residents bearing in mind that most of the houses are built in swamps/wetland areas, and also the safety aspect as using the toilets has been seen as the most dangerous activity in the informal settlements leading to death and rape of women and children. Furthermore, I analyse community dynamics where I look at other forces and challenges that affect the achievement of sustainable sanitation.

The development of infrastructure, maintenance of the sanitation facilities, employment of janitors as a pact between the residents and the urban authorities on job creation forms one of the major contributions of activists' engagement. Furthermore, safety was viewed to be linked with sanitation hence the demand for inquiry on policing in the area which is a big contribution of these engagements.

In this section, I explain the data sources elaborating exactly how data was collected from the field. The main source of data was through interviews with the community activists, residents from Khayelitsha, and urban officials. Most of the activists operate under an NGO called Social Justice Coalition (SJC) that has been fighting for social justice in Khayelitsha since 2008. The residents interviewed were specifically residing in three informal settlements namely, RR section, BM section, and Green Point section. The three are part of the many other informal settlements where activists operated in the struggle for proper sanitation in Khayelitsha Township.

3.3   Sampling Appropriate Participants and the Choice of Methodology

 Most social studies researchers indicate that research on specific community issues requires a researcher to study a given sample to establish the findings of the study. Sampling is the degree to which your sample reflects the population as a whole (Devlin, 2017). These may be the representatives of the targeted population across the 'demographic categories of interest' for

instance age, race, gender, education, income, and so on. In this case, investigators are required to be 'aware' of the 'who of their study and how of your sampling'. In other words, 'who participates and how' you get the participants might limit your outcome. According to Acharya, Prakash, Saxena, and Nigam, (2013, p.330) a sample is "a subset of the population, selected to be representative of the larger population". Thus, this requires the study to choose the sample that best suits the research aims.

Given the fact that this study uses qualitative data, it means that the emphasis is not on generalisation but rather on finding meaning in sanitation activism. Qualitative research aims to find a "deeper insight into a complex phenomenon that might be quite specific and unique and which appears in different ways in the various units of the population". Qualitative studies are more concerned with understanding people in their natural context hence it is "inductive and holistic" (Bless, Higson-Smith, and Kagee, 2006, p.162). In this regard, this study seeks to understand sanitation contestations in the City of Cape Town.

Due to the nature of the participants who are activists, the study adopted two sampling techniques i.e purposive and snowball sampling. I initially planned to use purposive sampling to collect data from specific activists that operated under Social Justice Coalition. However, because activists are scattered in different informal settlements, I thus adopted the snowball technique to access other activists. Another reason why I adopted snowball sampling is due to safety reasons as traversing the informal settlements without someone familiar with the area. These two techniques were used on the activist groups allied to the Social Justice Coalition. It was also applied to informal settlement residents and street committees. The informal settlement residents of Khayelitsha used as small sample units in this study were chosen from the RR section, BM section, and Green Point section.

The striking difference between the three informal settlements is that in the RR section, there was no installation of new toilets but rather maintenance and identification of the existing facilities. The installation of new toilets was done in the Green Point section and BM section. Another unique feature was that RR had two activist groups that operated there which are SJC and informal settlement Networks (ISN). However, the ISN assisted the informal settlement on

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the issue of electricity that attracted the attention of the speaker of parliament who visited the area. The houses that are under the electricity cable line were promised relocation in 2019 but they also lack toilet facilities. On the issues of sanitation, the three settlements have similar issues that were discussed in chapter 5.

Due to the politicisation of sanitation and fears among the participants, the most sensitive information was extracted through observation means and the use of secondary data to clarify certain issues on sanitation delivery challenges in the informal settlements of Cape Town.

3.4   Research Approach to Data Collection

Qualitative research is an approach that does not rely on quantitative measurements or statistical analysis to produce findings (Corbin, and Strauss, 2014; Hamilton, and Finley, 2019) but rather establishing meanings and hence the choice of this approach in this study. This kind of approach is important in social movement research as a way of "generating data about the motives of the people who participate in protest and activities of social movement network and organisation" (Blee, and Taylor, 2002, p.92). Qualitative interviews mostly include; individual interviews, focus group discussion, observation, document analysis, and so forth. This is because "phenomenological approaches seek to explore, describe, and analyse the meaning of individual lived experience" (Marshall, and Rossman, 2014, P.17) and also "how they perceive it, describe it, feel it, feel about it, judge it, remember it, make use of it, and talk about it with others" (Patton 2002, P.104 cited in Marshall, and Rossman, 2014, p.17) and how they see the world around them (Given, 2008).

This study uses qualitative research methods because the study questions require qualitative data on participatory action research. This methodological approach allows participatory action research (Auriacombe, and Sithomola, 2020; Haverkate, Meyers, Telep, and Wright, 2020) hence the choice of selection. This study investigates the sanitation problem in Cape Town's informal settlements which has been heavily contested between the community activists and the urban authorities (Overy, 2013). However, it is not clear whether these engagements and contestations can create sustainable sanitation in informal settlements. Previous studies have not focused on whether such engagements and contestations can create an environment that

will enable the sustainability of sanitation in the informal settlements of Cape Town (Jackson, and Robins, 2018; McFarlane, and Silver 2017; McFarlane, 2019; Redfield, and Robins, 2016; Robins 2014; Robins, 2014). This study is different in the way that it seeks to understand the engagements between interest groups, interrogates the contest between the community activists and the urban authorities. The study also focuses on understanding the views of informal settlement residents on issues of social transformation in sanitation in Khayelitsha.

During the fieldwork, the collection of data focused on the engagements between community activists, residents, and urban officials in sanitation advocacy. The main tools used to collect data are; semi-structured in-depth interviewers, direct observation, focus group discussion (FGD), life histories, and document analysis. Using the combination of these methods helps I in the probing of in-depth information and *"provide greater breadth and depth of information the opportunity to discover the respondent's experience and interpretation of reality, and access to people's ideas, thoughts and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher"* (Blee, and Taylor, 2002, pp.92-93). This is based on the premise that "rigorous data collection procedures fundamentally influence the results of the studies" (Kallio et al., 2016, p.1). The following section explains the tools used to collect data as well as sampling procedures used in every method.
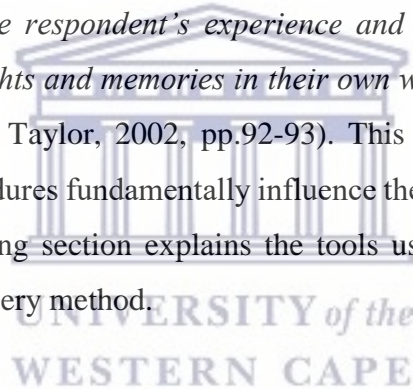
3.4.1   In-depth Semi-Structured Interviews

Sanitation delivery in informal settlements has different stakeholders who take part in the planning and implementation of sanitation services. To understand the sanitation delivery challenges, I conducted individual interviews with all stakeholders and key informants who understand the politics of sanitation in the informal settlements. This type of interview is commonly used in data collection (Kallio, Pietilä, Johnson, and Kangasniemi, 2016) in social science research. Semi-structured interviews are sometimes the main source of data collection in qualitative research and *"usually scheduled in advance at a designated time and location outside of everyday events"* (DiCicco-Bloom, and Crabtree, 2006, p.314-321). Therefore, these interviews are the preferred method in gathering information. The source of data for semi-structured Interviews was determined using purposive and snowball sampling. Because community activists are not operational most of the time, it was hard to trace everyone since

they are scattered around the 3 informal settlements. In this regard, I identified one activist who walks me through all the informal settlements to interview his colleagues as well as residents and street committees. Thus, the two sampling techniques supplemented each other. I interviewed 25 participants which included 10 residents, 8 community activists, 3 street committee members, 2 area councillors, 1 city official in charge of social services in the informal settlements, and 1 mayoral committee member in charge of water and waste. As mentioned before, the eight community activists have been involved in the sanitation struggles in Khayelitsha and other townships since 2008. Most of these community activists are allied to the SJC organisation based in Khayelitsha Township. The community activists included 3 females and 5 males whereas residents included 5 females and 7 males. The participation of both genders helped to clear the bias on gender balance. This number provided a good understanding of sanitation contestations and it was also manageable in terms of the timeframe of the study. The reason for using semi-structured interviews is that it allows both group settings and the individuals (Kvale 1996; Rabionet 2011; Cohen, and Crabtree, 2006).

The key informants I interviewed included the member and program coordinator of the SJC, ward councillors, and the senior city officials. Senior officials were in charge of informal settlements sanitation and basic services planning in the City of Cape Town. The key informants were selected on assumption that they understand the social and political dynamics of the areas where the study was carried out (Kumar, 1989; Marshall, 1996; Whittaker, 2012).

The individual in-depth interviews were done in five phases which took place between August 2019 and July 2020. The first phase of interviews started with the community activist to get a gist of the extent of the problem. The questions with the activists focused on the engagement process with the city authorities, engagement processes with the local leadership and other interest groups, engagement process with the residents in the informal settlements. The second phase focused on the community residents and the street committee who are the local leaders of the streets where they reside. The questions focused on understanding their views and making sense of their ownership of the process of the sanitation project. The first interviews were done in the RR section where the activists that guided me to his colleagues and other informal settlements resided. The second interviews were done in the BM section and then the

Green Point section was the last. However, all these interviews were scheduled depending on the availability of the participants hence specific dates were agreed upon and allocated for the interviews.

The third phase of the interviews was done with the area councillors of the RR section, BM section, and Green Point section. These interviews focused on the representation of the urban poor, engagement process, sustainability of sanitation infrastructure, sanitation challenges, and upgrading of the informal settlements. These interviews were arranged by the researcher who contacted the counsillor via phone calls and emails and the interview dates were agreed upon. The first interview was done with the area councillor of the Green Point section and part of the BM section who later referred me to the area councillor of the RR section and part of the BM section for more clarification on the issues that he was not sure about. Therefore, it is important to note that one part of the BM section falls under one councillor and another part falls under the other councillor as well. The interview with the ward councillor of the BM section and RR section was done via phone calls due to lockdown rules and regulations and social distancing as Covid-19 precautionary measures.

The fourth phase of the interviews was done with the Mayoral committee member in charge of water and waste. The arrangement of this interview took longer than other interviews due to the tight schedules of the councillor. These meetings finally took place in June 2020 and it was conducted via skype and phone calls respectively due to lockdown rules and regulations. The fifth phase of the interviews was done with a city official in charge of social services in the informal settlements. This interview also took longer to be scheduled due to the busy schedules of the official. The interview was also finally done in July 2020 and the official was comfortable to host me in the boardroom where we observed social distance.

3.4.2   Multisided Ethnography and Participant Observation

The contestations of sanitation in the city of Cape Town have been expressed on the streets through protests and online media. I use this approach to gain knowledge on sanitation contestations in both online and offline spaces. Multi-sited ethnography gives an abroad view of a given phenomenon across space and time. The "essence of multi-sited research is to follow

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

people, connections, associations, and relationships across space" (Falzon, 2016, p.1). The reason for using this approach is to enable me to analyse both the "online and offline site or building a multi-layered narrative that develops a larger social context of the community under study" (Gatson, 2011, p.248). This is important because most of the sanitation contestation flooded the internet and televisions creating an online community and international collaborators that added their voices in support of the people residing in these settlements. This also allows me to examine the online action, statements of participants, and when they are offline during face-to-face interviews.

The engagement process involved emotions, actions, and interaction between urban officials, activists, and residents. Using participant observation helped me to "systematically observe and record people's behaviour, actions, and interactions" (Hennink, Hutter, and Bailey, 2020, p.170) with different stakeholders in sanitation planning. This technique allowed me to get a clear and detailed description of the social setting as well as an understanding of the social-cultural context of the residents in the informal settlements. Observation is an "interpretive paradigm" approach and thus an "intrinsic way to critically reflect on our theoretical ideas and presumption of the study population" (ibid, p.170). The focus was on the way the participants expressed themselves, contestations, contradictions, political ideology, cultural beliefs, and actions. I took notes of activities such as gestures, statements, expressions, the living environment, infrastructure in the informal settlements. The observation techniques were applied during individual in-depth interviews and FGD. During individual interviews, I observed the action and expressions of residents, activists, area councillors, and city officials. During the two focus groups, one with activists and another with the community members, I observed the patterns of connection in the expression of mistrust, politics of fear, misinformation, and gaps in the local leadership. All the activities in these areas rely on the intervention of the area councillors and this makes them overwhelmed by the workload yet their main duties should entirely be on the representation in the legislature. I also observed the everyday experiences of residents in trying to access toilets and the stink that welcomes you as you enter these townships. This method was selected because it enables the *"observers to collect information through the senses, primarily visual"* (Devlin 2017, p. 197).

3.4.3   Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

The sanitation delivery challenge in the informal settlements of Cape Town requires the understanding of the everyday experience of residents and those that work with the community. It is important to understand the contradictions, concerns, and emotions of residents, activists towards the planning and implementation of sanitation delivery in their area. The choice of FGD was influenced by the need to take note of the contradictions, concerns, and emotions from the community residents and the activists. I realised the need to know the different views emerging from the discussion with the residents and activists. We should also take note of the things they agreed and disagreed on during the FGD. The knowledge from the FGD guided the feedback from the individual interviews by looking for the common agreement and contradiction. FGD is a technique whereby a researcher "focus on specific issues, with a predetermined group of people, participating in an interactive discussion" (Hennink, 2013, p.1). According to Hennink, Hutter, and Bailey (2011, p, 136), FGD is described as "an interactive discussion between six-eight pre-selected participants, led by a trained moderator and focusing on a specific set of issues", aims to "gain abroad range of views on the research topic over a 60– to 90-minute period and to create an environment where participants feel comfortable to express their views"). This method of data collection "falls within the qualitative research tradition" (Hennink, 2013, p.1). The discussion focused on engagement processes, social mobilisation, the sustainability of sanitation, ownership of sanitation programs, and challenges. This study conducted two focus group discussions. The first FCD was conducted with six community activists who included 3 females and 3 males. The FGD was conducted at the residence of one of the activists and it lasted for 1 hour and 30 minutes. The second FGD comprised of the 6 community residents that included 4 females and 2 males and it lasted for 30 minutes. These FGD provided the study with the perspectives of the activists and the community residents. During the FGD with the activists, I faced the challenge of time constraints. Activists are so familiar with the work they do which means they have so much to say during the FGD and thus limiting this discussion was a challenge. I dealt with this challenge by allocating time to each question and communicated to them the specific time a particular question would take. The second challenge I noticed was on sensitive statements especially on politics of sanitation in Khayelitsha where some during the discussion be avoiding mentioning or refer to the status quo. A clear explanation of the confidentiality helped to create some level of trust and was much free to speak out during the individual interviews.

3.4.4 Life History

Sanitation delivery particularly in South Africa has a historical link and the structural problems that were introduced by the colonisation and apartheid system. Some of the residents in the informal settlements have been staying in those communities for more than 30 years. This implies that they are victims of apartheid policies of segregation and discrimination. Life history assisted in identifying the structural challenges and understanding the social progress in post-apartheid South Africa. This is a story about life with added dimensions. It is a story of someone's life in his/her own words (Shacklock, and Thorp, 2005). However, Hatch and Wisniewski (1995) conclude that "the analysis of the social, historical, political and economic contexts of a life story by the researcher is what turns a life story into a living history"(ibid, p.125). The narrative research approach using life history, biography, and other modes has been identified as another "alternative research genre" (Dhunpath, 2000, p.543-551). Life history helps in the understanding of changes in the social character and real life of the individuals in a given society. It offers a detailed description of acts, events, processes, relationships, and circumstances in a particular life; thus, these processes help in the understanding of social change (Bakar, et al., 2008). The life history technique was used to understand the life story and the social background of the 3 informal settlement residents in Khayelitsha. These interviews were intimate and, in most cases, emotional. The study also traces the history of sanitation policy in disadvantaged areas from the colonial era to today.

3.4.5 Documents Analysis

The contestation of sanitation delivery in the informal settlements of Cape Town has been extensively covered in the online media and prints. The City of Cape Town documents containing the planning and implementation document provided me with details on the city's efforts towards sanitation delivery and other sanitation-related services such as janitorial services. The online media and the advocacy published and non-published SJC documents also provided detailed information on contestations on sanitation services in the informal settlements, particularly in Khayelitsha. Document analysis assisted me to understand the state of sanitation infrastructure, delivery services, and contestations on sanitation delivery in the informal settlements of Cape Town. Document analysis involves no interaction with the

participants. This means that this kind of data exists in the form of records that have been created and can be accessed "both printed and electronic material"(Bowen, 2009, p.27). In this case, I used information in the public domain which includes newspapers, information on the City of Cape Town website, brochures acquired from SJC, correspondence letters obtained online, publication documents of the city, and any other previous documentation containing information on the social history, sanitation, protests and tensions between community activists and the city. This technique directed the study on the historical, social complexities that inform the current problem of the poor.

3.4.6   The Integrity of Data and Approach of Field Research

The field study was based on the interaction of the participants in their setting. The study focused much on the social, economic, and political aspects to analyse every day in this setting. Field research requires the researcher to be hands-on to understand and articulate the processes of the research. A field researcher gains significant knowledge as *"a result of hands on experience, experimentation and adaptation in the field"* (Baxter, and Chua, 1998, p.69). The field research under this study was done in three informal settlements under the jurisdiction of Cape Town Municipality. The three informal settlements include the RR section, BM section, and Green Point section in Khayelitsha Township. The processes and the approaches undertaken during the study are described as follows.

3.4.6.1   Clearance of Field Research and Ethical Consideration

This study was cleared to carry out the field research by the ethical Committee University of the Western Cape. The researcher secured clearance from the city administration to conduct interviews with the city of Cape Town officials. For instance, the request to schedule an interview with the Mayoral Committee for Water and Waste took more than one month. The request was lodged via the municipal offices who directed the request to the personal assistant of the Mayoral committee member. To avoid delays and time-wasting, I started interviews with the activists and community residents who did not require further clearance. The request for appointments was also sought from the area councillor and the leaders of the Social Justice Coalition. The response area councillor and SJC office took much longer due to busy schedules. Interviews with the area councillors and SJC leaders were finally conducted between February

2020 to March 2020 and telephone interviews in May 2020. These were guided by the ethical consent between the researcher and the participants.

3.4.6.2   Interview Recording and taking of Field Notes

Before conducting any interview, I would first seek permission from the participants to be recorded. All the interviews conducted in this study were recorded after getting permission from the participants. Field notes were also taken along with the interviews to capture observation data. The field notes would be used whenever I feel that there is important information on body language, facial expressions, and agitation. The recorded interviews were transcribed into word documents typed by the researcher himself to get immersed into the data. Most of the interviews were conducted in English but participants were at liberty to choose their language of preference. For instance, participants were interviewed in isiXhosa and translated into English by the research assistant.

3.4.6.3   Fear and Emotions among Participants

The contestations of basic services in the townships are highly politicised and sometimes risky for one to boldly speak out. These fears could be seen in the expressions of participants, particularly during the focus group discussion. These fears were controlled using snowball sampling where participants who suit the criteria were recommended by their colleagues whom they fully trust. Both individual interviews and focus group discussions were filled with emotions and frustrations. For instance, residents were very emotional and at times requested the researcher to assist them in their circumstances. The focus group discussion with the activists also demonstrated some level of frustration and lack of trust in the urban authorities. Fear was also caused by internal contestations between street committees over the demand for services. For example, in the RR section, street committee members accused the councillor of coinciding with other street committees and sending threats to intimidate them to keep their mouth shut over-demanding services.

3.4.6.4 Data Validity and Reliability

The study took into consideration the issues of data validity, reliability, and avoiding gender bias. According to Creswell (2014) qualitative validity "means that the researcher checks for the accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures" whereas "Reliability "indicates that the researcher's approach is consistent across different researchers and different projects" (See also Gibbs 2007). The study first identified areas of bias and contradictions that would compromise the outcome of the results. The composition of gender was considered in both individual in-depth interviews and focused groups discussion. Women and youth were highly considered. The themes and findings are made available for participants to verify their initial responses.

3.5 Analysis, Interpretation, and Presentation of Data

The analysis in this study dwells on the search for patterns or themes which emerge from the collected data. This study uses the latent level of themes. Braun and Clarke (2006), indicate two levels of themes: These are semantic and latent themes. The semantic meaning of data and analysis does not look for things beyond what the participant said or written. Latent themes look beyond and go further to *"start to identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations – and ideologies - that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data"* (pg.84). The choice of analysis was selected to assist in the analysis of assumptions and examining the underlying ideas.

The analysis frame in this study is built on four main themes that emerged from the data. Emerging themes from the data are: - encountering the city from the Margins of Society; community activism towards sustainable sanitation; community activism towards sanitation policy and community dynamics and challenges to social change. These themes are supported by sub-themes. The data analysis is done using three analysis approaches namely; actor analysis, process analysis, visual analysis and supported by Atlasti software for qualitative research. The three choices of analysis are explained fully below.

3.5.1 Process Analysis

Process analysis focuses on the engagement process of the actors or stakeholders in the struggle for sustainable sanitation in informal settlements. More often, processes are key in determining how people participate, how services are delivered and distributed and therefore might as well play an inclusion and exclusion cards. Analysing the processes helps to understand the social system in an institution and how fair the system distributes resources. These engagement processes start at the grassroots level and descend to the municipal level where decision-makers are stationed. The process also looks at the strategies and techniques taken by the community activists to engage the urban authorities. These processes also include negotiations, dialogue, and social action when there is a breakdown in negotiations. In this regard, I look at these engagement processes as an encounter between the poor and the urban authorities.

3.5.2 Actors Analysis

The actor analysis takes a keen focus on those who are involved in the actions of advancing the cause for sustainable sanitation on the urban poor. The actors in this study are the community activists, residents, urban authorities, and other interest groups. The actors' analysis looks at the actor's actions on the cause for sustainable sanitation from 2009 to 2017. This analysis gives a good understanding of how tensions and contestations, and alliances happen between actors. These actors play an enormous part in the success of sustainable sanitation in urban poor communities. In this regard, a clear understanding of the influence and how actors operate provides a better picture of the social transformation of the urban poor.

3.5.3 Visual Analysis

Visual images have been part and partial of sanitation activism in Cape Town since 2011. The pictures of open toilets in Makhaza Khayelitsha dominated the media both digital (television) and prints. Thus, the study uses visual analysis that helps to analyse images, videos, physical representation, and visible elements. The sanitation infrastructure and the surrounding environment are analysed through visual analysis. The contestations of sanitation in the urban poor communities have used different types of coverage to mobilise support from other change agents and raise awareness of residents on issues of sanitation.

3.5.4 Software Analysis

Qualitative studies make use of software such as NVivo, Dedoose, Transana, MAXQDA, and Atlas.ti to analyse the data (Humble, 2019). The analysis of data was done using Atlas.ti and the reason for using Atlas.ti was to assist with the arrangement and organisation of qualitative data. Atlas.ti was used to analyse the data collected through in-depth interviews, FGD, multi-sited ethnography and participant observation, life history, and document analysis. The data collected using these qualitative tools were transcribed and analysed using Atlas.ti.

3.6 Ethical & Personal Considerations

Activism research is dominated by political tensions and pressures which create fear for all participants who sometimes want to take part in the study. During the fieldwork study, I was aware of these tensions and therefore created an atmosphere where the participants in the study feel free to take part in the study. This study was conducted on persons in groups as well as on individuals. I made sure that the quality and integrity of the research were ensured by following appropriate guidelines. I sought informed consent from all participants, institutions, and authorities to conduct research. According to Hardicre, (2014), Informed consent is a process whereby the individuals willingly offer to take part in the research after considering the procedures, benefits, and risks associated with the study. Therefore, in an attempt to win the backing of the participants, the consent form indicated the reason for which the study is being conducted. The study only interviewed the participants who showed interest to participate in the study. The "confidentiality and anonymity" of participants were highly respected during and after the study. Participants were requested to voluntarily take part in the study and their safety was emphasised. The study ensured equal treatment of all participants. The study was cleared by the University of the Western Cape ethics committee (Ethical reference number: HS19/6/36) to carry out a study in the selected areas.

3.7 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, having highlighted the processes and the approaches in this study, I would like to also mention that there were some limitations as well. Due to the outbreak of Covid-19 and

the restrictions that followed, it meant that the number of targeted participants was slightly affected. I had planned to interview 30 participants but due to the change in the situation dictated by Covid-19, I only managed to interview 25 participants and 2 focus group discussions. However, this limitation is not so important to affect the study.

This chapter discussed the research methods used to investigate community activism and contestations on issues of sanitation in informal settlements of Cape Town. The significance of participatory action research (PAR) in activism is noted particularly in the engagements between the community activists and the urban authorities. The source of data in this study is well explained and the reasons for the choice of these sources.

The qualitative choice of research methodology in this study is also well explained and the chosen approaches. The choice of research approach was influenced by the research questions as well as the nature of the study. Tools used for data collections discussed in this chapter include; semi-structured in-depth interviews, multi-sited ethnography, participant observation, document analysis, and FGD.

The next chapter discusses the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study. It gives the theoretical debates related to this study.
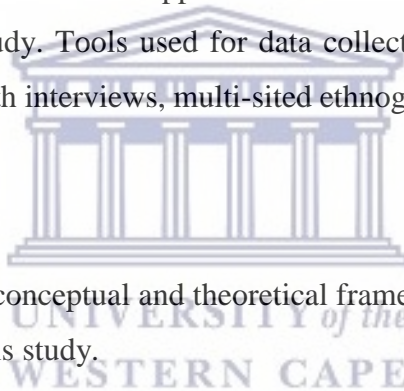
CHAPTER 4

TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF CIVIC ACTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN POOR URBAN AREAS

This section explains the importance of civic engagement in the development of societies. It also highlights the importance of civic engagement in the structure planning and the social transformation of communities. I discuss Putnam's work that explains the civic engagement in Europe and America just to indicate how historical traditions or practices can create social inequalities and exploitation in urban communities. In Putnam's work lack of trust is an indicator of social inequalities and disconnection between the state and its citizens. This section is important to the study because explains the link between structural planning, engagements, and sanitation contestations in Cape Town's informal settlements.

Social change emerges out of human interactions through civic action done with the deliberate intention of changing the social order. One of the ground-breaking works on social change was done by Putnam on civic engagements in Europe and America. Though Robert Putnam's work on social capital (civil society) demonstrates the decline of civic engagement in American modern communities, his study on the regional government of Italy suggests some intriguing findings that the current research can use to understand the civic engagements in contemporary urban communities. In his research done in the 1970s, he attempted to understand the role of social capital in civic engagements in the Italian regional government in the North and South. The study discovered that the regional government registered great success in the North and failed in the South. The failure in the South was due to entrenched historical traditions of civic engagement characterised by "exploitation" (Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, 1994, p.114). Yet in the North, they had a horizontally strong social and political network other than a hierarchical one, so these were missing in the South. Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti (ibid) argue that these facilitate high levels of trust and a strong response which enabled governance. In this regard, civic engagement plays a vital role in the democratic and social transformation of societies. For this reason, the development of communities entirely depends on the state and civil society interactions thus any deviation from this fact leads to the state being running battles with the citizens.

In this way, Putnam developed his thesis of disconnectedness in one of the highly regarded books "Bowling Alone" (Putnam, 2000) attributing it to modernisation. This is to say that connections between people and state are usually sustained through social engagements, the absence of effects this negatively. From his analysis of civic engagement, because the levels of political participation were dwindling, he attributed this to distrust of citizens in the political actors. Uslaner and Brown, (2005), argue that trust is critical in participation levels and that inequality is the strong determinant of trust. So due to a lack of trust, some American citizens according to Putnam (2000) were taking part in other avenues of community participation such as signing petitions, attending public meetings, speaking on radio talk shows, and so forth. Skocpol and Fiorina, (2004), observe that trust is central in Putnam's study of social capital and democracy. Thus, Putnam claims that the loss of trust led to the decline in the membership of associations. However, he observes that not all organisations lost memberships the great social movements (radical) were dominant in the "last third of the twentieth-century" with groups such as civil rights movements, the peace movement, the women's movement, student's movement, the environmental movement, and so forth (p.148). In chapter 9, Putnam refers to Sociologist Robert Wuthnow's eloquent description of small group movements as a quiet revolution in American society that reshapes the community in a more *fluid way, an antidote to social disconnectedness"* (Putnam 2000, p.149). This suggests that these quiet revolutions can be termed a time bomb waiting to explode and you may not know when and how it will explode (DAI, 2018; Thesnaar, 2018). These small groups continuously helped and cared for each member that belonged to their circle and as a result, people in the group felt like they were not alone, which Putnam says that these groups present "an important stock of social capital". The participants, especially from the civil war, began reading and taking part in programs for "self-improvement" and what the later generation would call "consciousness-raising" that finally expanded to civic improvement and community service that developed to "movement for social and political reforms" (Putnam, 2000, p.8).

However, communities founded on exploitation may have challenges in representation due to "inherited patron-client politics" (Fagbadebo, pp.323-380; 2020; Oarhe, 2010, p.39; Uberti, 2016). Therefore, the representative institutions shape politics and can influence the outcome since they shape political actors, determine "identities power and strategies (Putnam, 2000, p.8)". More so, these institutions are also shaped by history. They are the embodiment of

"historical trajectories and a turning point" (ibid, p.8) arguing that what comes first, dictates what comes later. This seems synonymous with the marginalised communities that were born out of colonisation particularly in the global south where the colonial structures of governance are still similar in the current regimes. A recent study has linked the colonial settlers in Israel to neoliberalism (Yacobi and Tzfadia, 2019) and elsewhere, some colonial institutions have not changed much but rather have been reproduced as another exploitative system of neo-liberalisation (Camba, 2015; Dei, 2019).

Most theorists view political institutions essentially as rules of the game and as procedures which govern majority decisions in space where conflicts are expressed and resolved (Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, 1994, p, 8; see also Cheeseman, 2018; Raunio and Sedelius, 2020; Steyn and Kotze, 2019). However, Putnam argues that institutions are supposed to accomplish purposes and not just resolve issues and reach agreements. Citizens want the government to do things that concern them such as reducing crime, public lighting, sanitation, education, and so forth. He makes a comparison between political leaders in civic and less civic regions, claiming that *"Political leaders in civic regions are also readier to compromise than their counterparts in less civic regions"* (Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, 1994, p. 105) thus the effective representation (Skocpol and Fiorina, 2004). This does not mean that there is no controversy and conflict in civic regions but that political leaders in these areas can compromise and reach a resolution. They are not strange to partisan politics and demonstrate the ability to have an openness of partisanship by the various political leaders. The challenge of conflict of interest may however exist but their willingness to compromise helps them to create a healthy environment for development planning. The lack of these traits in the less civic areas makes their citizens feel alienated, exploited, and powerless.

The comparison of the two regions each with different social and economic statuses as a result of historical trajectories appears to indicate some characteristics of unequal distribution of resources that colonial territories in the global south experienced during colonisation and is still reflected in post-colonial systems. The geographical patterns where formerly colonial masters settled had and still enjoy a better civic engagement and are more resourced and developed than the excluded and marginalized areas of the poor. The delivery of services in

the Cities still follows these patterns, making historical planning one of the contributors to service delivery challenges (Chirisa and Dumba, 2012; Watson, 2009).

The contestation on the delivery of basic services has widely been covered in the literature and different theories for centuries. There are also events such as cholera outbreaks, smallpox, measles, smells, etc… that initiated change without contestations from pressure groups (Gullace, 2019; Krugman, 2016). For instance, the great stink of 1858 in the City of London forced the legislators to pass the law enabling the construction of the sewage system to solve the sanitation problem. The great stink that changed the environmental health and perspectives on sanitation will be discussed further in the later section in the historical sanitation debates.

4.1   Theoretical and Conceptual Debates in the Urban Space

This section focuses on the theoretical debates that explain community activism, social change, and the urban poor. Providing this theoretical background is very crucial as it enlightens more on the understanding of community activism, social change, and the urban poor in Cape Town's informal settlements. I focus on the counter-discourse activism, social change theories, and theories that advocate for urban change to explain the historical and contemporary struggle for social inclusion and the "right to the city" and spatial marginalisation of the urban poor in Cape Town. The theories and the debate also focus on social inequality and spatial marginalisation, a legacy that continues to influence the social, economic, and spatial life of the urban poor in the City of Cape Town. It is also important to understand the dynamics that are at play which to a larger extent influences social change in the settlements of the urban poor. The review of community activism and urban movement literature will provide clarity on the dynamics that influence the social change of the urban poor. This review is done to provide the study with much-needed information to underpin the conceptual framework.

The discourses were used in the development of a conceptual framework applicable to all diverse communities, sub-communities, and the social practices in their formations (Lemke, 1993; Power, and Velez, 2020; Vorhölter, 2012). It helps to explain the nature of power dynamics that are usually at play and how these dynamics affect social change most especially when there are conflicting social relations or strains or constraints within the structure. I use

discourses in this study to capture the contemporary debates on sanitation justice. Theories are used as ideas that inform debates on social transformation in the urban system.

In these theories, I will be interested in the actions and social practices and how these practices influence the interaction between urban poor people and the urban authorities. In this regard, Anthony Giddens' structuration theory will be used to explain these practices and how they constitute us as actors. It will also be used to explain the dynamics of the agent and structure relationship as well as contestations on coproduction of social structures that influence resource allocation. This theory will be complemented by the theory of community coalition, critical urban theories, and the literature review on community activism to explain the contestations of the urban poor people in the disadvantaged areas of Cape Town.

4.1.1 Contemporary Perspectives on Community Activism and Social Change
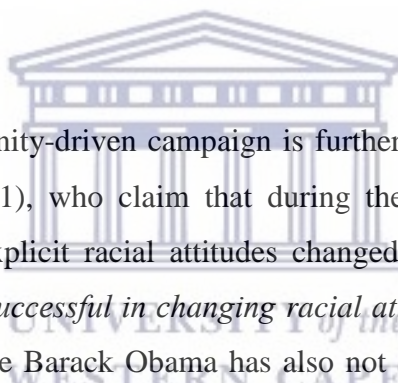
This section highlights how mobilised communities have promoted social transformation in urban poor communities. The sanitation contestations in the City of Cape Town are part of a global movement where marginalized communities are taking up spaces of social engagement to transform their communities.

In recent studies, community activism has made significant inroads to enhancing social change around the globe (Den Hond, and De Bakker, 2007; Herrera et al., 2017). Community activism is propelled by determined individuals who work towards the restoration of social order and social justice. This is so because social challenges are increasingly affecting the social fabric of the vulnerable urban poor communities. Waking up to this realisation, the urban poor communities through activists are engaging urban authorities in an attempt to address the social challenges affecting their communities.

Current research reveals that once communities are mobilised, they can achieve social change and restore social order. Herrera et al., (2017), indicate how the people of Riverton Wyoming in the United States took up the initiative to improve the dirt roads that ravaged their area after being neglected by the city leaders. This was done effortlessly by determined residents who

relied on their skills to perform manual labour and ensure that they enhance social change in their neighbourhood. In this regard, community activism plays a big role in social change most especially to the frustrated and neglected communities, groups, gender, and race. The success of community activism therefore entirely depends on how community members are mobilised in a sustained social change campaign. Peuchaud's (2021) in-depth study with 11 seasonal instructors of journalism captures activism in the United States that was targeted on reconciling journalists training to cover the neglected communities of colour. This kind of training helps journalists who would then assist the urban poor communities in exposing the social ills. Some of these journalism skills have been instrumental in the racial and gender campaign, mostly hashtags Black Lives Matter campaigns (Sawyer and Gampa, 2018; Stewart, Arif, and Starbird, 2018) which dominated the media and the sexual harassment accusations of the Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein something that prompted urgent measures into the issues of gender and race.

 The effectiveness of a community-driven campaign is further demonstrated in the study by Sawyer and Gampa, (2018, p.1), who claim that during the hashtag Black Lives Matter campaign, that implicit and explicit racial attitudes changed. They argue that *"lab-based interventions" have been less successful in changing racial attitudes"*. Even the exposure of high-status black exemplars like Barack Obama has also not succeeded in bridging societal level racial attitudes. They suggest that the antiracist social movements offer an alternative to a potential societal level for curbing racial bias. In their study Racial Attitudes, they investigated 1,369,204 participants at the peak of the struggle before and during the Black Lives Matter (BLM) campaign from 2009 to 2016. After observation for changes within the participants' demographic, the general implicit attitudes changed to less pro-white during the BLM compared with pre-BLM struggle. The explicit attitudes indicated that *"whites became less pro-white and blacks showed less pro-black"* with each moving towards the direction of a no preference position (Sawyer and Gampa, 2018, p.1). In this regard, community activism can offer an alternative to solving community differences and enhance social change.

Through community activism, the members of communities take initiative using their ideas to forge their path. Activists use their ideological differences within their groups which help them

to come up with "different influence tactics to support their claims" (Den Hond and De Bakker, 2007, p.901-924). The authors acknowledge that activists are successfully influencing corporate social change activities and are filling gaps left by the state. The focus of activism is mainly targeted at ensuring that communities gain some leverage in the activities that promote social justice. Therefore, social justice doesn't just or merely exist; it comes as a result of putting ideas together or idealizing the situation, and engaging communities. This is what is needed in the current times to deal with the rising social challenges particularly among the urban poor.

The changing times are leading to urbanisation presenting numerous social and economic challenges (UN HABITAT 2016). Amidst these challenges, there's a reluctance of the state to intervene and provide solutions to the rising social issues. Some scholars claim that the state in most cases is part of the problem and use these situations as a scapegoat (Adam and Moodley, 2013; Thompson, Murry, Harris, and Annan, 2003). The recent book (Adam, and Moodley, 2013) suggest that the liberation struggles in Germany have created a more xenophobic society than the post-fascist Germany, former communist East Germany, and then Canada. The authors also describe South Africa as a country that gained its freedom under the struggle of human rights but has since turned its back to those that seek shelter for peace and justice in the recent xenophobic attacks (ibid). Such issues and the absence of the state have seen the emergence of social movements and activist groups to solve the rising social tensions as well as providing leadership to hold leaders accountable for clean governance.

Social movements politically motivate their cause by insisting that power relations "exploit and subordinate" the majority poor population. Social movements thus advance the collective abilities of their communities to contest processes and structures that perpetuate poverty among their communities. Most of these tensions have a connection with the economic conditions and cannot be separated from the issues of poverty and inequality, particularly in South Africa. Deveaux (2018), argues that the economic conditions have led to the emergence of community-based and poor-led social movements. In his discussion, Deveaux uses the cases of Brazil Landless Rural Worker's Movement (MST), Bangladesh - poor mobilisation organisation (Nijera Kori), and India - the slum and pavement dweller movement. The poor-led social

movements have consistently tried to lay the groundwork for pro-poor and more radical forms of change by organizing and forming a resistance against the urban authorities (ibid, p.698).

4.1.2 Community Activism as Voices of Urban Resistance and Social Change

The nature of both historical and contemporary urban planning excludes and *"holds up the marginalized voices"* (Wilson, 2018, pp. 1-13; Gadinger, Ochoa, and Yildiz, 2019). Wilson argues that *"traditional methods of community engagements"* are not of much importance to the urban poor communities due to an imbalance in the power dynamics. These power dynamics interfere with the social condition of the poor in the long run. The social condition of the pogor people, just like any other social phenomenon is the *"product of social change; and if we want to identify the cause of poverty situation, then we need to examine the dynamics of social change"* (Alcock, 1997, p. 37). These dynamics inform the consciousness of citizens through participation in social activism at the grass-root level which has much-needed potential to force structural reforms (Fitzgerald, 1991; Tattersall, 2009). The search for social injustice has thus forced the urban poor to devise some means to express their grievances and dissatisfaction to the authorities and governments using their organised social groups (Mitlin, 2014). These organised social groups are mainly taking place in the low-income urban settlements specifically by the poor working class and those that are unemployed.

In low-income urban settlements, the 'failures of modernity' are severe. As a result of this failure, certain alternatives are being organised which can offer the much-needed security tenure (Mitlin, 2014). Besides, it also offers the basic services necessary for poor people's acceptable standard of living and health. This is due to the realisation that the promises of the "modern" urban development and accommodation seem not forthcoming, and thus no longer in people's realities. Therefore, in this case, the "evident limits of what individuals and individual neighbourhoods can do in seeking adequate forms of urbanisation can create a perceived need for collective, sometimes movement-based, activities" (Mitlin and Bebbington 2006, p.2).

This means that the local protests are not unique to South Africa but are seemingly part of forms of grassroots protests against the lack of adequate service delivery programs throughout

the world. In recent years, the participation of social groups in street protests captured global attention and managed to force political reforms (Branch and Mampilly, 2015; Bratton and Van de Walle, 1992; Mitlin 2014). These protests appear to be a result of poor living conditions in urban poor communities and a lack of responsiveness from the urban authorities. Mitlin's work claim that one in seven people globally, wake up in a poor-quality shelter with limited or sometimes no access to sanitation. They stay in informal settlements and are neglected by the Authorities and excluded financially by financial institutions with no access to loans and denied opportunities (Datta, 2015). Burdened by all these exclusions, the poor under social movements have successfully negotiated service agreements and at times have approached the courts of Law to seek justice (Mitlin, 2014). The author, however, points out that these social groups are less recognised by authorities though they contribute to the development of poor people. It's important to note here that social movements deal with complex systems and in most cases; they are knowledgeable in negotiating deals with the state acting as a link between the poor and the state. These social movements help to empower the disempowered poor citizens who are then able to assert their voices in well-organised protests seeking social change.

Social movements have been instrumental in challenging the bureaucratic nature of state delivery. Faced with high informality in the urban areas and the scarce resources, states have not been able to deliver to the poor. In his PhD thesis, Muchadenyika (2017) explored how the interaction between urban poor social movements and the urban authorities has successfully ensured urban transformation through offering housing alternatives in the cities of Zimbabwe (Mullins and Moore, 2018) study on collaborative housing in Germany. In this regard, movements have intervened offering alternative ways to deal with certain challenges (Mitlin and Bebbington 2006). They have been part and partial of certain strategic decisions and more influential within discussions in regard to policy.

Elsewhere, certain models have been developed to improve citizen engagement in the delivery of services. The experience of Venezuela in promoting citizenship in the delivery of sanitation services is well captured in the literature. McMillan, Spronk, and Caswell, (2014, p.201-215) work on the technical water committees in Venezuela demonstrate that committees serve as partners in public service delivery connecting the state and the citizens. They argue that these

committees have reduced information asymmetries that exist between those who provide the services and the users of the service. This has improved accountability as well as the participation of citizens as committees form part of the wider political agenda. In this regard, these committees engage citizens and creating platforms for citizen interaction thereby empowering communities. The engagement of citizens helps to reshape the concept of citizenship and the right to the city.

4.1.3   Community Activism towards the "Right to the City" and Social Justice

Lefebvre is a pioneer of the Right to the City theory. In his conceptualisation, Lefebvre views the city as "*an oeuvre*" – work that results from labour and the everyday actions of those who inhabit the city (Attoh, 2011). This means the right to inhabit the city and being able to change it to suit the inhabitants as opposed to alienation. Lefebvre, (1968, p.158) defines "the right to the city" as a "transformed and renewed right to urban life" (Attoh, 2011). Lefebvre's writings were therefore concerned with how capitalism was dictating the terms of how the city should look like as opposed to what the inhabitants like or want and consequently alienating those that lived in the city. His work has influenced other theorists such as Harvey who calls for social justice in the city (Harvey, 1973, 2008; Harvey & Cities, 2012).

The concept of social justice and the city was put forward by David Harvey in his first writing on the right to the city (Harvey, 1973). In an attempt to understand the city system, Harvey uses Marxist geography. From the "reformist appeal for territorial urban justice", he calls for a meaningful urban change. He argues therefore that it's not simply the right to live in the city but rather to take part in reshaping and remaking the city (Harvey 2008, p.23). In his conceptualisation, "the right to the city" is the right to change the world in and this gives us the right to shape ourselves including the environment (i.e., environmental health in communities) surrounding us (Harvey, 2008; Harvey & Cities, 2012). Harvey, point out that it is a collective action that can achieve urban transformation.

However, he recognises the fact that this is not a right that is simple to achieve because the state and the capitalists both attempt to make the city proclaim their power and to resolve the crisis (Harvey, 2003). Because Capitalists are locked into the thinking of making cities as they

choose, they cannot concede to the idea of social justice and hence the need for mass movements to demand that the city pays careful attention to the quality of urban life. The urban poor of Cape Town seem to be making the same statement of their need to take part in reshaping and remaking urban life and determining the environment in which they wish to live. In this regard, the efforts of community activists to engage the urban authorities are to chat in a way that is fair and equitable for the inhabitants living in the City of Cape Town. However, as Harvey notes, this is not an individual task but a collective representation, meaning that the composition of these engagements has to be balanced.

4.2   Counter Discourse Activism

This section discusses debates on activism and how it transforms the social networks using their local social context. It is through these networks that people engage the systems to create the future for their communities. The debates give a different understanding of activism and key features of activism that have been applied by different activist groups. This section is important to the study in that it highlights different activism engagement tactics that have been applied in activism globally. It informs the study on activism tactics and the general contextual understanding of the activism discourse. It also presents an opportunity to keenly study the tactics used or applied in the context of Cape Town and how these engage the structural planning of the city.

4.2.1   Understanding Activism

Martin, Manson, and Fontaine (2007, p.80) suggest that activism is rooted deeply in local behaviour which eventually transforms social networks and creates power dynamics. This view explains the work of individuals in creating social networks using their local social context (Anderson, 2011; Ghanem, 2018). In this way, activism presents the opportunity for people to create networks among themselves and the ability to carry out certain activities to enhance social change. For instance, Martin, Manson, and Fontaine (2007) have used the feminist scholarship of Abrahams (1992); Staeheli and Cope (1994); and Staeheli and Clarke (2003) to conceptualise and justify political action and social movement formation. Other scholars have used activism to understand studies in democratic practice and communication (Frey & Carragee, 2007). Further investigations in the discourse of advocacy and activism are for

example highly rhetorical studies (Fabj and Sobnosky, Stewart 1997) and also in cultural studies (Wood, Hall, and Hasian, 2008).

The current media scholars examined the means through which activists make use of technology to radically participate in democracy (Pickard, 2006). This is of concern to researchers of social movements as activists collectively mobilise and participate in demonstrations (Lance Bennett, Breunig, and Givens, 2008). The organisational communication scholars have tried to figure out how the organisational behaviour of activists presents chances for a worthwhile social transformation (Ganesh & Stohl, 2010), and whether they are functioning as powerful stakeholders (Motion & Weaver, 2005).

In the conceptualisation of activism, scholars like Grunig (1992) cited in Ganesh and Zoller (2012, p66-91) identify compromise, persuasion, education, and pressure tactics and force as key features of communication used by the activist. Ganesh and Zoller, (2012) claim that this conceptualisation excludes "dialogue as a key activist tactic" (ibid, p.66-91). While other scholars such as Diani (1992) suggest that the activity of activism is when it engages with conflict. Others such as Urietta (2005) views activism as the active participation of individuals advocating for a certain issue or issue. Whereas Kim and Sriramesh (2009, p.88) definition of activism is a "coordinated activity of a group that organises voluntarily to solve problems that threaten the common interest of members of that group". Another definition suggested by Martin, Manson, and Fontaine (2007, p.79) views activism as "everyday actions by individuals that foster new social networks or power dynamics." Others like Jordan's (2002) have focused on the principles of activism arguing that while activism today is constituted of repertoires that includes direct action, jamming of culture, politics of pleasure, dis-organisation and hacktivism, they are united by the twin principles of transgression and solidarity.

This suggests that there are various explanations/ understanding of activism in different bodies of literature. However, Martin, Manson, and Fontaine's (2007, p.79) definitions give a clear view of activism concerning this study. This study views activism as sustained everyday actions of individuals in addressing social ills and this is done through engagements in an attempt to create social networks to challenge the existing social order. The study also argues

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that activism is contextually based on issues that trigger them which may differ from time and space. For instance, in the context of South Africa, activism appears to have historical roots that determine the principles of activism and cannot be detached from the current wave of activism.

Though activism in South Africa is sometimes associated with protests and seen as aggressive and violent, Ganesh and Zoller (2012) are critical of researchers who separate activism from the dialogue. They view activism only as a way of protest, then conceive it as "aggressive and violent" (ibid, p.66-91). This means that they dismiss the likelihood of activists taking part in the cooperative dialogue. Ganesh and Zoller point out that these assumptions are normally found in the "descriptions of global activists targeting capitalist structures". Ganesh and Zoller quote the suggestion of Nichols (2003, p.137) on "new" activism:

> "The sad reality of today's global political environment is that we now face a new generation of activists, who could come to dominate—not through force of arms, but through pressure, intimidation and even terror to serve their radical agenda". He further mentions that "Many lead small, roving guerrilla bands of increasingly vocal, rapacious, confident militants, preying on weak businesses, ganging up on large companies, taking to the streets, demanding tribute, and threatening to unleash actions that (they hope) will overwhelm industries, lifestyles, and social, economic, legal and political institutions". (ibid, p.137).

Nichols's (2003, p.137) view on new activism appears dishonest as this depiction of activism misrepresents the fact that most of the activities carried out by activists are non-violent. While I agree with him on the fact of mounting pressure but depicting activists as militants is far from the fact that activists have used non-violent campaigns successfully to enhance social change. For example, the campaign to ban Landmine and cluster ammunition in Liberia applied non-violent tactics successfully (Oseremen and Aikhoje, 2016). This campaign was led by women in Liberia who focused on addressing the causes of the problem rather than the symptoms and was successful in putting a stop to a war that terrorised women and children in Liberia for decades.

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Other scholars picture activism as a form of intense confrontation. For example, the sequential model for activism developed by Gantchev (2009), suggests that activists take part in cost-effective approaches that consist of collaboration before considering the high-cost provocative schemes which include protest and direct action. This rhetorical view of activism as violent and terror ignores the fact that most of the marches, confrontations, and engagements are peaceful (Pandey, 2006). This generalisation also does not bring into consideration different dimensions of activism as put forward by (Pattie, Seyd, and Whiteley, 2003) in the model of civic engagement.

The model explains that there are also individual acts aimed at changing the social structure possibly linked to political activities but are not violent and yet are acts of activism. For example, in the model of civic engagement that was developed by (Pattie, Seyd, and Whiteley, 2003), they identify three dimensions of civic engagements. The first dimension is *individualist* which may support political activities through the buying of goods to raise money, donations, a boycott of programs, voting, signing petitions, and so forth. The second dimension is through *contact activism* which may require making contact with someone in the position of power. The last dimension is *collective activism* which requires participation in a collective effort such as protest. However, their view of individual activism as embedded in political organisations or social movements disregard the fact that acts of activism also take place in informal structures.

4.3   Social Change Theories

4.3.1   Community Coalition Action Theory

Community coalitions are becoming popular among organisations, institutions, states, and even businesses. The proponents of this theory are scholars such as Butterfoss and Kegler who in 2002 endeavoured to synthesise the existing literature on community coalitions to establish a theory (Butterfoss and Kegler 2012). The theory of community coalition has been widely used in public health and social issues (Butterfoss and Kegler, 2012; Kegler, Rigler and Honeycutt, 2010; Kegler and Swan, 2011; Zakocs and Edwards, 2006), though its critics have questioned its effectiveness (Kegler and Swan, 2011). As different sectors of organisations, businesses, or states come together, they are focused on 'one strategic relationship 'of creating opportunities

for the whole members of the community (DiClemente, Crosby and Kegler, 2002; 2009). These are sometimes individuals from diverse organisations and constituencies within communities who agree on working together to achieve a common purpose.

Butterfoss, Goodman and Wandersman, (1993, p.315), define community coalitions as "inter-organisational, cooperative and synergistic working for alliances". Community coalitions are influenced by the notion of community development, citizen participation, and community empowerment. In 1955, the United Nations adopted the notion of community development to enhance social and economic development in the entire community. The assumption here is that the involvement of the community would encourage citizen participation and build a sense of ownership where communities support their development (DiClemente, Crosby, and Kegler, 2002). However, the author points out that coalition may also encounter challenges and problems which are common among other organisations such as conflict of interest, frustrations, unavailability of promised resources but may as well face unique problems different from other formations.

These coalitions are formed to address a certain threat in the community and they build community support for the same cause (DiClemente, Crosby and Kegler, 2002; Kegler and Swan, 2011). After formation, coalition leaders recruit more members to ensure that they are represented by diverse communities. The leaders set operating standards and structures to help coalition members in engaging with the work of the coalition. Local organisations may form coalitions due to limited resources, staff, skills, time, contact, network, influence, and so forth (Whitt 1993) or it may as well be a requirement for funding. Therefore, organisations join coalitions when the benefits outweigh the costs (DiClemente, Crosby, and Kegler, 2002; Kegler and Swan, 2011).

In the case of community activists in Cape Town, their sole purpose of working together was to demand inclusive sanitation. Most of these activists are individuals from poor communities who work with the Social Justice Coalition and Ndifuna Ukwazi. Like any other coalition, this was formed due to the threat of social problems such as gang-raping, murders, robbery that are linked to poor sanitation. Women and children are gang-raped and murdered as they walked

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long distances to go to the toilets at night or sometimes in the early morning hours. Therefore, the benefits of forming a coalition among activists serve a great deal in restoring social order in the informal settlements of Cape Town.

4.3.2 Structural Strain Theory

This theory was put forward by Smelser (1965). The structural strain theory posits that the emergence of social movement is based on six factors. The first factor assumes that people in a given society must first experience the problem or conditions of deprivation. Secondly, the people in that society must realise that this problem exists. Thirdly, the ideology that assumes to be the solution to the identified problem must circulate and be known to the society igniting the influence. Fourthly, there must be an event or several events that trigger the emerging movements into social movements. Last but not least, society or its government must be ready for change. Lastly, the mobilisation and organisation of resources happen as the movements take shape (Sen and Avci, 2016).

In the South African context, and Cape Town in particular, the colonial and apartheid history created a system of social exclusion that continues to dictate where we live and work today (City of Cape Town, 2017-2020). The apartheid system deliberately excluded and impoverished the black majority which continues to entrench the current system even in a democratic South Africa (World Bank, 2018). As a solution to this, the transformative constitution of post-1994 created community forums where the discussions with the local communities take place through the ACTS (Area Coordinating Teams) (Williams 2009, RSA, 1995). However, due to the complexity of the system, these measures have not been effective, which has led to more social problems. It is these social problems that have to awaken communities to begin debates and campaigns of social inclusion. In this regard, the campaign for sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements of Cape Town is because of people's realisation that something must be done for social change to happen.

However, the Smelser Structural Strain Theory does not indicate how these social or mass mobilisations and the services won from these struggles can be sustained. This appears to be a challenge to most of the social movements that emerge from these situations but as they

confront the system, some members are compromised by the system and cease to exist. Some of these movements have been perceived to be in the same bed as the state.

4.3.3   Deprivation Theory

This theory believes that social movements emerge when a section of a certain group is deprived of resources (McAdam, et al., 1988; Opp, 1988). There are two categories or branches of deprivation known as absolute and relative deprivation. The supporters of absolute deprivation handled the grievances of the affected party in isolation of that party's position in society. Meanwhile, supporters of relative deprivation considered the party to be in an unfavourable position compared to other parties in that society (McAdam et al., 1988).

Deprivation theory gives a convincing explanation as to why social movements emerge. However, it does not sufficiently explain why in some societies where there are deprivation conditions, these social movements don't emerge (Sen and Avci, 2016). This means that for social movements to emerge, they must be coupled with other factors that make it possible for them to emerge.
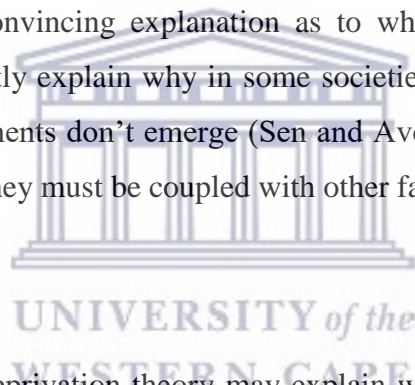
Regardless of this criticism, deprivation theory may explain why contestations and later on social movements arise. For example, in South Africa particularly Cape Town, the 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreigners of African descent narrated a story of deprived societies that unleashed their anger on other deprived helpless foreigners. This is because the deprived communities viewed foreigners as responsible for their unfavourable conditions. In response to this situation, the emergence of social movements such as SJC was to address this misinformation and bring awareness to communities to understand the root cause of their dilemma. However, there appears to be a complex mismatch of power relations where the authorities tend to play the blame game in an attempt to use the presence of foreigners as a scapegoat to the problem that is well known to them. Realizing that this can be dangerous to the already known as "angry nation" community activists emerged to bring the attention of the social challenges affecting poor communities to urban authorities. What remains a challenge is how mobilisation, as well as services secured after these engagements between activists and

urban authorities, can be maintained. This study intends to explore this challenge and suggest possible ways to build a sustainable approach.

4.3.4 Resource Mobilisation Theory

Resource mobilisation theory recognises the importance of the availability of resources within individuals. It is through these resources that individuals, groups in the community can mobilise and solve grievances or challenges affecting the community (Sen and Avci, 2016). These resources may be defined in terms of money, knowledge, dialogue, labour and social status, support of masses, media, and political elite and so forth (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1988; Dobson, 2001). Resource mobilisation theory acknowledges the fact that in some grievances social movements arise but there are also situations where the existence of grievances does not necessarily give rise to social movements.

This theory has been criticised for the fact that it emphasises materialism, meaning that it is based on the availability of resources. Most critics have argued that other social movements emerge even when resources are scarce (Sen and Avci, 2016). The civil rights movement in the US is cited as a good example where civil rights movement leaders were able to mobilise the masses including white sympathisers even though the majority-white Americans were not in support of such ideas of fundamental change.

In Cape Town, the main resource is mobilising communities to demand social change. The mobilisation of residents requires resources and these are facilitated by the social movements. For example, mobilising and planning a match requires hiring a taxi that transports people to Cape Town CBD for a match.

4.3.5 Structuration Theory

Structuration theory was coined by the British sociologist Anthony Giddens. Gidden's two schools of thought indicate that social actions are influenced by the agents who are knowledgeable in what they do but do not necessarily occur under the conditions that are "wholly intended or comprehended" by them (Giddens, 1979, p.160). As a solution to this,

Giddens points out that it is important to focus on social practices than action or structures alone. Its social practices' that "constitutes us as actors and which embody or realise structures" (Craib 1992, p.34). From this argument, Giddens talks about the duality of structures that forms the reproduction of social practices (Giddens 1981, p.5). Structuration means "a process of the production, reproduction, and transformation of structures" (Giddens 1977, p. 130; Craib 1992, p.44).

According to Craib (1992) structuration depends on how the concept of action (actor), structure, institutions, and system are handled. Action is the transformative power (Layder 1997) with the ability to change things. According to Giddens, the ability to do something is inherent in human action. The fact that it's inherent in human action, (Craib 1992, p.36) argues that power can thus never be "absolute" or vanish. Giddens then argues that the consequences of transformative action might be intended or unintended. Consequences might not occur if the action did not take place initially (Layder, 1997). The structures according to Giddens are the *"rules and resources which in social reproduction bind time and space"* which emerge from social action that produces structures (Giddens, 1982, p. 35).

The rules in the structuration theory are embedded in the systems of interaction (Craib, 1992). As these Rules are formed, *"there is always a criteria clause which enables us to vary or change our interpretation according to whatever circumstances people find themselves in"* (Ibid, p,45). Thus, in social life, rules have two aspects - meaning and the way these can be explained or interpreted.

Other than structures, Giddens talks about institutions and social systems. In Giddens' structuration theory the term institution is defined as *"social practices that are mostly embedded in time and space"* and that is made up of social systems like elections, or discussions on policies in democratic governance (Craib, 1992, p.51). Giddens then says that social systems are *"reproduced relations between actors or collectivizers, organized as regular social practices"* (Giddens, 1984, p.25) or *"patterns of relationships constantly structured and restructured in social practices"* (Craib, 1992, p.52). In capitalist society for example, *"the separation and interconnection of the state and economic institutions, in which the immense*

expansion in economic production is consequent upon the freeing of economic activity from the state control" is viewed as the structural principle (Craib, 1992, p. 52).

Analysing social systems, Giddens uses three key structures that come from action and these are legitimation, signification, and domination (Giddens, 1984). The structure of domination comes as the ability of action to change as a result of the exercise of power and different levels (asymmetries) of resources that possess/control (Callinicos, 1985). The structures of domination are produced and reproduced when we acquire resources from individuals so that we can control the conduct of others to reach our own goals. These resources are expressed in two categories, allocative and authoritative. Allocative resources allow humans to exercise their power over subjects through economic institutions. Whereas authoritative is exercised through political systems in place or institutions (Giddens, 1979).

Giddens argues that since transformative power is inherent in human action, any unequal power relation that emerges from asymmetries of resources cannot completely take away all the powers of a weaker party. On this view, Layder (1997, p.166) asserts that *"power relations are never zero-sum affairs where one party is thought to have all power while the person or group who is subjected to it has none at all"*. This means that even the subordinates always have some level of power available to them. Giddens continues this argument via his idea of the dialectic of control which he defines as *"the capability of the weak, in the regularized relations of autonomy and dependence that constitute social systems to turn their weakness back against the powerful"* (Giddens 1982, p.39). Giddens argues that *"all other sanctions no matter how oppressive and comprehensive they may be, demand some kind of acquiescence from those subject to them – which is the reasons for the more or less universal preview of the dialectic of control"* (Giddens 1984, p.175).

From the analysis of social systems and structures, Giddens now looks at the relationship between the two. In social systems, structures only exist in the production and reproduction of the system (Ahrine 1990) and hence *"cease to be when they (systems) cease to function"* (Giddens 1979, p.61). This simply means that structures only exist in the constituting moments of social systems as well as their (social systems) recursive reproduction (Ibid).

As social systems are produced and recursively reproduced by structures, they become susceptible to the process of integration which Giddens' structuration theory attributes to the reflexive monitoring of action by agents (Craib, 1992). This means that in day-to-day relationships, actors *"fit in with other people, negotiating problematic areas"* (Ibid,p. 58). If a system can undergo an integration process, it also follows that a system can disintegrate. The structuration theory posits that disintegration occurs when there are social contradictions within the system (Ibid).

In the case of the urban poor in Cape Town though they can vote in general elections - thus viewed as agents according to Giddens structuration theory where he argues that - social actions are influenced by the agents who are knowledgeable in what they do but doesn't necessarily occur under the circumstances that are "wholly intended or comprehended" by them (Giddens, 1979, p.160). This means that the social system that is produced and reproduced does not work in their favour as these systems are reproduced to suit the same system. However, Giddens talks about transformative power (Layder, 1997) which is the ability to do, achieve or make a change of something inherent in human action. The fact that it's inherent in human action, (Craib, 1992, p.36) argues that power can thus neither be absolute or vanish. In this regard, community activists use this transformative power to *"negotiate problem areas"* (Craib, 1992, p.58). Therefore, social change can only be possible once there is an attempt to transform the problem areas only through transformative action which can only take place as a result of sustained action.

4.3.6   Transformative Social Change

Transformation generally is defined as *"relatively rapid and fundamental shifts in the state of the human and/or natural world, whether they involve naturally occurring or human-induced change"* (Armitage, Charles, and Berkes, 2017, p.9). More specifically, these deliberate transformations can be seen as those transformations that people carry out in a 'purposeful' way "which can be considered purposefully understood and pushed through by various stakeholders with the intervention to initiate change (Chapin et al., 2012). Changes like that may affect governance procedures and institutions over which communities decide and thought other pathways of development (O'Brien, 2012).

Therefore, transformative social change takes place through continuous examples of transformation (Weick and Quinn, 1999), like a sequence of structural combinations targeted on "adding, splitting, transferring, merging, or deleting organisational units" (Girod & Whittington, 2015, p.1521). After many years, repeated change might result in radical social change (Huy, 2001, Plowman et al. 2007). A good example is Hewlett-Packard, which after years "changed from an instrument company to computer firm through rapid, continuous product innovation" (Brown & Eisenhardt, 1997, p.2). Therefore, in the context of Cape Town, these deliberate transformations can be witnessed in the people's struggle for social change that can be traced back to history from the time of colonisation and apartheid. Today we can attest to the fact that the debate on radical social change is currently ongoing due to many years of a repeated and deliberate attempt to social change which (Huy, 2001, Plowman et al., 2007) says finally turns into radical change. However, complete radical change requires critical urban engagements and the involvement of different stakeholders to make it sustainable.

4.4   Theories Advocating for Urban Change

4.4.1   Critical Urban Theory

Scholars like Hervey, Lefebvre, Marcuse, and Castells, (Merrifield, 2002, Katznelson, 1993), are a force behind critical theory who are critical of hyper-'commodification of the urbanisation'. These scholars share a common idea that cities are a site for 'commodification and profits.

The proponent of critical theory believes that the theory must "chart the path" for a possibility of a 'post-capitalist urbanisation' (Harvey, 1967, p.314). They also believe that there must be "socially just, sustainable" ways of urbanisation that are fine for all human species. The critical theory emerged as a result of injustices that Harvey referred to as exploitation as… "Cities are founded on the exploitation of the many by the few. Thus, urbanism founded on exploitation is a legacy of history. A genuinely humanizing urbanism has yet to be brought into being. It thus remains for a revolutionary theory to chart the path from urbanism based in exploitation to urbanism appropriate for the human species" (Harvey, 1967, p.314).

On the other hand, some scholars have questioned critical theory (Fraser, 1998). Another scholar points out that, this very question should be asked about "critical urban theory", as to "what is critical about urban critical theory?" (Brenner, 2009, p.204). Brenner observes that "Precisely because the process of capitalist urbanisation continues its forward movement of creative destruction on a world scale, the meanings and modalities of critique can never be held constant; they must, on the contrary, be continually reinvented in comparison to the unevenly evolving political-economic geographies of this process and the diverse conflicts it engenders" (Brenner, 2009, p.204).

In the context of Cape Town, contestations on the commodification of the city are evident across all social movements. The issues of redistribution have constantly been brought in the mix and the argument that the affluent areas are prioritised at the expense of the informal settlements where the urban poor stay. In this regard, social justice must be the core foundation of a sustainable city where there are better living conditions for all human species. The work of critical urban theorists has influenced other theorists who call for urban reforms and struggle for a just city.
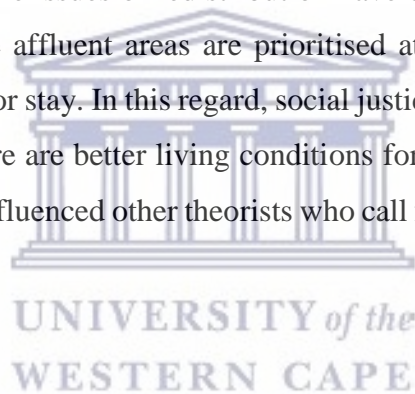
4.4.2   The Just City Theory

The just city theory started taking shape in the 1960s, most especially in the work of Gans (1968) and Jacobs (2016). In the 1980s, the search for a just city continued in the work of Fainstein & Fainstein (1986), Mollenkopf (1983), Stone (1989), and Kohn (2004). These scholars argued in favour of pro-poor policies in urban places other than the policies that promote tourism in business districts. Their argument was to compel decision-makers to develop "a model of the just city" that includes "public investments and regulations" which is focused on "equitable outcomes" other than prioritizing those that are already well off (Fainstein, 2010, p.36). Fainstein is critical of actions that disadvantage the poor who are already vulnerable and excluded from the entitlements enjoyed by those that already have much.

Fainstein proposes three components that form a just city and these include democracy, diversity, and equity. The component of democracy according to Fainstein gives people control over their environment and may choose their path. Feinstein further points out that a 'just city' must accept diversity of all kinds, and this, of course, may include social mixing. Lastly, she believes that 'the just city' must be equitable. She, however, notices that there might be tensions that may arise in fulfilling the three components. For example, a community living together in harmony may be relocated under urban renewal policies to a different area in favour of diversity at the expense of democracy and equity. Fainstein advises that amidst these 'tensions and trade-offs', the equity should always prevail.

Fainstein uses a philosophical approach to explain the just city borrowing from John Rawls' concept of the 'veil of ignorance' (Fainstein, 2010, p.36; Wooldridge, 2020). The principles of the 'veil of ignorance' are described using societal roles: - It assumes that societal roles are changed and are brought back differently. Someone who owned slaves would probably expect to get slaves again when this change takes place but the principle of the veil of ignorance has it that no one knows in which role they will return. In fact, the probability is that you might not get slaves back. Consequently, slave owners would come to accept the reality of a world where slavery no longer exists.
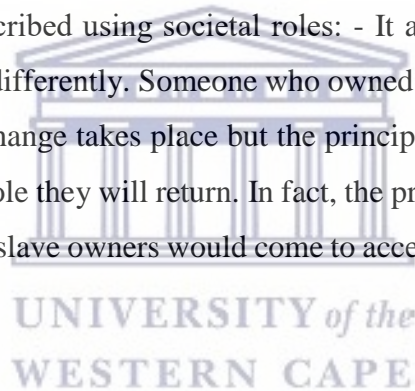
She points out that planners are supposed to use their discretionary powers to enforce justice. She says that communication rationality in deliberative planning alone is not enough to build a 'democratic city'. Fainstein then argues that one must not only consider the process but rather look at the outcome as well.

In the context of Cape Town, the contestations of the urban poor in the informal settlements over poor conditions of living are due to the neglect of the principle of equity. This has opened debates on the comparison of budget allocations in urban poor areas and suburbs where those who are well off reside. In this regard, a just city must exercise equity in planning and redistribution of resources, making sure that those who are less privileged are given a better footing that would enable them to shrive. Thus, the engagements between community activists and urban authorities must focus on addressing the question of equity and be willing to accept

trade-offs where tensions rise. However, these trade-offs must ensure a full representation of all stakeholders involved in the process for sustainable social change. To ensure successful collaboration, there must be a clear communication plan that enables stakeholder engagement.

4.4.3 Collaborative/Communicative Planning

Forester's (1993, 1985, and 1989) work on communicative planning provided an alternative to planners (Lauria and Whelan 1995) that could not be convinced with the 'instrumental rationality' which did not consider the planning values. This approach acknowledges the fact that several types of ideas are socially constructed and therefore accepts that values can't be pre-planned but rather are done in a communicative process. The actions of planners have been established that their actions can help or hamper communication (Forester, 1994; Lauria & Soll, 1996).

The communicative approach, therefore, is a new paradigm that changes the should be of *"planning practice to what planners do"* (Innes, 1995, p.183-189). Thus several scholars have highlighted how planners "construct meanings" in their everyday practice (Hoch, 1994; Forester, 1994). So planning is also viewed as a dialogue (Healey, 1996). Similarly, planners can *"find cracks in the structure where the agency can survive"* (Lauria & Whelan 1995, p.8). They do this by exercising their powers and fighting 'misinformation' (Forester, 1989). Using their powers, planners can fight influential parties that want to use the information to perpetuate inequality.

In the context of Cape Town, the impact of colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid planning has become a contested issue. This is because planning in Cape Town lacks the aspect of values for humanity as it has been acknowledged by SAHRC (2012) that the city violates the human rights of those who stay in the informal settlements. The same argument is put forward by the SJC activists who accuse the city of ignoring the social conditions of the poor people in the informal settlements. Sustainable sanitation can be achieved when planners involve communities as key stakeholders in the sanitation planning process (Lagardien, and Cousins, 2004). In this regard, planners auto to understand the social conditions of the urban poor through community engagement but also respecting their values and dignity.

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4.4.4   Sustainable Livelihood Approach

Over the years, the sustainable livelihoods approach has been used and encouraged by campaigners of development such as the British (DFID) who are viewed as the sole promoters of this approach (DFID, 1999). However, we can also trace this approach in the world of scholarship most especially in Chambers and Conaway (1992). Chambers and Conaway's work uses words such as 'making a living' and most of these words can also be traced in other definitions. A good example is where Chambers and Conaway apply the words *"the means of gaining a living"* or *"a combination of the resources used and activities are undertaken to live"* (Chambers 1995, p.6). Chambers (1988) argues that sustainability can be understood as keeping and improving the productivity of a resource for a lifetime. To Conway and Barbier (1988, p.653) it means *"ability to maintain productivity, whether of a field, farm or nation, in the face of stress or shock".* Therefore, sustainability can as well be "an end objective" in "a livelihood plan" and thus these terms can be seen as interrelated. Livelihood as a term looks at building the people's 'strength' and helping them to shape their lives.

This approach has major/keywords that can assess the "development" of individuals or a certain society. Words such as *"well-being", "livelihood security", "capacity", "equity", "sustainability"* (Chambers & Conway 1992, p.35-36). The livelihood approach focuses on people's strengths as well as their weaknesses and building them to be able to have improved well-being (Chambers, 1999).

Some scholars have criticised the livelihood approach framework especially during the time it was established in the Brundtland Commission. Within this framework, they don't see the possibility in the sustainability of change for example environment, development, and resources (Chambers, 1987). Though chambers agree that the Brundtland commission intervened in the issues affecting the poor, he seems to question whether it's good enough. Daly (1996, p.1) argues that the definition of sustainable development stated in Brundtland is "sufficiently vague" to consent for "abroad consensus". The author maintained that "sustainable development" is "development without growth beyond environmental lines" (Daly 1996, p.1).

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Chambers (year) believes that the poor, environment and development should have been at the centre of the discussion during the Brundtland Commission. Chambers argues that sustainable development is achieved when the poor are put first. He believes that you cannot achieve the objectives of development and the environment if you don't put the poor people first. Chambers further points out that the first practical step should be to understanding what the poor people's real needs are and he says this may differ from place to place, one person to another, and also from time to time. To him, dignified living and health are prime examples of starting points to address issues affecting the poor.

Transformation of social structures, rights, access to assets, and freedom are factors that can ensure a sustainable livelihood. These factors enable one to live a meaningful life. Chambers (1999, p.1) in his words points out that:

"Many of the hopes of earlier decades have faded and many beliefs have been challenged and changed. The visions of the 1950s and 1960s for a better world with full employment, decent incomes, universal primary education, health for all, safe drinking water, a demographic transition to stable populations, and fair terms of trade between the rich and poor countries, have in no case been realised."
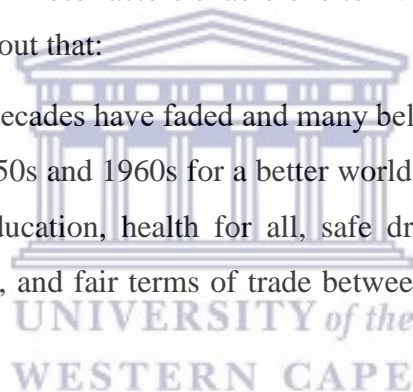
Drawing from a sustainable livelihood approach, proper and safe sanitation is fundamental to the development and transformation of people living in informal settlements. This is to say that healthy living conditions are a prerequisite for the well-being and development of any community. The sustainability of the environment and the resources of the community play an integral part in the development. It must be said also that for development to happen, there must be an equal distribution of resources and easy access to facilities, and a transformation of social structure. Therefore, the contestations around the distribution of resources in Cape Town seem to be informed by the underdevelopment in certain areas particularly black settlements.

4.5 Structuration Approach: Towards A Conceptual Framework

This study uses Anthony Giddens Structuration theory and sustainable livelihood to explain the work of community activists in urban poor communities. This approach is a good fit because it allows an analysis of actions- individuals and wellbeing of groups in the social setting - social systems. In this regard, community activists and other stakeholders that are engaged in the activism for changes in the social environment of the poor form an important component of this conceptual framework.

4.5.1 The Conceptual Lens on Thematic Issues Under investigation

In this section, I explain the above discussions and the thematic issues that are being investigated in the diagram below. This discussion involves four components which include social change, margins of the society, engagements, and urban sanitation delivery. Social change in the informal settlement is advocated for towards sustainable sanitation with improved sanitation services. Margins of the society are the urban poor people who are affected by poor sanitation and other social challenges. Engagements involve the exchange of ideas, contestations, tensions, presenting alternative views on the social challenges and the plan of action with a promise of ensuring sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements. These engagements are reached after persistent contestations, tensions, and coercion to address the social challenges in the informal settlements. The composition of these engagements must include all the relevant stakeholders including community members of the affected areas to have a say in sanitation delivery. Sanitation delivery is a result of contestations between the urban poor and the urban authorities who are decision-makers in sanitation planning.

According to Giddens, in transformative action, both intended and unintended consequences come as a result of action since these consequences cannot occur if it is not for the action that takes place (Layder 1997). This means that in the absence of transformative action, authorities tend to ignore the social challenges facing the urban poor communities. In this regard, the initiative taken by the community activists enables them to interact and engage the social structures that marginalise and excludes the poor in the informal settlements. Giddens also argues that it is important to also focus on social practices that embody these actions. By social practices, I mean the marginalisation and exclusion of the urban poor in the distribution of

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resources which ultimately creates and widens the inequality gap. Through engagements between community activists and the urban authorities, these social practices can be addressed.

I suggest that consistent engagements between community activists and urban authorities create an environment for sustainable sanitation in urban poor communities. This makes social transformation possible and also keeps the urban authorities in check. The idea of stakeholder engagement is key to sustainable sanitation and therefore, community members form an integral part of these engagements. In this way, community activists can create new networks across informal settlements, which make it possible to tackle other forms of social challenges such as crime. In this regard, this form of the idea is essential in the transformation of the urban poor communities.
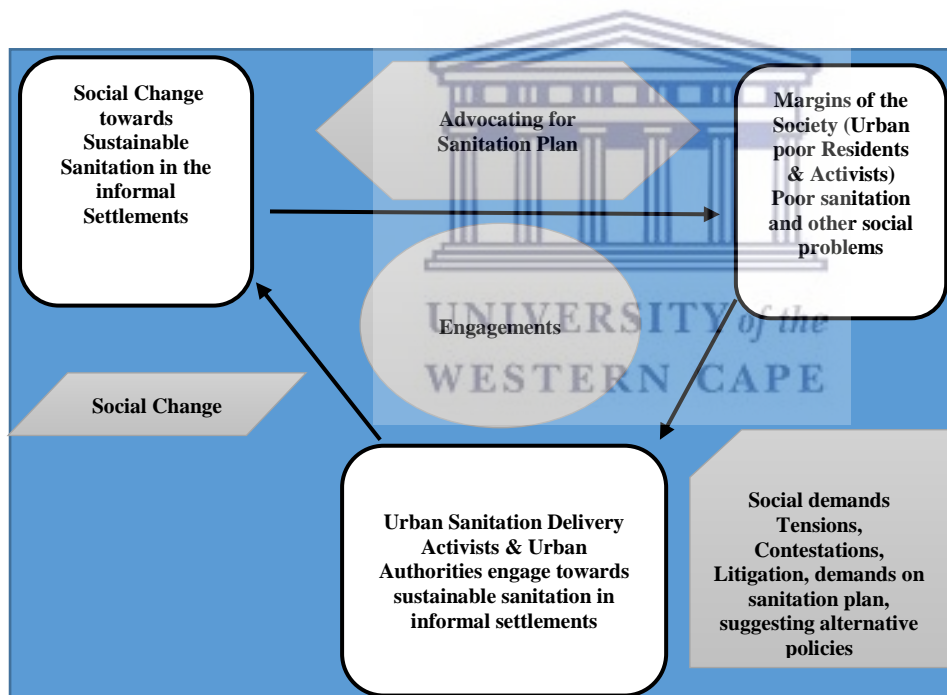
Figure 4. 1. Thematic Relationships under Investigation
Source: *Author's Construct 2019*

4.6   Historical and Contemporary Debates on Sustainable Sanitation

4.6.1   The Great Stink of 1858 that Triggered Action of Lawmakers

History is not always a pair of roses, it sometimes smells before it changes for the better (Jackson, 2014). The smell of history in the City of London changed the world view on sanitation for the better. The summer of June 1858 in the great City of London produced the heatwave that baked the rotten sewage in the Thames River which was strategically located in the Westminster building that houses the decision-makers (Halliday, 2001a & b; 2007). Though there were debates and contestations on the state of sanitation in the City of London for so many years, the local government never agreed to the idea until the summer of June 1858.

Before the great stink, the City of London suffered the cholera outbreaks that claimed around 30000 people between the year1831-1854. Therefore, the reality is that shit kills and can lead to the suffering of many lives (Bongartz, et al., 2010). The outbreak of cholera was caused by the polluted Thames River which was used as a "dumping ground for human excreta and affluent industrial waste" (Redfield, and Robins, 2016, p.145-162). Initially, Cholera was believed to be caused by the inhalation of polluted air that came from the river Thames. This school of thought was challenged by the scientist, Dr. John Snow who argued that Cholera was caused by drinking contaminated water with human excreta (Waterborne disease). Many Londoners could not buy into John Snow's idea partly because they couldn't believe that they were consuming their waste dumped in River Thames. To prove his argument, Dr. Snow located one tap that was serving one of the affected communities and with the help of the community leader, managed to disconnect it and the spread of cholera stopped immediately. Some remained with doubt until the summer of 1858 when the smell started to invade the city with the most affected people being the legislators who could not survive the smell even behind the walls painted with a mixture of chloride (Robins, 2014).

The smell forced the legislators to pass the law to allow the budget and approve the money that would construct the victorian sewage system that changed the industrial urban planning and improved public health in the city. This was necessary given that the city experienced rapid population growth between the years 1800 to 1850, meaning that the pressure on unplanned sewage was mounting for the increasing population. Further, the unplanned housing and

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infrastructure for the overcrowded citizens meant that sanitation was becoming a big challenge that was not being given attention by the politicians. Interestingly, after years of demands to fix the sanitation challenge in metropolitan London with no success, the filthy smell forced legislators to pass the legislation in 18 days that saw Joseph Bazalgette's sewage project started (Halliday, 2001 a & b; 2007).

Throughout Europe, it appears that the great stink was associated with the rise of industrialisation in the 18th and 19th Centuries. Van Oosten (2016), writes about the great smell in the Leiden Netherlands where canals were contaminated and polluted with water from latrines and other industrial waste. This led to the spread of small traditional diseases such as measles, smallpox and also led to the outbreak of cholera that claimed many lives. Movements for hygiene in (1840-1890) pushed for the local governments to improve the sanitation infrastructure (ibid). The response from the local government was very slow and it took constant lobbying to get full attention. The social confrontation about the pollution in the cities and towns involved three different stakeholders with the local government as principal stakeholders. The other stakeholders were the industrialists, the private users, and the hygiene movement.
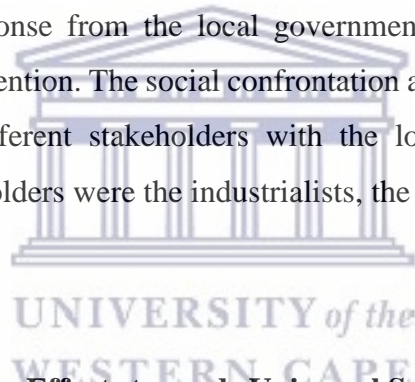
4.6.2   The Global Community Efforts towards Universal Sanitation

The resolution on the human right to sanitation was adopted by the UN general assembly and the UN human rights council in 2010 (UN general assembly 2010a; UN General assembly 2010b). This means that sanitation is recognised as a fundamental human right entitled to all. Since 2000, the global community has committed itself to fight poverty and improve the hygiene and sanitation conditions for all global citizens (WHO, 2004). The World summit on sustainable development held in Johannesburg in September 2002 reaffirmed these commitments and added specific targets for hygiene and sanitation. This is due to the realisation that the provision of sanitation is a major development intervention that helps to solve the burden of illness. However, by the end of millennium development goals, these targets were not achieved and the world hopes to achieve this under sustainable development goals (SDGs) in 2030.

The right to equal sanitation was approved by the UN human rights council in the year 2010 and 2015 (United Nations, 2010b; United Nations, 2015). As the "millennium development goals" (MDGs) concluded in 2015, the focus was redirected towards ending global poverty under the sustainable development agenda (SDGs). The SDGs stipulate the rights to equal sanitation services (UN Nations, 2018). The equality of sanitation services serves as an opportunity and challenge to the sustainable development goals for stakeholders in the health sector (Cumming and Slaymaker, 2018). In the launch of SDGs, the world leaders agreed on the most ambitious target to achieve universal access to safe water, adequate and equitable sanitation for all by the end of 2030. Along these targets, the world is still gripped in the reality that social inequality is still persistent in the global community. Access to sanitation services still raises inequality concerns and without any interventions, the goal of universal access to sanitation will be difficult to achieve.

More than two decades ago, the universal agreement to ensure a reduction of people who do not have access to sanitation by half under MDGs managed to reach a target with at least 2.1 billion gaining access to sanitation. However, towards the end of MDGs, 2.4 billion people still lacked access to better sanitation facilities particularly in developing countries (UNICEF and WHO, 2015) in areas where the sections of the poor are concentrated. This means that SDGs focusing on equality will need new approaches that address equity in the redistribution of sanitation services which has prevented the vulnerable from accessing these services.

World health organisation believes that achieving adequate sanitation requires communities and civil society organisations to come to the party by lobbying governments, providing expertise and support through social mobilisation, establishing what the communities want (WHO, 2004). The WHO thus calls on civil society to be bold and show governments what it means to live without sanitation. This is due to the successes that civil societies have registered particularly in the informal settlements where the urban poor people live. Their engagement with the municipal actors has proved crucial in the success of service delivery to vulnerable areas of the poor (Shaheen, 2018). The delivery of improved sanitation addresses the issues of social inequality.

For instance, in South Africa, sanitation is highly connected to issues of the right to equality (Liebenberg, 2014). This is due to a long history of discrimination and segregation of black people which created structural challenges that still haunt the social body of the communities (Pieterse, 2008). In the 2014 SAHRC report, the deputy chairperson Preg Govender noted that "Those who lack most rights, including water and sanitation in informal settlements or schools are those were historically deprived of their rights. They remain those who are black and poor" (SAHRC, 2014:7)[17]. In this regard, sanitation affects the ability of marginalised communities to participate on equal footing in the economy and denies the constitutional rights to a good life.

4.6.3 Approaches to Sanitation in Global South

The urban sanitation challenges in the developing countries have led to a policy shift in the delivery of sanitation from the centralised system to community-based approaches. This is due to a realisation that the top-down approaches have not helped in improving the level of sanitation especially in poor areas (Galli, Nothomb, and Baetings, 2014). The idea of people-centred approaches is to enable the participation of communities in the decision-making process which top-down approaches hamper. Sustainable projects have to include all the stakeholders in the planning and decision-making process (Bahadorestani, Naderpajouh, and Sadiq, 2020; Eichhorn, Hans, and Schön-Chanishvili, 2021; Mathur, Price, and Austin, 2008; Wiek, and Walter, 2009). Some scholars have argued that policymakers in urban planning use centralised and bureaucratic systems in the implementation of sanitation programs without consultations with the urban residents (Eawag, 2005; Rosemarin et al., 2008). The change in the approach is intended to involve communities in the decision-making process. However, the marginalised communities continue to face delivery challenges as planning is mainly focused on affluent areas in the cities of the global south. In this regard, it appears that the sanitation planning and delivery in these cities still follow the colonial system (Letema, van Vliet and van Lier, 2014) where sanitary planning can be visibly seen in the geography of the city

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[17] SAHRC Report on the "Right to Access Sufficient Water and Decent Sanitation in South Africa": 2014. Available Online at: " https://www.sahrc.org.za/home/21/files/FINAL%204th%20Proof%204%20March%20-%20Water%20%20Sanitation%20low%20res%20(2).pdf". Accessed on 24th /06/2019. 11:54pm.

(McFarlane, 2019). The colonial planning seems to be taking another form into neoliberal planning that builds cities for profits but not for the urban poor settlements.

The intervention from different actors such as activists and non-governmental organisations, prompted governments to advocate for a policy shift. It came with novel innovations to refurbish unserviced urban and rural areas. This new development is intended to involve communities in the search of solutions to the sanitation challenges. Luthi et al., (2010) discuss two sanitation approaches in both rural (Community led-total sanitation-CLTS) and urban (household-ed environmental sanitation - HCES) approaches. In the rural setting, the community-led total sanitation is intended to address hygiene and behaviour change by urging communities to ensure a free open defecation environment. This is one way of promoting participation to separate human waste from human contact. HCES emulates the framework of communication planning which enables the participation and interaction between planners and various stakeholders in the planning process using bottom-up approaches (Hamdi and Goethert 1997). However, Luthi et al., (2010) seem to argue that in heterogeneous cities the prevalence of the rural norms and attitudes makes it relevant to consider planning choices and service delivery approaches that are traditionally used in the rural setting.

On the other hand, Luthi, et al., (2009), observe that urban areas with fast urbanizing "non-tenure informal settlements" are completely different from the poor rural areas. They implement sanitation programs that are very complex due to the heterogeneous population of people coming from different shades of life and thus different social norms. There is also a question of land tenure that makes it hard to achieve sanitation infrastructure with tenants and absent landlords. Due to the dense urban population, choosing technology becomes so difficult (Mara and Alabaster, 2008). Lastly, the institutions in the urban areas are fragmented with different stakeholders such as local authorities, pressure groups, department of health, communities and so forth all make claims. Therefore, contextual complexities (Isunju, et al., 2011), policy shifts have not worked for some in the urban poor setting where the historical patterns of urban planning still exist.

Though Luthi, et al., (2009) observe that the HCES approach has worked for the urban poor areas, citing the experience of Dodoma in Tanzania where powerful institutions such as the Capital Development Agency (CDA) controls all the public land and were able to regularise all the unplanned/informal settlements in 2007 and made sure that all the inhabitants' secured tenure. This means that answering the question of tenure is part and parcel of solving the sanitation crisis in the urban poor areas. For instance, Williams (2005) refers to the Grootboom case in Cape Town where the previously disadvantaged communities approached the courts in the contestation of the social-economic rights, seeking a right to decent housing and challenging evictions, a case which not only resonated in South Africa but also across the boarders making claims in terms of entitlements to social economics rights in the human rights law (London, 2008). Thus, in areas where the question of tenure is still unanswered, other stakeholders such as pressure groups are pursuing the rights-based approach to improve the urban poor sanitation in the informal settlements. This is so important because, in the last four decades, environmental health has gone beyond sewage and refuses to social, economic and political, and ecological elements making it a very complex phenomenon (Iles 1996, p.48; Allison 2002).
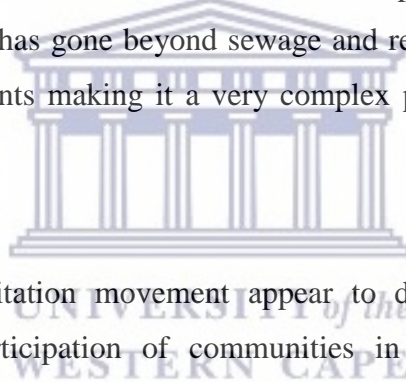
These approaches in the sanitation movement appear to dwell much on changing the behaviours, hygiene, and participation of communities in an attempt to improve the environment. Certainly what has not been exhausted in the literature is the politics of sanitation in the urban setting (including power relations) and the complexity surrounding tenure especially for the urban poor in the informal settlements (Hutchings, et al., 2018; Kramm and Deffner, 2018; Luthi et al., 2009; Scott et al., 2019). How do we then address behaviour and hygiene change in the areas where there is no sanitation infrastructure due to lack of tenure? Several studies have highlighted a lack of investment in sanitation due to tenure, particularly where families feel that there is no need to invest in a temporary location (Scott, Cotton, and Khan, 2013; Hutchings et al.,2018). It is also true that in the informal settlements due to high density, there is no space where families can build for example toilets. Similarly, most informal settlements are found in low-lying areas and therefore do not favour most of the sanitation infrastructure (Taing, 2015). All these issues amount to the question of human rights to equality in the urban setting.

4.6.4   Urban Sanitation and the Marginalisation of the Poor

This section explains issues of urban sanitation and the marginalisation of poor communities, particularly in the global south. It looks at the limitations of attaining improved sanitation in the urban poor communities where land tenure is non-existent. It highlights how urban authorities have persistently refused to invest in sanitation in illegally occupied urban spaces. The challenge of land tenure in Cape Town also appears to be the greatest barrier towards achieving sustainable sanitation in informal settlements. This is because informal settlements have always been viewed as illegal even when they have been in existence for more than 30 years. Addressing issues of land tenure will guarantee the improvement of sanitation and related contestations.

The contestation around the right to sanitation demonstrates the unfinished business of the right to the city. When Henri Lefebvre (1991) wrote a critic of every day, he viewed the urban space that needed transformation to suit all human species. Poor sanitation in the urban poor areas exemplifies the alienated inhabitants of the city crying for inclusion in the planning of social programs. World over, with the rise of activism for human rights, these issues are emerging as key concerns for discussion and calling for solutions.

As Alberto Wilde, Ghana Country Director for Global communities wrote that urban Sanitation is now a messy problem for habitat III and observes that sanitation is one of the important issues that needs to be solved in the "New Urban Agenda" (Global communities, 2014). This comes with the sad reality that one in three people in the world lack access to sanitation. The rapid growth of urbanisation in the developing world means that this number will soon surpass the current statistics.

The problem of sanitation in developing economies is worsened by the fact that the poor live in areas that are sometimes underserved. The majority of the people live in informal settlements that are not serviced by the urban authorities. United Nations seem to suggest that the lack of capacity makes it hard for the administration of urban areas to plan for the poor and marginalised areas. The Joint monitoring program report predicted that the number of people without access to sanitation will increase from 296m to 661million by 2015, (UN JMP, 2008).

Before 2015, WHO reported that 756 million lacked improved sanitation in 2014(WHO/UNICEF JMP 2014) and by the end of 2015 the millennium goals target was not achieved. Jenkins et al., (2014) seem to contest these estimates, arguing that it might be even more simply because most of the facilities do not comply with the standard of safe and sustainable sanitation.

The lack of sanitation in the urban neighbourhood appears to be associated with tenure problems that sometimes prevent individuals and urban authorities to invest in improvements in sanitation. Most of the residents who live in informal settlements or urban slums may fear to invest in sanitation if they know that they will be forced to leave shortly. Likewise, urban authorities become hesitant to invest in sanitation when they feel that people are staying in the area illegally. Sometimes, urban authorities argue that if they invest in sanitation, then the people may be enticed to stay forever. The case in point is the Bombay high court in India that rejected the petition to force the urban authorities to provide water to the urban slums on the basis that they will not move once they receive such services[18]. This may sometimes be done on the assumption that this will encourage many immigrants to come to the urban and intensify informal dwelling. Such approaches intended and unintended continue to marginalise the poor and widens the inequality gap in the Cities and Urban capitals.

4.7 CONCLUSION

This theoretical chapter discussed the key debates that explain community activism, social change, and urban sanitation both in the global north and south. The chapter argues that civic engagement and social action play a significant role in the social transformation of societies. Civic engagement and social action explain the historical and contemporary planning for social transformation and the right to the city for the marginalised people. The evidence on civic engagements and social action in the global north was presented to highlight the historical

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[18] The Bombay high court declares that illegal slums should not get water connection agreeing to the decision by the civic body. Available online at: https://www.hindustantimes.com/mumbai/illegal-slums-should-not-get-water-connection-says-hc/story-kZJo7qwV3B3gWVsXMzBXWM.html. Accessed on the 30th 06 2019. 04:29 pm.

precedents of social transformation. It also demonstrated that the interaction of the state and citizens creates an opportunity for social change to thrive. For example, the reviewed work of Putnam gives an account of civic engagements of Italy and America where levels of trust promote citizen participation whereas inequality affected the levels of trust.

In political arrangements where there has been a complete social change, there are compromises between citizens and those in leadership. The engagements allow discussions around unfair and unequal distribution of resources and addressing social exclusion. The right to the city also advocates for the right to live and change the city to what suits the inhabitants of the city. This is only possible where there are a fair representation and high levels of trust between the citizens and the leadership.

Movements have been very effective in cases where there are low levels of trust. They have managed to promote social change in marginalised societies. For instance, the small group movements that Putnam refers to as "quiet revolution" and the women's movement in Liberia helped to shift the goal post and changing the social fabric of the society. Elsewhere in the global south, the movement groups have facilitated service agreements with governments and others to help the urban poor to access improved sanitation.

Alternative approaches to sanitation have been advocated for by the activists to shift from the top-down to bottom-up approaches where communities as key stakeholders are consulted in the decision-making of sanitation planning. The international community has also committed to the ideals of improved sanitation through the SDGs 6. The commitment to improved sanitation was informed by the past experiences of disease outbreaks and other sanitation-related.

The literature has noted changes that have been facilitated by the law of nature. For instance, the outbreak of diseases and unimaginable smells forced decision-makers to act on the eminent problems. The great stink in the summer of 1858 in the city of London was one of those events that forced the legislators to act. This perhaps informed the past and present demonstration of

"shit politics" that was witnessed in 2011 and 2020-2021 protests of water, toilets during the covid-19 lockdown in the city of Cape Town. The current contestation is on-demand to provide settlements in the city of Cape Town with improved sanitation delivery. The alternative idea suggested by the activists is to provide in-situ upgrading of informal settlements and enhancing social change.

CHAPTER 5:

COMMUNITY ACTIVISM AND SOCIAL CHANGE OF THE URBAN POOR IN THE POST-APARTHEID CITY

5.1   Introduction

This chapter explores the role of community activism and social transformation in the urban poor communities in post-apartheid South Africa. It highlights how those that are in the margins of the society engage the city in the delivery of sanitation services. The engagement with the city takes different forms and sometimes becomes radical which suggests that the engagement process does not fully involve them, particularly in the decision-making process. The reason for investigating the decision-making process is to understand the cause of tension and contestations in the urban poor areas. The previous chapter discussed the role of engagement in the social transformation of society. Understanding the decision-making process helps to make sense of the sanitation delivery demands in the urban poor communities. The primacy of such sanitation delivery demands is further discussed in detail. In the next chapter, these demands are viewed as a move towards urban change and challenging the marginalisation of the poor amidst challenges.

Social struggles in Cape Town like any other apartheid city have been fought on different fronts and approaches as continued demand for social change. These approaches are guided by the provision of the constitution on citizen participation in local government in Chapter 7 Sec 152 (I) of the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996). In the post-Apartheid city, the approaches are dictated by the systematic resistance to change the historical-geographical planning which still exists today. The social and economic divides brought by the legacy of apartheid pushed the black people to the sandy dunes of the Cape flats (Wilkinson, 2000; Western, 2002; Dooling, 2018). The sanitation activism is also based on challenging, disrupting the historical planning that is still evident today for more than 25 years of democracy. The sanitation activism in the informal settlements of Khayelitsha emerged after the unfortunate incident of xenophobia attacks on foreigners in 2008. Approximately 60 foreigners were killed and others injured in what appeared to be a claim that the foreigners were responsible for all the misfortunes of the poor people in the informal settlements (Dodson, 2010).

The precarious situation attracted the attention of activist groups in these communities who joined hands to investigate the misguided anger and frustration. The meetings conducted by the loose groups later realised that the frustrations are due to local governments' inability to provide basic services to people in poor communities (Overy, 2013). This chapter analyses the processes of engagements pursued by the community activists with a special focus on the three informal settlements found in Khayelitsha Township located South-Eastern of Cape Town's central business area. These informal settlements include the RR section, BM section, and Green Point section. Each of these informal settlements has networks that work directly with community members who work as activists or work with the leadership in the community.

Since 2009, the SJC and NU activists engaged the City of Cape Town through a series of contestations due to poor service delivery. The contestations were mainly on issues of water and sanitation in the informal settlements. The tensions and contestations took different shapes and formations depending on the approach and the response of the city management. The previously excluded black Africans who endured segregation and discrimination from the white supremacy as they were sent packing from the areas regarded to be close to white areas and pushed to the urban fringes (Western, 2002; Dooling, 2018) appears to be an encounter with the city system that has not shown any signs of change since the fall of apartheid. The excluded people who are on the margins of the society are those in the informal settlements that lack the basic services which are provided for in the constitution hence their constitutional rights to dignified living.

5.2 Encountering the City from the Margins of the Society: Fighting an Old system?

The City of Cape Town formerly one of the apartheid cities in South Africa continues to grapple with the past legacies. The spatial inequalities have created a situation of continuous struggle by those that were forced to the margins of society and continue to search for a meaningful change. Those that found themselves at the peripheral of the city by design live in deplorable conditions with poor informal housing and poor sanitation (Pan, Armitage, and Van Ryneveld, 2015; McFarlane, and Silver, 2017). The circumstances have encouraged them to devise some means by forging networks with non-governmental organisations (commonly known in the area as social movements) as they demand their voices to be heard. The struggle for sanitation

in poor marginalised areas has now found its way to the media, streets, and corridors of boardrooms, legislature, and the judiciary. In this chapter, the marginalised groups (urban poor) in the city are what I view as the margins of the Society.

Chapter two highlighted the historical events that characterised the genesis of black people as they were moved from Woodstock to Ndabeni, to Langa, Gugulethu, Nyanga, Crossroad, and finally to Khayelitsha (Benson, 2009; Makhulu, 2015). The elderly participant narrated the story of his genesis from Crossroads to the RR section informal settlement where he has been staying with his family since 1989. He recalls how they moved to the RR section in Khayelitsha after their shacks were demolished in Crossroads by the city,

> "I arrived here in 1989. From that year, we were here on our own, there was no permission to be here, we force to build these single houses to be here. The city of Cape Town saw that they can do nothing because the people were a lot, too plenty, yeah and they doing and making their houses, right".

The genesis of this kind was shared by many participants during the individual in-depth interviews. The participants pointed out how they have been doing their civic duty and taking part in democratic processes of choosing leadership and telling their local leaders about the challenges being faced,

> "As the years go on, we keep on voting when the time for voting comes. We are voting and voting for these governments and these parties. There is a demand that we have been needed sort of like councillors we went to them, talk to them in meetings that we held, water, there is no enough water, there are no toilets, there are no roads whatsoever".

The statement "voting for these governments and these parties" is what has turned out to be the main challenge in sanitation as informal settlements are contested between two dominating parties in the province. More often, the service delivery is complicated by the party politics of these two parties due to lack of compromises and consequently, the residents become victims. There is also the legacy of spatial planning that continues to exacerbate basic service delivery issues. The lack of attention to matters such as sanitation has led to the emergence of activists who together with the community engage the city management directly.

Mitlin and Bebbington (2006, p.2) point out that individuals "seeking adequate forms of urbanisation can create" a need for 'collective movement' to engage planners. When asked why they choose to engage the city, activist participant (2) said that they did not want to fight but rather to get an understanding and reach an agreement

> "…we wanted to sit down first to look at the city officials plan for the informal settlement and that was the first thing that we wanted. Secondary, We acknowledge, we know that there is a problem so rather than us fighting, it is so important to engage first and then after the engagement we have the agreement or we reach the consensus that we will try to have this kind of resolution to this kind of matter, so the idea there was to not blaming the city, not blaming the community members but trying to balance or to make sure that we are on the same page of understanding as they do have their own information about the informal settlement but we do have our own planning for the informal settlement so it contradicts there because we not seeing this thing on the same where or same direction so it where by engagement, we wanted to engage first to see or to understand what are the possibility as we try to resolve the problem we had at that time…".

The idea of sustainable development is based on empowering the communities to own and be part of the planning process (Blanco, 2021; Chandrappa, and Das, 2021; Dickin, Bisung, Nansi, and Charles, 2021). The need to engage the city and reach the understanding of the plan of the informal settlement is central to building sustainable sanitation. However, it appears that this plan of getting the understanding did not last long as activists realised that the city was not giving them the much-needed attention.

Korobar, (2017) points out that services and planning in the margins of the city are ignored and given less attention compared to the "inner" areas of the city. This happens regardless of citizens taking part in the democratic processes of choosing the management of the city. Williams (2007, p.16-23) claims that "local government elections are an important form of participation" in a democratic society such as South Africa. He however notes that the importance does not lie on voting per se but also being allowed to debate issues of their everyday experience and accommodated in government priorities. The struggle for sanitation in the city appears to indicate that there is less priority on the poor communities. The interview

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with the activists also reckons with Korobar's (2017) point of view. The neglect of the margins of society in Cape Town is not a new phenomenon as demonstrated in chapter four where black Africans were forced to live in locations with fewer services. The budget of the "inner" city and the areas outside the city was also highly contested as the CBD would be allocated a lion's share compared to other areas such as Woodstock, Saltriver, Ndabeni, and so forth. In this regard, (Miraftab, 2012; McFarlane, and Silver, 2017) argue that the colonial practice and historical experience have shaped the post-apartheid city which appears to remain in the same system of exclusion.

The interview with the activist participant (6) indicates responses that the activists are fighting the old system that was created even before they were born, suggesting that it is the fight that will not be won soon:

> "So most of the systems that we are fighting are systems that have been there for a long time. What we are trying to fight is something that is not by accident, it was created intentionally for a black person to not prosper, progress, for a black person to not go anywhere. So what we are fighting is not a fight that we will win by ourselves that will win in five years and then we are done, it's an ongoing fight, it's a fight that was planned before we were even born. How Cape Town is, we grew up in this Cape Town, it was like this, so we are trying to fight that and it gonna take us forever ever to fight it."

The contestations in the City of Cape Town have their roots in the historical spatial planning of the city. The activist used the analogy of a matrix movie to describe the invisibility and complexity of engaging the city system that dates back during colonial and apartheid:

> "So it's like matrix, I don't know if you watch matrix," he asked… "…so you must watch it. The movie matrix it's like the guys that are programmed, it's a video game but these guys thought they can win that fight but they don't understand that they have been programmed. It's a program. So it's not a fight that they can win because someone is controlling them to fight, you see, but they thought they were fighting by themselves, you see. So those guys that were fighting on matrix, they couldn't do anything because it was fighting just machines not them. So they were just trying to fight by themselves but the machines were not them so they couldn't do anything.so that's what I am saying Cape Town and South Africa is formed under apartheid so the systems that are

there were formed before we were born, its systems, we not fighting just toilets we are fighting the system itself."

Harvey (1967, p. 314) argument on a critical theory explaining exploitation, argues that "cities are founded on the exploitation of many by the few" and thus the "urbanism founded on exploitation is a legacy of history". This suggests that the struggle for better sanitation is also linked to fighting exploitation and the legacy of spatial planning. The activist indicated that the fight is not only to get toilets but a fight against the spatial planning that pushed the black people to the margins of society:

> "The system that put people in Khayelitsha that is the system you have to fight. How do you change? How do you make sure that people are getting back to the city? People are not spending money on transport to stay closer to where job opportunities are. How do you make sure that the person who makes sure that the water front is nice and clean, his area is safe and clean? There is a big difference, for a security guy in the waterfront is making sure that people in the waterfront are safe. But no one makes sure where he stays is safe. But his manager wants to make sure that this guy wakes up every morning go to work despite what challenges he has to come across. No what he wants is him to be there at work, whatever time he wants him to be. He doesn't matter what challenges he faces on the road, what he wants is for him to be there in the morning and make sure the tourists are safe, but who makes sure that this guy is safe, this guy is fed, this guy doesn't look on his shoulder, his children are safe. No one."

The questions posed by the activist on spatial planning and how these can be addressed appear to suggest the idea of community engagement with decision-makers. In this regard, it is necessary to review the decision-making process in sanitation planning in informal settlements. Understanding who makes decisions and how these decisions are reached helps to create a sustainable sanitation system that improves the lives of marginalised communities and creates ownership.

5.2.1 Decision-Making Process in Sanitation Delivery in the Informal Settlements

The neglect of the margins of the society is linked to the decision-making process in the city. The recent study revealed that the effectiveness of the "sustainable and equitable sanitation"

would only be addressed by identifying and understanding the level of "decision-making process" that is appropriate to deal with this issue (Pan, Armitage, and Van Ryneveld, 2015, p.230). Previously, basic service demands in the marginalised communities were presented in form of protests and demonstrations that targeted properties and burning of tyres to demonstrate their anger and frustrations but this has proved less effective in the long run. Pan, Armitage, and Van Ryneveld, (2015) recommendation of identifying and understanding the decision-making process appears to be the approach that the community activists adopted in the City of Cape Town since 2011. The community activist's engagement process adopted a stakeholder engagement approach and several tactics to seek solutions to the sanitation dilemma in the informal settlements. The processes are aimed at targeting specific officials who influence decisions in the provision of sustainable sanitation in informal settlements. Activist participant (6) narrated their approach in the engagement process:

> "We first had to point out who is responsible, like for example in terms of sanitation you can't go to the president for sanitation. The president is not responsible for sanitation. The sanitation issue is the local Government Issue, it's not a provincial it's a local government issue but now if there is no policy in place for example, you must look at provincial and national that's where policies are formed. So you look at who's responsible for what then you go to that person, you don't just go to anyone. Also in the olden days people would just protest pointlessly, aimlessly without directing who is responsible and sometimes don't know who is responsible for this".

The above response demonstrates that activists understand the system and how the decision-making process in the government work (Mitlin, 2014), which explains why they have been able to challenge the city on issues of sanitation in marginalised communities. The interview with the ordinary citizens indicated an opposite picture with all participants not being able to understand the departments responsible for the basic services particularly sanitation. The Mayoral committee member (MayCo) for Water and solid waste also stressed the fact that communities often confuse the difference between the three spheres of government and who they should engage for which service:

> "…And often in the work of the engagement as the city, communities don't often see, understand or view government as three spheres of government, they see government as one, ahh…and so when the city engages the community, they may raise concerns around policing, schooling or hospitals and many of these

things the city government is not responsible for and constitutionally it is a service that is rendered by either the national government or provincial government so you know you often sometimes have frictions within the engagement because the community sees you as government but you are not responsible for all of government in terms of the services and that in itself does often lead to tension in the meeting or discussions or engagements."

This demonstrates the complex nature of the attempt to achieve sustainable sanitation when the end-users do not understand who is responsible for the services they get and who decide on what they get. Constitutionally, citizens are required to take part in the local government through community engagement programs where they are consulted by the local leadership on services being planned and rendered to them (Williams, 2007, 2008). This asks questions of the engagement process and the strength of the grassroots leadership structure. In this regard, the critical questions are; who has decision-making power in local governance? Who has power? Which power do residents have? How do they take part in the decision-making?

5.2.2 Who Has Decision-Making Power in Urban Governance?

Chapter 7 Section 151(1) of the South African constitution presents municipalities as a local government sphere. The decision-making and law-making authority are entrusted to the municipal council and this means that they have a right to govern their communities subject to the provincial and national legislative framework as provided for in the constitution. The constitution gives municipalities a responsibility to provide services sustainably and to engage communities and organisations in governance issues. In this regard, the engagement of communities by the local leadership is provided for in the constitution.

The interviews with the residents in the informal settlements indicate that communities are not satisfied with the lack of information from councillors. Access to information was also part of the sanitation campaign where activists wanted to access information on budgeting in Cape Town. Participants complained of the fact that all the power is in the hands of the councillors and that local leaders (street committee) are not given the right information. A resident of Green Point informal settlement responded to the question as to whether the local leadership has the power to change their sanitation situation in the area:

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"The problem with that thing because the street committees don't have powers and you know why they don't have powers, the problem is with the councillor because he doesn't give us the right information what's happening for us, so that's why the street committee did go down now, because the powers are there by the councillor. He's the main man, he's supposed to make everything right for the people and then the people gonna (going to) get the powers now to demand everything up now. If they gonna (going to) go there, they gonna (going to) have powers to toyi-toyi, (protest) that thing (protest) cannot have powers nothing because they gonna (going to) just burn things down, it becomes a problem at the end."

The remarks from the community resident indicate that residents perceive councillors to have the powers to turn things around and perhaps change the system. However, though the councillors form part of the municipal council, they do not pass decisions as individuals but rather as a collective. Though they are representatives of communities, in democratic politics certain decisions are sometimes determined by the numbers (Overeem, 2020). One of the councillors when asked about the improving services and budgeting of marginalised groups; indicated how the decisions of a minority do not hold any weight in the council where the citizens expect the councillors to represent them and perhaps change the situation in the area for the better:

"That's true, that's why the city of Cape Town is like that, it's operating like that and you can't because it's having its by-laws but as we are discussing, we are a minority in the City of Cape Town, we are always fighting with the politicians but whatever you are saying is 100% correct but haaa…am telling you that motion of yours they will take it and throw it in the bin quuu….It won't work."

Williams (2003; 2009, p.17), in a study on Areas Coordinating Teams and the everyday grassroots level pointed out that the presence of councillors in engagement programs becomes a mere formality (See also Atkinson, 2007). Therefore, according to Piertse, (2008), the presence of non-governmental organisations (activists) operating at a high level of decision making particularly at the municipality would help to add pressure and improve transparency. However, though this may improve how things are done; it does not guarantee an easy sail. During the sanitation campaign, the activists campaigned and protested in the council to demand a fair sanitation budget in the informal settlements. It appears that protesting in the

council did not change the procedures in the decision-making process. Activists who often attended the council sitting said that decision-making in the council is decided by the numbers in case there is a disagreement between parties. Activist participant (6) explained how tricky it gets when they cannot agree on a common agenda in the council in this case budgeting,

> "Aaah… you know what happen in the council, the council is Western Cape, right. Whatever happens in the council, it will go down to votes, if they don't agree, ok we can't agree, so let's vote. Who's gonna (going to) win if they vote, its DA. The DA is the one that is dominating, so the DA is the one that is not for the poor. So they can put whatever money they gonna (going to) put and then if the ANC and other party don't agree, they say let's vote. DA is gonna (going to) win, so either way, they are winning because the majority is DA. So all in all there is no change and they don't want to change because they are not working for poor people, they are working for themselves."

The first response from the resident that triggered the response from the councillor and the activists speaks to the provisions of the constitution in Section 152 (1)e where local government is expected to involve citizens in the decision-making process. The search for a decision-making process in a constitutional democracy oftentimes gets complex due to the principle of rule by the majority. The activists' who on different occasions protested in the council and participated in the debates appear to understand the dynamics in the constitutional democracy. Through the contestations, the activists used different approaches to compel the city to fulfil the constitutional obligation in the delivery of basic services. Activists took part in council debate, litigation, media coverage, and involvement of various stakeholders such as religious leaders and communities during the engagement process. The approaches mentioned became part of the engagement process which I discuss further under the community engagement process in search of who makes decisions.

5.2.3   Community Engagement Process and Decision Making

Chapter 7 Section 152(e) of the South African 1996 Constitution provides for the engagement of communities in issues of governance. This is to say that communities must be involved in the planning and delivery of services. Jenkins and Henley, (2014) discuss the technical and legal-led processes in decision making and suggest that 'collective choice arrangements' are suitable design for multiple groups such as communities. This study focuses on government

interaction with the people which is one of the shifts that brought the concept of community engagement to prominence more than two decades ago (Head, 2007). When communities are involved, they own the project and guarantee its success (Braimah, and Filmua, 2011; Willetts, Mills, and Al'Afghani, 2020). The sustainability of facilities depends on the acceptability of the end-users who are the communities and hence needs to be part of the process. Though the words community engagement and community are sometimes debated in the literature (Tindana, et al.,2007; Dyer, et al.,2014), the involvement of communities and organisations is clearly stated in the 1996 South African Constitution. The involvement of citizens is done through the clearly stated formal and informal structures in the local governance. In this regard, community engagement between the government and the citizens forms an important component of social change.

5.2.4 Community Engagement Structures in the Decision Making

The engagements with stakeholders in the decision-making of sustainable sanitation appear to be done at various levels. These are elected leaders in the governance of the municipality, civil servants at various levels, non-governmental organisations, elected community leaders, and community members. This approach is important especially as the world becomes urbanised and going beyond conventional approaches to a more inclusive bottom-up approach for a sustainable future (Reymond, Renggli, and Lüthi, 2016). The decision-making process is key in choosing 'sustainable solutions' and "sustainable operation and maintenance options" (Magalhães Filho, de Queiroz, Machado, and Paulo, 2019). An inclusive city means to have a fair representation of individuals, NGOs, businesses, communities, and other related stakeholders. The department of water and solid waste in the Cape Town municipality is responsible for enhancing improved sanitation in all communities within the municipality. The department is headed by a Mayoral committee member (MayCo) who forms part of the stakeholder engagement on issues of sanitation in the city. Stakeholder engagement is done with the assistance of the ward councillors and the sub councils. The interview with the MayCo of water and solid waste, suggest that consultations are carried out with every stakeholder and different decision-making clusters such as ward councillors and sub-council managers:

> "For our consultation, we make sure that we make contact with the ward councillors; they are 116 wards in the city of Cape Town so there are 116 ward councillors in the City of Cape Town council. The wards also form into clusters

under what is called sub councils which are like manager councils. They also
have certain decision-making powers."

The interview with the MayCo of water and solid waste seems to suggest that the sub-council
and the wards take part in decision making and facilitation of engagement processes with the
communities. The sub councils have important information on the various stakeholders within
that particular sub-council. The whole process of consultation and decision making is
elaborated below:

> "So there are 22 sub councils and 116 wards and all those are allocated within
> sub councils so we make contact with the ward councillor and relevant sub-
> council and normally the sub-council would assist us by sharing information
> with the registered community-based organisations. Every sub-council has a
> database of community-based organisations. At the ward level, there are also
> ward committees. The ward committee is chaired by the ward councillor and
> it's made up of different community-based sectors. So different organisations
> are represented on those ward committees so we would reach out to those more
> formal type of community structures."

Though the city works with the formal structures, there are areas with informal structures as a
result of urbanisation and the past legacies as discussed in Chapter two. These informal
leadership structures are mostly found in the informal settlements but they also work hand in
hand with the area councillor who is more familiar with the areas. The MayCo further explained
how the city reaches out to these informal leadership structures:

> "…..but more informally one also has to acknowledge and respect the fact that
> there are more informal leadership structures within the informal settlements,
> so often within informal settlements, there are elected leaders which the
> community has elected to represent them not in a formal way but through the
> assistance of the ward councillor who is normally familiar with who the
> leadership is within the community. We would also make a point to reach out
> to these leadership groupings within the informal settlement. We would call
> meetings with them and explain our plan of action and hear their necessary input
> following those internal consultation sessions, we would then proceed setting
> up larger community meetings with the broader community. We would often
> also print out pamphlets and distribute that in the ward to also inform residents
> of the city's plans to install services. Once we have dealt with all the questions
> and concerns and we have acceptance and support by the community, we would

then proceed by getting either city teams or contractors on site. So we would never ever proceed without ensuring that there is stakeholder engagement. Often stakeholder engagement process can take longer than planned because there are so many different stakeholders that can appear within a particular community and you have to ensure that equal opportunity is given for all to engage. So that's the basis of consultation approach."

However, the interview with activists and community residents, and street committee leaders contested these engagements, arguing that the city rarely engages residents in the decision-making process. In this regard, the lack of involvement of communities appears to be one of the challenges as the majority of the participants felt that they are alienated from taking part in the decision-making. Vivier and Sanchez-Betancourt, (2020, p.1) point out that community leaders in informal structures sometimes have to navigate different social and institutional contexts without the legitimacy available to formal organisations. The establishment of formal structures that are more stable can help facilitate sustainable sanitation and enhance social change in informal settlements. The people in informal settlements who are represented in these informal structures felt that they are not included in the development planning. During the interview with the activist participant (2), he indicated that people are not consulted to decide on what they want citing an example of the house:

> "For example, who decides the house I want, no one knows but apparently there is a size that someone has said that I deserve but I have never been engaged, I have need been told about that size, I never wanted that size of the house. So we have a government that has set the size of the house without determining how many kids I have, my family and then you have a rich white man in South Africa that has got a big house and staying alone, it's him, his wife and his kid. We have a family of 12 people that are staying in the smallest house but they are forced to live in that house so how are you solving the problem. You not solving the problem, you're just suffocating it."

The majority of the participants shared similar sentiments on the issue of not being consulted in the development planning of the area. Most of the statements claim that the city does not care about the poor people in the informal settlements. The issue of contestations on exclusion in the decision-making of the city goes back in the history during colonial and apartheid as

discussed in chapter two. In this regard, the engagement of activists and the city opens up opportunities where the marginalised groups can be recognised and build trust in communities.

The interviews with the community activists suggest that at the beginning of the sanitation campaign, the engagements with the urban officials were complex. However, after some time the engagements started getting better depending on who they engaged. They indicate that some city officials were willing to engage whereas some were not but this does not fully explain the reason for the lack of willingness to engage. The interviews reveal that some of the activists are political activists and this may sometimes interfere or become a challenge when they are working in certain areas. One of the ward councillors said that most of the activists are political activists in their own right though they campaigned about water and sanitation:

> "Their main issue is to engage the community on issues of water and sanitation. Those were the problems that in our areas we are too political. On top of that, some of the activists are political activists in their own right. Now if they come and engage as SJC, that banner of their political activism sign it becomes an obstacle in matters or issues and doesn't make it easier than they are supposed to be. So those are the problems that they experienced working with other areas in wherever they were working."

However, it is also important to note that the environment in which these activists operate still maintains the same system and by-laws that were put in place during apartheid which is being challenged today. In this regard, the demand for social justice for those that are marginalised would not be something that can be easily accepted since it conflicts with the system. Still, the attempts to challenge the system using the invented spaces for engagements can also be understood as an alternative engagement approach. The approaches and tactics adopted by the activists to force engagement and decision-making on sustainable sanitation are discussed in the section that follows.

5.2.4.1 Litigation and the Struggle for Social Justice

The demand for social justice involved court challenges between the activists and the City of Cape Town. This was mainly done when the activists felt that the city was not willing to cooperate on certain obligations. The lawsuits were thus to emphasise the constitutional

obligation to provide basic services as stated in the 1996 constitution (Robins 2014) and the human rights to dignity. In this regard, the struggle for sanitation has been fronted as the continuous struggle for social justice. The actions in the sanitation campaign relied on legal advice on certain processes and strategic approaches. When asked about the processes in the sanitation campaign, the activists indicated that these processes were advised by their legal team:

> "We consulted with our lawyers in terms of like what processes can we follow because we also don't want to bind ourselves, legally or in a way that will put us at a disadvantage. So we consulted our lawyers. Like for example, I don't know if you know the case of SJC10 (SJC chain) where we chained ourselves outside the civic centre so we did a lot of tactics and different strategies to push the issue and to also get media coverage."

Robins (2013a, 2013b, 2014) have referred to these sanitation campaigns as slow activism that explains both legal-led and technical engagement processes that were adopted by activists as opposed to violent protest. The activists decided to seek redress from the courts of law since they felt that the sanitation situation was an injustice, undignified, and a human right violation that goes against the constitution. During court appearances, the toilet images, testimonies from communities became a big concern to the judges (Robins, 2014).

The legal process was also used by the city as well to respond to activists' demands. The activists narrated that sometimes the officials would inform them that they will consult the lawyers for advice. The engagement process became more sophisticated as one would expect since the activists were engaging a complex city system that has for centuries been built on the foundation of segregation and discrimination of other groups. This is to say that poor communities do not stand a chance to challenge the city without external support such as pressure groups with resources and offer training on the city's politics. Community activists pointed out that the community on its own without the support of organisations (activists) might not be able to challenge the complex system of the city though they claim that everyone staying in the informal settlement is already an activist:

> "If you're staying in the informal settlement whether you know it or not, you're an activist but then the activist it gives you, it exposes you to be more organised

and strategic activist. You become a wise activist, you become a streetwise activist, you become like a scouter, you know how to navigate, you get information sometimes from people from the city, they know you. Some people who work for the city and then they resign, they give us information. So you become more wiser than people who are sitting at home and wait for a call to strike. They will just be blown away easily, you see. I don't think they will be this powerful as us if they are not aligned with us. I am not saying that they can't be successful. They can't be this powerful, this is like a force. You know."

Sawyer and Gampa, (2018, p.1) indicate that the activists' campaigns managed to change the racial bias more than other options. Even the high profile "exemplars" such as Barack Obama did not succeed in bringing the societal racial attitudes down. Like the racial segregation system in the US, the colonial and apartheid system in South Africa is deeply entrenched in the legacy of apartheid (Maharaj, 2020; Westaway, 2012). Social movements can engage the social relations of power (Deveaux, 2018) and use their resources to challenge injustice (Guidry, and Kennedy, 2009; Mitlin, 2014).

Engaging the complex system of the city requires social capital in terms of resources to mobilise communities, collect testimonies to be presented in the courts, and hiring of lawyers. This becomes extremely difficult for marginalised communities whose residents earn hand-to-mouth salaries and the majority of the unemployed. In this regard, taking on the city whose administration is 30 km away from the community and with all the necessary resources for defence, becomes a big task. The complex nature of challenging the city on issues of social justice was explained by the activists. Activists claimed that the city government is run by lawyers and argued that there is no proper structure:

> "There is no government in the city actually, it's just lawyers dealing with legal issues but there is no structure, there is no proper government in the city of Cape Town. People in there, they don't know what they are doing so whatever they want to do, they just say speak to our lawyers because no one knows what needs to be done."

The "right to the city" talks about the right to take part and know the affairs of the city and how it is being run (Harvey, 1973, 2008; Harvey & Cities, 2012; Lefebvre, 1968). This means that

the inhabitants of the city are alienated from the life of the city and cannot influence how the city must look. The activists indicated that sometimes the lawyers merely reply to them and they are thus required to go to court:

> "Sometimes they don't even tell us to go to speak to their lawyers, their lawyers just respond to us not them, so that's when we get the response, you know. They say they will seek legal advice or they don't know how, so they will seek advice from one of their city's legal team. And then you always pursue suits, go to courts."

The issue of engagement in the city is complex and it appears that smooth engagements depend on the person in that specific position of responsibility. The interview with the MayCo for water and solid waste pointed out that the city engages all the relevant stakeholders in the communities. However, the MayCo indicated that sometimes disputes arise in the course of these engagements and people are free to opt for other channels:

> "Some of these organisations we use in certain projects and programs and often they form a key part of assisting the city in stakeholder engagement. So it's not that the city doesn't engage external organisations, we definitely do and some of them are very intricately involved in our programs and they play an important role particularly as it pertains to the set of engagement. But from time to time obviously, disputes can arise and any organisation has the right to contest or challenge whatever you put out or an organisation put out. The Social Justice Coalition has believed that that is the best route for them but we share information with them, they make contact with us. And the city does remain to cooperative with Social Justice Coalition."

These legal processes between the activists and the city demonstrate quite clearly where decision-making on sanitation is done. From this analysis, it is also clear that there is no political will to adequately engage key stakeholders who are affected by these decisions. Following the provisions of the constitution, the municipality is accountable for the basic services and hence these lawsuits serve to demand these obligations.

5.2.4.2   Peaceful Protest, Disruptions and the Struggle for Recognition

During the sanitation contestations, peaceful demonstrations and media coverage worked hand in hand. The beginning of the engagement was not all roses; the activists had to take action to compel the city to listen to them. The SJC decided to work with the media to support the advocacy strategy. The media coverage has been on TVs, Radios, print in both local and national press. Since this strategy was adopted, there have been more than 20 opinion pieces on issues of sanitation in informal settlements (Overy, 2013). The media also covered the activities of the sanitation campaign such as peaceful protests, pickets, and so forth. The interview with the activists pointed out that these activities forced the city to recognise them. The activist participant said:

> "We even campaign inside the council, we have campaign everywhere, and even inside the council, we protested. So we kind of forced them to recognise us, we didn't give them a choice and also it's a democratic country, if you are not happy about something, you speak about it, if you disagree, we agree to disagree but the truth is the truth."

These protests were always covered by the media. They stressed the importance of media coverage in the demand for sanitation in informal settlements. Media attention was part of strategies that were used to gain sympathy and public attention. The participant (6) narrated their process in the engagement and priority areas for action:

> "So using media was one of the strategies. So there are no like there is the process in place, it depends on what you want to do or what do you want to achieve. For example, if you want the media coverage there are certain things to do, if you want numbers you can do the protest, a big protest we have done that if you want to be heard and to disrupt you can picket outside the court. It depends on what you want to do or you want to achieve, what are your objectives so on which us we have done everything. Everything we have done like to sleep outside parliament, to sleep outside court, to sleep in the streets, to block the roads, to disrupt everyday businesses, we did all of that, so it depends on what you want to do."

The social movements have mastered the art of disrupting everyday activities to draw attention to pressing issues such as sanitation (Axon, 2019). These tactics are intended to draw the attention of the middle class, workers, and owners of capital to understand the plight of the

poor in informal settlements. The mobilisation of workers is viewed by many theorists as an important revolutionary strategy since they influence the means of production (Mafeje, 1978). Though the activists did not mobilise workers on the blockading roads, exposing the plight of the poor in the informal settlements won some sympathy and caught the public attention.

The protest action followed certain tactics with a specific focus on the activities they thought would send a message to decision-makers. For instance, sleeping in the parliament was used to compel the legislators to act and influence sanitation policy. Whereas blocking roads particularly N2 was used to disrupt everyday business since it is the same road that transports workers and the owners of businesses to Cape Town CBD. In this way, the plan was to get the owners of the capital to put the government under pressure to act on the demands of the marginalised communities. Furthermore, other actions were done to provoke the city for arrest that would attract media attention. A case in point is the SJC10 where a group of 22 activists chained themselves outside the Civic Centre demanding for sanitation plan and were later arrested and charged for breaking the Gatherings Act 205 of 1993, the charges they challenged as apartheid laws. According to this law, gatherings of more than 15 people are required to give notice to the police (Chamberlain, 2016; Omar, 2017). One of the participants (P1) narrated the provocative arrest/civil disobedience in 2013.

> "We knew that they are going to arrest us and we knew that immediately and immediately they arrest us, the world will see what is going on there. That's what happened, the world recognised; the world saw what SJC is fighting for."

The Constitutional court ruled on this case in support of the activists that failure to give notice on peaceful protest should not amount to a criminal offence. The Constitutional court further ruled that this would infringe on the right to assemble and or limit the exercise of this right (Omar, 2017, 2018). The tactics and ideas indicate the intentional plan to send a message to the city authorities on the challenges affecting the marginalised communities. Thus, the processes were legally shaped to work to the advantage of the campaign.

Den Hond and De Bakker, (2007), point out how activists use their ideas and tactics to influence social change. The idea of identifying someone responsible and holding them to account is a

constitutional right and does not involve violent protest. Though protests and demonstrations were part of the sanitation campaign, they were used as the last resort after the engagement with the city seemed not to be heading in the right direction. The activists adopted a non-violent sanitation campaign that prioritised engagement with the city as opposed to violent protests. When asked why they choose to engage the city as opposed to protests, they responded that protest was used as an alternative when the city refused to engage:

> "…because you have to understand what protest is before you protest, you must have tried all the whole process in place, so a protest should be the last resort because it's a demonstration of your anger and frustration from failed attempt to engage. So first have to engage, engage, engage but then if they don't want to engage then you have to look at other alternatives which are protests, picket, and demonstrations so that is why sometimes, in the city of cape town some people are willing to listen to us but some are not, so we are willing if they are willing to listen."

Local protests in South Africa have been viewed as a "rebellion of the poor" (Alexander, 2010, p.25; Alexander, and Pfaffe, 2014; Alexander, Runciman, and Ngwane, 2016) demanding for a response from the leadership on poor service delivery. These protests attracted a large mass of participants who are a new generation of youth challenging social inequality. These protests have been evolving since the transition to democracy particularly starting from 2004 seeing the emergency of movements at the grassroots (Alexander, 2010; Alexander, et. al., 2018; Atkinson 2007; Booysen 2007). However, the sanitation campaign protests were very peaceful and appeared to work within the ambits of constitutional democracy (Robins, 2014).

The peaceful protests demonstrate the respect for a democratically elected government where services can be demanded in a democratic manner guided by constitutional rights. The stakeholders in these protests also contribute to a great extent to how these protests are conducted. The activists indicated that the goal of the protest was to demand services to the people and the nature of the protest also includes vulnerable groups such as the disabled, women, and children. So the protests were organised in such a way that they accommodate these groupings:

> "The reason why our protests are also like peaceful is because we are working with people. People want services, they don't want to fight. We are not in the

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time of apartheid where we had to fight with the government, we are not fighting now. We are bringing out the issues that people are facing and our marchers include children, women, older women, disabled people all categories of people who are going to our marches so we can't have violence in our marches and we don't believe in violence. Many things can be solved without violence."

The peaceful protests also indicate the planning and strategizing ahead of the marches. The activists indicated that before they could organise big marches in town (CBD), they first planned small marches in the township of Khayelitsha to practice how they would walk in town during the big protest. The small protests in the township would also help to send a message to the sub-council cluster in Khayelitsha and mobilisation of residents to join the campaign. The interview with the activist participant (3) narrated the process of planning and strategising marches:

> "We had mini-marches within our communities before you can have a bigger match, you first have a mini-match. I think we started from Green Point and matched until side B to show what we going to do in town but that match was published and we did the 3000 people match in town civic centre so those were the processes we followed to engage stakeholders and mobilising yeah."

The process relied on the support and cooperation from the communities who provided reliable information on the lack of services in their area and as well as attending protest marches to demand these services. The pictures below show one of the protest marchers demanding social justice.

Figure 5.1. Picture Attending the Protests by Civil Society Organisation at Parliament
Source: Author's Fieldwork 2019.

Figure 5.2. Picture of Protestors with House Utensils at Parliament
Source: Author's Fieldwork 2019.

The picture above depicts the home environment in the informal settlements where families have to live with the bucket toilets and other household items such as pots and plates in the same corner of the shack. Most of the shacks have one small room where the family of approximately five share that particular space. This indicates how the constitutional rights of the poor people in the informal settlements are violated by the system that neglects

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improvements of areas where poor people stay. In this regard, poor people use different ways to reach individuals responsible for making decisions about their lives.

5.2.4.3 Paying a visit to officials responsible for decision making- 'Estreature'

The goal-driven community activists employed different approaches and tactics aimed at getting quick responses from the decision-makers. The engagement tactics appear to keep evolving as activists evaluate the past approaches. The common activism approaches such as protest are now looked at as ineffective and do not deliver the much-needed results. Based on their ideas, the activists invent different tactics that keep their demands in the ears and minds of decision-makers. The interview with an activist participant (6) described how they are tired of protesting and are now targeting key decision-makers in their homes:

> "…because the government doesn't listen so you have to try different ways. Like now we are doing estreatures, I don't know whether you know what the estreature is?... if you are a member of parliament we go to your house before you go to work, we search your house on Google, we go to your house. We write emails, we send mails, you don't respond, fine we go to your house now. We block the way; you can't even go out until you address the issue we are talking about. 4 am in the morning you wake up we are there outside, there is no violence in that we just pay you a visit, your busy most it's fine go to your meetings you always have emergencies, you always out of the country, fine when we are there, before you go to work we are using these hours out of office for you to speak to us. Now you have no choice but to speak and we want a timeline, don't tell us I will respond, when, how, who, we want dates, with specifics. So it's a tactic that we are using, we are tired of protesting, always protesting. Nothing is happening. You see them in town, they don't even see the match, they just move on with their lives you know. We are tired of that now so we want to go to your house because you're the one responsible."

According to Den Hond and De Bakker, (2007), activists initiate different ideas to push their agendas. During the interviews, the activists indicated that this tactic seems more effective than peaceful protests that are conducted in terms of marches. When asked whether the people who are paid a visit at home responded to their request, the activists said,

> "They don't have a choice. That's the thing, they don't have a choice, and they are not in the office so they don't have a choice now, you can't run away."

I then posed a question as to whether visiting someone's home as an uninvited guest is legal. The activist participant noted that before they visit someone, they first engage the office responsible until when they feel that there is no cooperation:

> "Yeah but how is that breaking the law, which law did I break then we will talk. And we don't just go there, we first engaged you, Mr and Mrs this we want this. So after failed attempt then we visit you. We don't just go like we go straight, we first engage but then if you don't want to engage then we use other resort because you have not been corresponding to us."

The majority of the participants indicated that protests have not solved anything in their communities but rather make things worse. Interview with the participant in Green Point section and street committee member in RR section said that protests (also known as toyi-toyi in the area) do not change things, suggesting that communities do not have power:

> "Yeah the community have got that vote power but community is not working because community are just looking at the committee, they are just doing nothing. Unless committee comes and tell them what is happening, so what are they going to do, they will make Toyi-Toyi. If things are not happening, they just make toyi-toyi, they are good in there, their powers are there, not in the vote, the vote is not working my brother, the vote is not working for us. So the votes are not working for us, they are working for those who are there in the parliament yes they are working for them but for us who are on the ground, no. If they gonna go there, they gonna have powers to toyi-toyi,(protest) that thing (protest) cannot have powers nothing because they gonna just burn things down, it becomes a problem at the end."

The participant appears to indicate that the cooperation with the area councillor and the people would give lower structures such as street committee powers to bring social change. However, most of the challenges of sanitation in the informal settlements seem to be connected to limited/lack of resources to address many problems facing the communities (Overy, 2013). The limited resources allocated to informal settlements have been contested through various channels of engagement. The initial channels before paying a visit to decision-makers included the writing of emails, phone calls, protests, petitions, and dialogue between key stakeholders.

5.2.4.4 Dialogue and Petitioning Decision Makers

The process of engagement in sanitation contestation included dialogue and petitioning key stakeholders. Petitioning and dialogue became part and partial of sanitation contestations since 2009. After "poo protests" and local government elections in 2011 popularly viewed as "election toilets", (McFarlane, and Silver, 2017; Robins, 2014,), the activists embarked on engaging the city through dialogue. Petitioning the relevant decision-makers was specifically used when the activists did not get a response from the city. The interview with the activist participant (3) narrated the processes that included petitions:

> "Firstly, you need to write to them or you send an email and now you have to wait for the response and if that response doesn't come now the second step is for you to write to them or you write a follow-up and then if that one doesn't help, you go to what I have mentioned. You say okay let's have a petition or let's phone or let's call the media, or let's be seen by everyone."

The petitions are normally handed to the city administration after the match in either Khayelitsha Township or Cape Town CBD. The marches and protests led to the need for another approach that intended to bring the city and community activists together and negotiate the sanitation dilemma in the informal settlements. The notable dialogue took place in 2013 where the activists invite religious leaders to take part in the social issues affecting the marginalised people of Khayelitsha. The activists also viewed this approach as a way of building credibility among different stakeholders. The activist participant (6) narrated the idea behind involving the religious leaders in issues of sanitation:

> "So in everything you do, if you work with people, you need to put trust in people. People trust religious leaders so they will trust us so that's how we are trying to build our credibility."

The activists involved the religious leaders after several protests and legal battles with the city. This suggests that the activists believed that the religious leaders would appeal to the city administration and cool the temperature that had risen so high and rebuild the broken relationships.

5.3   The Primacy of Community Activism in the Struggle for Sustainable Sanitation in Informal Settlements

Sanitation contestations in the marginalised communities have largely been influenced by the lack of an improved and sustainable sanitation plan. The informal settlements are in most cases ignored in the planning and budgeting of sanitation services in Cape Town. This has been attributed to the lack of civil society that works at the top level, particularly at municipalities where decision-making is done (Pieterse, 2009). Scholars such as (Pan, Armitage, and Van Ryneveld, 2015, p.222-231; Pan, S.M., Armitage. and van Ryneveld, 2018) point out that the sustainability of sanitation requires identifying the level where the decision-making process is more effective and performed by whom. The task of engaging decision-makers was taken up by the community activists in Khayelitsha Township. The sanitation campaign that started in 2009 – 2017 engaged the Municipal leadership through technical, legal-led processes and participated in debates during council meetings. The decision-making process seems resistant to change and needs a continuous demand for dignity as indicated by the engagement approaches in chapter five. Some of the approaches were radical and focused on advocacy for sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements particularly in Khayelitsha and Cape Town in general.
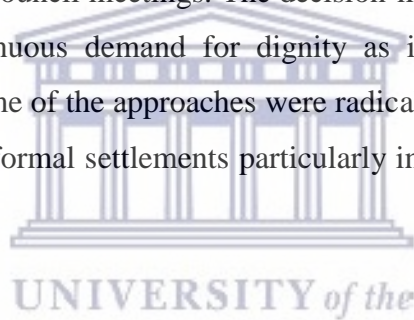
This section explores how radical engagements contribute to sustainable sanitation in the settlements of Cape Town. Issues in the sanitation context are mainly about the lack of improvement in sanitation in urban poor communities. The engagements revolved around the demand for a sanitation plan that addresses the issues of toilet infrastructure, budgeting, information and awareness, safety, maintenance, janitorial services, and job creation for residents. The issue of sanitation and sustainability is clearly stated in the South African strategic plans for households. The 2003 'water services strategic framework' promises the sanitation facility that is more accessible and the operation of the facility must be sustainable. Sustainability should also include the safe removal of human waste, reduces smell to a minimum, being easy to clean and maintain, appropriate control of disease-carrying flies, and the communication of good hygiene and other associated practices. This chapter responds to questions such as: How do engagements contribute to sustainable sanitation? The achievement of sustainable sanitation is central to the sustainable development goal 6 and hence is viewed as a human right to dignity. Thus, the chapter seeks to understand the ways through which

engagements contribute to the sustainability of sanitation in marginalised communities. The following section presents the contributions of engagements towards sustainable sanitation.

5.3.1 Availing Information on Sanitation Delivery in Informal Settlements

The access to information for residents of informal settlements is limited hence they are sometimes ignored in the planning and delivery of basic services (Chakraborty, Wilson, Sarraf, and Jana, 2015; Conway, et al., 2019). Before the sanitation campaign in the city of Cape Town, there was limited information on sanitation planning in the informal settlements. The first task of community activists in the sanitation campaign was to establish how the city plans for the informal settlements. This was important to inform the demand for improved sanitation plans for the marginalised communities. Numerous activities were carried out to demand access to information from the city but also compare the information received to what is on the ground. The community activists' activities were based on the evidence established through research, consulting, collecting testimonies from the community residents, and the information received from the City of Cape Town. The interview with the activist participant (6) said that information was vital to the sanitation campaign:

> "Information is power, without information, we cannot do anything. Even for us to run this organisation we needed information."

The information on sanitation delivery in some Cities is often limited (Okurut, et. al, 2015) hence urban authorities in the City of Cape Town were not sure whether they are legally required to share this kind of information with the public (Overy, 2013). Annamalai, et.al, (2016) points out that the lack of clear information exposes the government as defaulters of sanitation services. The execution of sanitation engagements required the activists to do the sanitation audit. At the beginning of the campaign, the activists relied on residents to ensure that the information received from the city was correct. The information received from the city was normally cross-checked with the information received from the residents. In most cases, the activists took the residents along when they go to engage the city, and this was often done to involve residents as key stakeholders in the sanitation campaign. The activist participant (1) said that the role of activists was to lead and that they can lead when they have the information:

"We don't just lead without information that we get from the residents. We go to residents and interview the residents, we get testimonies, we get everything that we are looking for from the residents, once we got everything that we need/looking for then we start going with them to the city officials. That was our role. We do not play a role that we are better than who, we collect information. The information that we got from the residents, we combine with the information that we got from the city officials then we found out that the information we get from the ground is the different information (than) that we see on the document that we get from the city officials."

The information was mostly to confirm the number of toilets installed in the area or the services offered in a given settlement and service providers responsible for specific services. The activists said that it is through activism pressure that forced the city to make information available online. The activist participant (6) narrated how the work of activists forced the city to make information available to the public, saying that the city claims credit for the improvement regardless:

"The city of Cape Town has tried to make information available to the public but because we forced them to, not because they did that by themselves, we forced them to do that. It's supposed to be like that, to be available but we forced it out of them to make it available. But now when they speak in parliament on sub-council or council meetings, they say the city of Cape Town is what, what, what…..we are the only province that has the information online but only because of us not because it was their choice and not just us, us and other activists that are pushing them. So it's a change that has happen because of our noise that we make, or we made. We even campaign inside the council, we have campaign everywhere, and even inside the council we protested."

According to Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, (1994, p.114), these networks are very important in ensuring the progress of the community. Their study demonstrated the role of social capital in the development of the two regions of Italy. The North region of Italy became developed than the South due to the strong political networks that worked horizontally and these facilitated trust and quick response that ensured good governance. These strong institutions can sustain everyday actions by the community to foster networks that facilitates change (Martin, Manson, and Fontaine 2007, p.79). In this regard, the presence of activists in the sanitation

campaign facilitated the much-needed pressure in the demand for information and delivery of sustainable sanitation.

The demand for access to information and informing residents of their constitutional rights was central in the sanitation campaign. Through this information, communities received awareness about sanitation challenges and how the local government works. The issue of budget allocation is also still under contestation with the activists arguing that it is unequal budgeting. The budgeting issue was not limited to sanitation but also safety and security in the informal settlements (Robins, 2014, 2014b). The activists presented evidence of the murders and rapes that takes place in the informal settlements as a result of a lack of safety. In this regard, the engagement enabled the establishment of information on sanitation provision, budgeting both for sanitation and policing, and helped to create awareness among community residents on the challenges of sanitation. The next section discusses community awareness in sanitation delivery and how the city creates engagement platforms with the communities.

5.3.2   Community Awareness on Sanitation Delivery

The sustainability of sanitation requires that communities are informed of the fundamental rights to dignified living (Lagardien, and Cousins, 2004). The activists' task was also to empower communities to understand their constitutional rights to improved sanitation. This was done through print and media coverage to enlighten the residents about issues of sanitation. The SJC printed and distributed approximately 10000 pamphlets to communities in Khayelitsha (Overy, 2013). The sanitation campaign necessitated the activists to engage the city and the communities to establish clear information on sanitation. The engagement with the communities meant that the activists explain and give detailed information on safe sanitation and the citizens' rights. In the process of engagement, communities were given information on sanitation, how and who to consult when they get problems. The lack of information and responsiveness from the city often triggers protests by frustrated residents who feel alienated (ibid). The contestation between the city and the activists on availing of information has encouraged the city to improve access to information using different platforms. The availability of information is central in the delivery of sanitation to urban poor communities and allows activists an opportunity to engage the service providers on the preferred sanitation typology

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and delivery (Annamalai, et al., 2016; Baxter, and Mtshali, 2020). Service providers are significant in the city's sanitation plan in the informal settlements since they offer and plan the sanitation infrastructure and maintenance. The interviews with communities suggest that sustainable sanitation would be possible if the service providers are involved in the community engagement process. In this regard, planning of these services should be done in a communicative process that involves communities (Hoch, 1994; Forester, 1994; Innes, 1995) and improves community awareness.

 The contestation between the city and activists concerning access to information pushed the city to avail information online. The search on the city's website displayed all the necessary information on sanitation in the informal settlements. The city website also includes the local leadership structures like the area councillors, ward committees, and sub-council managers. However, availing information on the city website appears to be less effective for the informal settlement residents due to the low levels of literacy (Ndingaye, 2005; Oghenetega, 2018). The interview with the MayCo for water and solid waste indicated that there are various platforms that the city has put in place for community residents to make contact with the city:

> "If the residents want to make contact with the city, we have multiple platforms to do so, you can first and foremost make contact with your ward councillor and if you don't know who that is you can easily find the councillor details on the city website and all our libraries have free access in terms off-note caped computer program and wi-fi so you can access that information or you can go to your sub-council including there are a number of municipal offices in all areas across the city where you can try and make contact with the city. Alternatively the city has a booth an emergency call centre that operates on a 24-hour basis or we have another complaints call centre which you can also access and we have an SMS line, WhatsApp line and email, Twitter. So we try and ensure that we cover all platforms that residents can reach out to the city."

However, the majority of people staying in informal settlements are from Eastern Cape and illiterate. The platforms in place need to consider the recipients or beneficiaries of the information. The illiterate population cannot access information on the city's website. The majority of the street committee members who are local leaders in the community work as security guards with lower education levels to make use of complex information on the city's website. The street committee leadership is not well empowered to execute governance

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decisions. Here I want to argue that the leadership structure in the city does not enable community engagement in sanitation. The street committee is a vital local level structure yet they lack power simply because they are informal. During the fieldwork interviews, I noticed that most residents do not know the area councillor who are full-time and have visible offices where they can be located. Furthermore, through the fieldwork interviews, I observed that most illiterate residents have fear of contacting area councillors or even city officials. Others appeared to have less trust in the city governance including area representatives but seem appreciative of community activists. The majority of the residents in the Townships hold less trust in their representatives (Thompson, Conradie, and Tsolekile de Wet, 2014). In this regard, for effective sanitation awareness, the information on faulty toilets or taps needs to be made easily accessible to all categories using options/mediums that are relative to the environment.

On the other hand, the city is convinced that the engagement platforms are effective for all the community residents. When I asked the MayCo about the access to information for the residents who are illiterate and do not know the councillor, she responded that there are various ways put in place to navigate that:

> "So often even if people don't know who their ward councillor is, they often know where the closest library is or where the municipal offices are so that could be the first point of contact as well. There are municipal staff working in these offices that can assist and guide them accordingly and many of these municipal offices are in a walking distance. The city also is trying to make use of advertisement so we are on incrementally rolling out ads on the billboards to the communities to inform and advise the communities where and how to contact the city so we are in many instances trying to make sure that we reach out in different ways. On my city buses also have often information on how to make contact with the city either inside the bus or at the back of the bus or any transfer interchange notes. And we make use of community newspapers, radio station in Khayelitsha in particular, Radio Zibonele is the favourite radio station, they have a very large base of listeners of over a million customers so the city make sure that we also reach out to those radio stations and we put use of the material in Xhosa so that community members can understand. I personally speak to Zibonele on weekly about different things happening within my directorate so we do try and make sure that we reach out to community members no matter where they are, no matter what their literacy state is and no matter what their social circumstances are. So we try and reach out digitally and through traditional ways of communication."

The majority of these channels of communication were introduced but started being taken seriously after the intervention of the activists through the sanitation and safety campaigns. However, having communication platforms do not guarantee the absence of bureaucracy that often delays the response to challenges affecting communities. In any case, it is the bureaucracy that sometimes leads to activism as communities seek a quick response to community sanitation challenges. The community activism has managed to pressurise the city to seek some ways of improving communication with the marginalised groups in the informal settlements. However, this kind of information must focus on building capacity on the grassroots level and this can be a success if it is done in collaboration with activist groups that work directly with communities. In this regard, the engagements on sanitation planning and delivery promote community awareness and create sustainable sanitation.

5.3.3   Service Delivery Agreements on Sanitation in the Informal Settlements

Before the campaigns, the conditions in Khayelitsha's informal settlements were awful. The events of the poo protests that followed were a demonstration of frustration and anger from the margins of society. The once private issue of human waste later became political exposing the state of services in informal settlements governed by both two superior political parties in the area (Baxter, and Mtshali, 2020). The Khayelitsha "open toilets in Makhaza informal settlement" Cape Town governed by DA and the open toilets in the free state governed by ANC made the 2011 election debates on media platforms and what came to be known toilet election (McFarlane, and Silver, 2017). The community activists in Cape Town under SJC launched a clean and safe campaign in 2010. The sanitation contestation in the Western Cape City of Cape Town involved protests and court challenges where significant achievements were registered by the community activists. In May 2012, the Mayor of Cape Town announced the city's commitment to sanitation delivery in contested areas (Overy, 2013).

The interview with the community activists claims to have used pressure to secure Janitorial service agreements with the City of Cape Town. Mitlin (2014, 2018) points out that, activist groups have pushed for service agreements with the governments for the urban poor. This is

done by applying pressure to those in authority to provide services to marginalised groups. The interview with the activist participant (6), said that the city responded to pressure:

> "They have improved on janitorial service that we initiated. So everything we had to push because they don't just do because they only think about themselves. They don't have a plan, they respond to our pressure. If we speak about this then they do that, if we speak about this then they do that. So they will wait for us, even now am sure they are waiting for us to tell them what to do."

A janitorial service was one of the demands that the activists campaigned for under the clean and safe campaign. Through the research in communities, it was clear that public toilets required to be cleaned and maintained daily (Very, 2013; SCJ, 2011, 2013, 2014). One of the activist participants (1) said that after they established the challenges of maintaining the toilets, they asked why janitorial services were not offered:

> "So we decided to intervene by asking them why we do not have janitorial service. A janitorial service is where the city of Cape Town is going to employ the workers under the city of Cape Town. These people that the city of Cape Town will employ, they will clean toilets, they will do maintenance, they will do coordination in those toilets that include the security. Because they said that the reason why these toilets they broke, is because people throw hard stuff, so we ask why you do not hire the security, why you do not hire people who will work on a daily basis in these toilets that is how we intervene."

The interview with the activist participant also pointed out that the issue of janitorial service was very critical and thus they wanted answers from the city:

> "The janitorial service came up because we wanted the city of Cape Town to answer the burning issues which was monitoring, consultation, coordination and maintenance which are four burning issues that we came across during the janitorial service and during our social audit."

The social audit established that some of the services provided by the contracted service providers did not meet the service deliverables as stated in the service delivery agreements (SDA) between the city and the contractors (Overy, 2013; SJC,2014; SJC and NU, 2015). The SJC and NU demanded the city provide the service delivery agreements with the service

providers. After threatening the city with a legal challenge and exposing the issue to the media, the city availed the SDAs. The city also published the SDAs on the city's website which was the first of its kind. The SDAs assisted the activists to identify where the services were not provided up to the standard of the agreement and these issues were brought to the attention of the city (Overy, 2013).

The SDAs helped the activists to understand the services provided by the city and it is from this that they were able to present their arguments. The activists argued that all public toilets in affluent areas were well maintained and offered free toilet papers. Since toilets in the informal settlements are public toilets, the activists demanded the same treatment for the toilets in urban poor communities. The city through the janitorial service agreed to clean the toilets in the informal settlements three times a week. The city also promised to employ 500 residents in the janitorial program which was part of the contestation.

5.3.4   Contestation on Budget Allocation and Safe Environment

The allocation of the budget on sanitation in the informal settlements was highly contested by the community activists. As indicated in chapter two, the contestation on the allocation of budget dates back to the colonial, and apartheid eras where areas such as Woodstock were allocated less budget compared with the central business district (CBD) (Miraftab, 2012; McFarlane, and Silver, 2017). During the sanitation campaign, the community activists did a lot of research to understand how budgets were allocated in the City of Cape Town. The activists also focused on how residents in informal settlements were affected by sanitation and its related diseases. One of the activist's participants (6) narrated about their work on budgeting and the safe environment:

> "Aaah so we did a lot of research on sanitation in terms of understanding how much money spent on sanitation, how do they divide the budget, how do they determine who gets what on budget, how many people in Khayelitsha, ah...the diseases associated with being (living) in the area of dirty environment, the children getting diarrhoea, unhygienic conditions and also what diseases can be prevented just from clean hygiene. So we spent a lot of work and testimonies and cases of the people maybe sometimes you go to the police station in Khayelitsha in the informal settlements you find that most people are more vulnerable to crime when they go to toilets or when they come from the toilet

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because toilets are far from where they stay, and that is why they are prone to crime and that is one of the testimonies that we got from people."

The issue of sanitation in the informal settlement is linked to safety and security and thus the contestation on the budget allocation also included budgeting into policing in Khayelitsha Township (Overy, 2013). The contestation on policing was that there are few and understaffed police stations in Khayelitsha Township compared to other affluent areas. The activists collected testimonies of women and children that were raped while going to the toilets in the informal settlements. The contestation on the plan for the Informal settlements was based on the fact that these areas are dense and very dark at night which makes it more insecure without police patrol while affluent areas have better-resourced police stations. As previously indicated the contestation on the issues of budgeting is the legacy of apartheid (McFarlane, and Silver, 2018; McFarlane, and Silver, 2017; Miraftab, 2012) In this regard, the issue of budgeting of toilets and security became central in sanitation contestations. The activist further expanded on this issue stressing the plight of the residents living in informal settlements:

"You see the police station in Khayelitsha that is flooded with cases and you see empty police station in sea point that has got everything that we need here. I am speaking about our police resources case, so all these things tell you how the city is arrogant of the problem that people are facing in the informal settlements, they prioritizing people who are living in these fancy areas."

Previously the issue of sanitation was rarely covered in the media and academic literature or even talked about in African culture since it is viewed as a taboo (McFarlane, and Silver, 2018; Robins, 2013, 2014). The activist's contestation of the issue found its way in the media and public space as poo protests took a centre stage. These issues in the informal settlements were neglected in the budget planning of the city and sometimes seen as wasteful expenditure by the Auditor general (Overy, 2013). When asked about the position of the city on the situation in the informal settlement before the campaign, the activists said that the city was in denial until when they produced the evidence from the communities:

"So they were first in denial of the issues of sanitation problems until we presented evidence and we had testimonies of people. These people you hear what they are saying is totally rubbish because this is what these people are saying and we had everything. We had pictures, we had documentaries, we have

interviews of people speaking about their issues, so you cannot deny about this, we have a hundreds of people they can come anytime and we had open site visits. If the mayor wants to come is welcome to come. We apply for debates in the council, in parliament we want to go and speak about these issues."

The contestation on budgeting also revolved around the fact that settlements are allocated less budget compared to other affluent areas. The contestation on budgeting was further contested on using the expensive sanitation typology compared to the preferred less effective typology (SJC, 2013, 2014; Taing, 2017). The city opted for chemical toilets that are more expensive to maintain and less preferred by the residents compared to flush toilets which are less expensive to maintain and more preferred by the residents[19]. The figure below shows the total operational cost of different toilet options over ten years.

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[19] 2016 report on "Estimating the cost of infrastructure for selected sites in Khayelitsha in City of Cape Town": Online available at https://www.cornerstonesa.net/reports/2016%20Khayelitsha%20Sanitation%20Costing%20Report.pdf.Accessed on 12/8/20. 9:18pm. this research was commissioned by the international budget partnership working in collaboration with the SJC to "develop a sanitation costing model" for the upgrade of "sanitation in the informal settlements of Cape Town". The sanitation costing model is built on the information that the City has put in public domain or the documents that has already been made public.
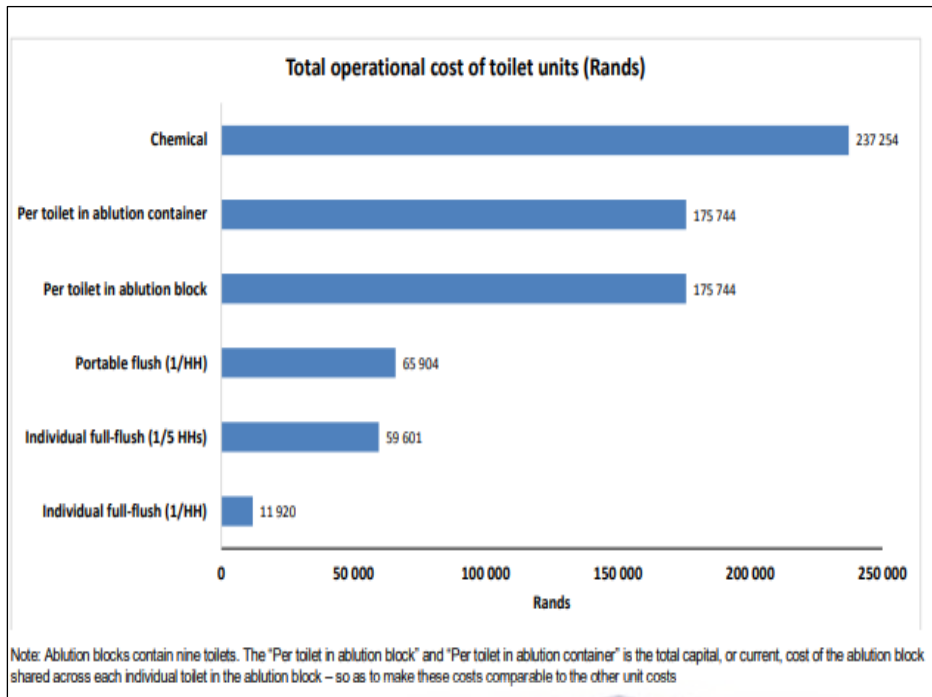
Figure 5.3. Total Operational Cost of Different Toilet Options Over Ten Years
Source: Cornerstone Economic Research 2016.

The cornerstone economic research revealed that the cost to service full flush toilets over ten years was much more affordable all other options. The following figure shows the cost of servicing different toilet options over ten years.
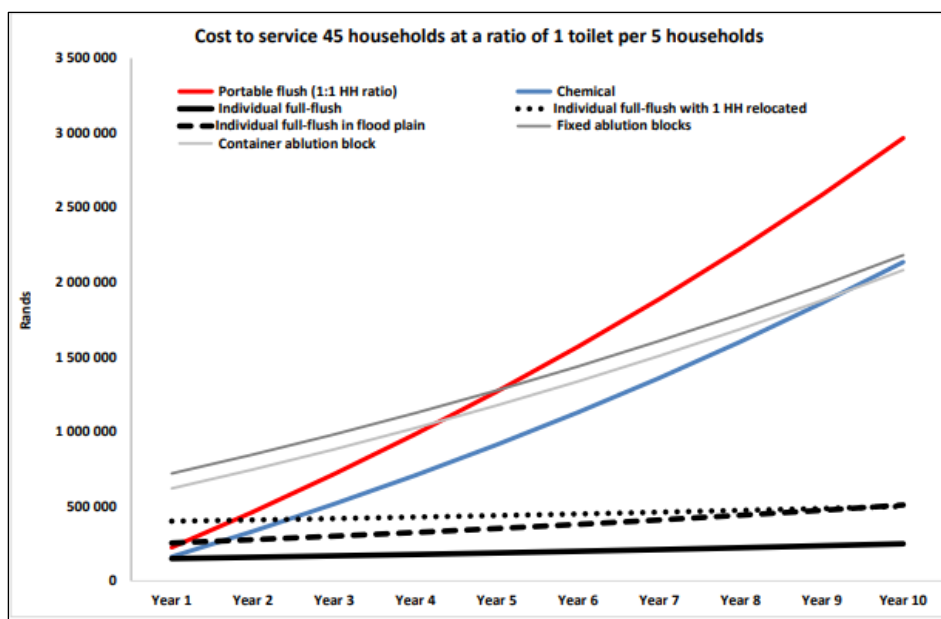
Figure 5.4. Cost to Service Households at a Ratio of 1 Toilet per 5 Household
Source: Cornerstone Economic Research 2016.

The MayCo of water and solid waste also agreed to the fact that chemical toilets are expensive to maintain compared to the full flush toilets that are preferred by the residents. However, the MayCo indicated that there are factors that limit the installation of full flush toilets in some of the informal settlements. Some of the settlements are located in stormwater catchments, private property, or ponds, and the installation is extremely tricky (Taing , 2017). However, the MayCo indicated that the city tries to work towards service standards and installation of flush toilets because they are preferred by the residents. The MayCo said that the initial investment cost of flush toilets is high but with less maintenance cost:

> "In our standards, we try to work towards full flash toilets and we try and install those whenever possible because not only is it deemed to be a more superior type of sanitation or typology of sanitation….aah and it is regarded in that way by the residents as well but actually it is the most affordable type of typology when you look at sanitation and one would think wow, why would that be because you need to connect the toilet to sanitation articulation network and all those things would be costly. Yes, the capital investment initially for full flush toilet is more expensive but actually, it is far less to maintain when one compares to other sanitation typologies like chemical toilets for example. Aaah, but often the condition of the location of the informal settlement will determine and influence what sanitation typology is suitable so a number of settlements

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are in inhabitable land and therefore cannot be formally serviced even though when we want to but often we can't install full flush toilets and we have to opt for other sanitation types like chemical toilets and a variety of chemical toilets and because of space constraints many of these have to be limited in terms of quantity and where they can be located."

The activist agreed with the fact that the city puts money in sanitation but they argued that the money does not go to sanitation in the informal settlements but rather to wasteful expenditure using temporary toilets that cost more to maintain:

"So the city of Cape Town was in denial of all these protests that they are number one in the Western Cape to provide sanitation, they put more money in the budget, in which it is true. If you look at the budget of Cape Town where they say they put too much money in sanitation, they are not lying; its true but they put more money in budget on sanitation but not for informal settlements. They put so much money on sanitation because they use temporary toilets, Mshengu toilets, chemical toilets, they give tenders to their friends, they build bulk water tanks that are very expensive. They give tenders to their friends as I have mentioned before so the money that goes to informal settlements is very small. So there more money in sanitation as the department but when you go to the informal settlements, it doesn't go to informal settlements, it goes to other departments, it goes to staff, it goes to tenders, it goes to these companies that are using temporarily chemical toilets, it doesn't go to informal settlements."

McFarlane and Silver (2017, p.125) discuss the infrastructure inequalities that make the urban political and view the sanitation contestations in Cape Town as a "socio-political syndrome" that traces back in the history of apartheid race and segregation. The contestation on budgeting did not only focus on the informal settlements in Khayelitsha but included other settlements in the city. Community activists prepared workshops on budgeting in collaboration with the international budget partnership (IBP) an international non-governmental organisation that supports civil society and other advocacy groups to advocate for clean budgeting in governments (Overy, 2013). The workshop looked at budgeting from as early as 2000 and up until 2013. The activists indicated that the breakdown in budgeting gave a small portion of the budget allocated to settlements in the city:

"So we did a breakdown of how much is going to informal settlements, it's like 2%, and 2% that goes to informal settlements not to one area, to all 204 informal

settlements for sanitation. We have the budget here in our shelves, you can also read. So we did a budget, we did a breakdown on budget, we did a workshop on budget, we did a pamphlet that will tell you exactly how much we spent in sanitation, even tracking all the the years from early 2000 what happened to the budget. It is very less money and also it doesn't grow, it just goes down, if it was 2million, then its 18 million, then it's 15 million to all of the informal settlements, not just one area, to all informal settlements. So it's close to nothing, like judging to the problems that we have it's nothing."

The idea of budget analysis adopted by the SJC and NU has helped to improve the number of submissions from poor communities in the City of Cape Town budget proposals (Overy, 2013). The city calls on residents to make submissions on the draft budget to indicate whether the draft budget covers the demands of residents in the communities. The SJC managed to mobilise residents of Khayelitsha to write 500 submissions for the budget review process[20]. On the sanitation campaign, the SJC submitted the janitorial budget estimate in 2012 to the budget steering committee for review and approval. Following this submission, the sanitation janitorial service was allocated a total of R26 million in the 2012/2013 budget year (Overy, 2013).

5.3.5   Contestations on Community Policing and Safety Using Toilet

The sanitation campaign became a local government and national issue as some of the functions fell in between the jurisdiction of the two spheres of government. As indicated before, the issue of sanitation is heavily linked to safety and security in informal settlements. SJC research revealed that the use of toilets is a very dangerous activity in informal settlements (Overy, 2013; SJC, 2013, 2014). Whereas the provision of basic services is a local government issue, community policing is a national government issue. In this regard, the SJC activists engaged both local and national governments in the delivery of sustainable sanitation in the informal communities of Khayelitsha. The contestation on community policing was done under the safety and justice campaign that demanded a commission of inquiry into the rape, robbery, and

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[20] Halloran Brendan September 2017: "Budgets that Exclude: The Struggle for Decent Sanitation in South Africa's Informal Settlements". "https://www.internationalbudget.org/wp-content/uploads/south-africa-sanitation-struggle-ibp-case-study-2017.pdf". The 500 submissions were delivered by 150 residents who were received by the City officials amidst visible police presence.

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killing of women and children while going to the toilet or going to catch a taxi to work[21]. Below is the map of Khayelitsha where the commission of inquiry into policing took place.
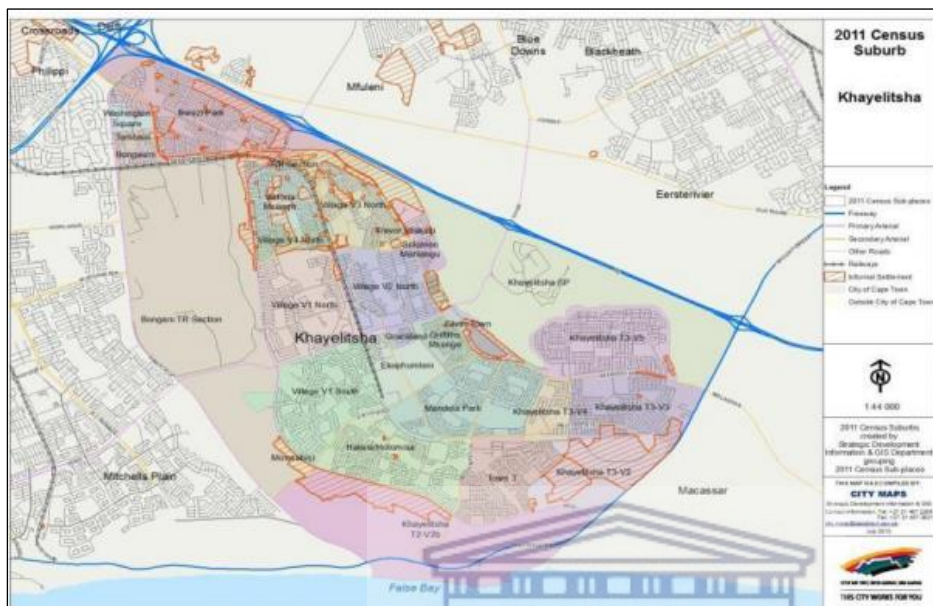
Figure 5.5. Map of Khayelitsha Cape Town
Source: City of Cape Town 2011.

The institution of the "commission of inquiry into policing in Khayelitsha" became one of the major contributions of the activist's engagements. The commission allowed the residents to give testimonies on the everyday suffering at the hands of the perpetrators while trying to access toilets and other activities. The activists indicated that the work of the commission gave them a starting point. The activist participant (6) said that the commission was a landmark and it is something they can work on going forward:

21Khayelitsha "Commission of Inquiry Community Perception Survey into Policing in Khayelitsha" Final Report February 2014: Online Available at: https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3.sourceafrica.net/documents/14489/60-b-justin-du-toit-and-kate-leko-everett-report.pdf. Accessed on 12/9/2020. A group of civil society organisation (CSOs) on the 28th November 2011 represented by the women legal centre submitted a complaint to the Western Cape Department of the premier on the operation of the South African police in the Khayelitsha Township. The complainants included "the SJC, Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), Equal Education (EE), Free Gender, Triangle Project "and NU about the violence, assault, rape, and murder among other accusations in the area.

"At least now we are working on something, we are not working from scratch. But also I have the problem with the commission with the recommendations that are not binding, the government spend a lot of money on commissions but the recommendations are not binding. You spend a lot of money, a lot of time, a lot of human resource but it's not binding which is not fair, it should be legally binding so it's something that we are still speaking about to make sure that its legally binding."

However, though the commission informed the state on the experiences of the people on the ground, it appears that the activists are not completely satisfied with the fact the outcome is not binding. The reported crime cases in the Khayelitsha before the commission and the testimonies collected by the activists influenced the activists to submit a complaint to the then Premier of the Western Cape Government Hellen Zile. The SAPS data on reported crime for 2012/2013 showing three areas of Khayelitsha, Harare, Lengelethu-west indicate that the Khayelitsha precinct had the highest crime rate. Below is the figure showing the crime for March and April 2011, 2012, and 2013.
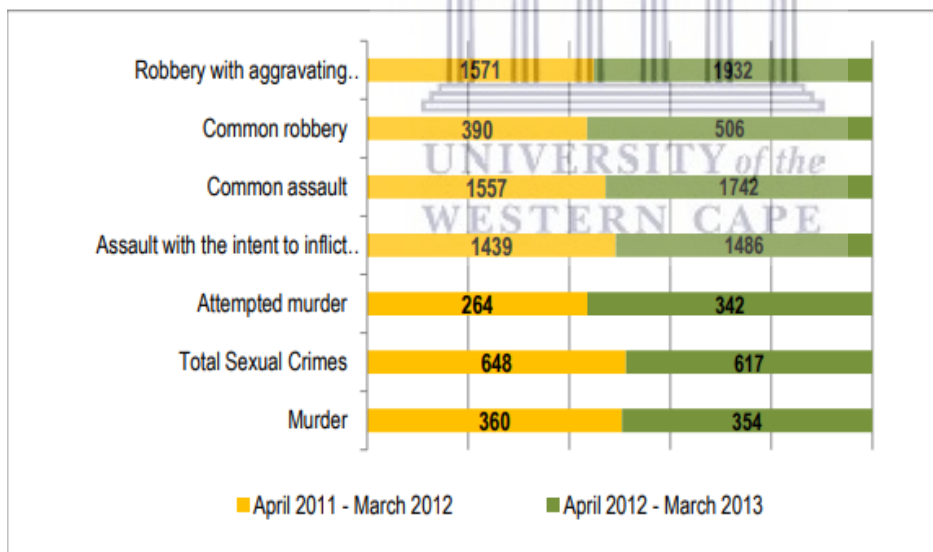
Figure 5.6. Crime Statistics for March and April 2011, 2012 and 2013
Source: SAPS.

The reported crime cases in the figure above and other unreported crime cases make using toilets at night in the informal settlements extremely difficult. So the work of community

activists shed some light on the everyday struggle of the poor people when nature calls. Participant (6) said that you cannot separate sanitation and safety in the informal settlements:

> "If you speak about toilet alone you cannot speak about it without speaking about the aspect of safety. You need to speak about street lights, you need to speak about rape because women are getting raped trying to use or to go to the toilet, coming from the toilet, they don't feel safe without street lights its dark, you know and distance is far, its dense in BM section, its dense in RR section, it's dense in Nkanini, It's dense in Ndovini, it's dense in town two, it's dense in green point so all these places people don't feel safe in all these areas. There is no police patrolling, there is no cameras for security, there is no horse riding police, there is no walking police just to inspect the area as you might find in white areas or these fancy areas."

Informal settlements by their nature are not planned which makes them very dense and breeding ground for crime (Meth, 2013; Shaterian, Heidary, Shaterian, and Dolatyaran, 2020; van der Linde, 2020). The residents in the informal settlements use public toilets that are shared among households and far from these households. The national service standard requires that five households share one toilet in a radius of 100 meters (Water Services Strategic Framework, 2003); it is the same ratio that the city uses. However, some of the residents stay within more than a 200-meter radius which makes them targets of crime while walking to the toilet. In this regard, the safety aspect of sanitation in informal settlements is very important in addressing the issue of sustainable sanitation in these areas.

The issue of safety does not only affect the residents but also the City of Cape Town officials who provide services in those areas. Some of the city officials are attacked when they are offering services in the community. One of the city officials said that crime has sometimes affected the city's plans and limits the achievements: *"There are many challenges as well, the crime as well is one of the things that we are not achieving what we want to achieve because they are robbing the city officials, and they kill them as well in this area"*. In this regard, the community activist's engagement with different stakeholders on social challenges in the informal settlements enables progress in planning and development towards sustainable sanitation.

5.3.6 Toilet Infrastructure and Safety

The activist's sanitation campaign started with the main focus on the toilets but after engagements with communities, it became clear that the issue of the toilet in the informal settlement is closely related to safety (Faull, 2016; Overy, 2013). The attack on vulnerable groups as they try to access the toilet facility became a big concern to residents of the informal settlements (SJC, 2014; van der Linde, 2020). The location of the toilets in some of the informal settlements poses safety challenges. The activist participant (1) said that toilets are located in the swamps and are not safe especially at night:

> "Because these toilets are not safe and you cannot rely on these toilets especially if you use them at night and you can look at places where they allocated them. You will find out that most of those toilets, are allocated in the swamp or canal which is a wetland place that you can't walk wearing a turkey or shoe, you have to wear gumboots to get inside. So that is why I say that city of Cape Town does not care."

Due to lack of space, some toilets are located in places that are inaccessible particularly at the edge of the settlement which is far from those that stay in the middle of the settlement. The informal settlements are not planned and hence its nature does not give space in the centre where toilet infrastructure can be installed (Meth, 2013; Shaterian, Heidary, Shaterian, and Dolatyaran, 2020). This means that the city is forced to place the toilet facility at the edge of the settlement which is not suitable and accessible by all residents. The lack of toilets that are close to home creates behaviour factors such as open defecation that puts the health of residents at a risk. During the interview with the activist participant (1) in the RR section, he said that majority of the residents use the bush to relieve themselves (open defecation) due to lack of toilets. The distance to the bush which is located near N2 Bridge is also far from the Nzomthe street residents but also it is dangerous to cross the road thus the majority of the residents welcomed the city's offer of portable toilets that are kept in their homes:

> "They came with the idea or proposal of how they going to provide them with the infrastructure so the people would be interested because we even myself personally, even now am using bush. You go straight and there is a bush on the left. So most of the people they were using the bush, so now because the government came with these toilets, they decided, instead of crossing the road during night, wintertime, every time you have to cross the road, this is a very busy road to cross, also the children, the old people are not safe for them to cross

the road so they decided to take these kinds of toilets which is the portable toilet and chemical toilet."

Chemical toilets have been described by the activists as apartheid toilets (SJC, 2014; Baxter, and Mtshali, 2020). The issue of sanitation in Cape Town has been viewed as a historical factor and that it cannot be separated from the question of race and segregation (McFarlane, and Silver, 2018). Though the residents take the offer of portable toilets and chemical toilets, they are not satisfied with the service due to the issues of dignity and historical attachments. The residents describe the portable and chemical toilets as unhygienic and unsafe to use. The activist participant (1) narrated instances where residents lost lives while trying to use the chemical toilet. As mentioned before, the residents prefer a flush toilet to any other sanitation typology. The participants also confirmed that residents prefer flush toilets over any other typology and are deemed safer as well:

> "Flush toilets are the toilets that people they need in these areas. Look at the portable toilets, you can go to anyone there and ask anyone you find there if they are satisfied with portable toilets, no one will say yes. Interview anyone who is using chemical toilets, they will tell you the story that these toilets are not suitable for them, they are unhygienic, they are not safe, you understand? If you enter inside the toilet, you will find out that if you look at the contract between the city of cape town and the service provider, it's stipulated by the provider that underneath the chemical toilet should be concrete so that the toilet can be stable so that when there is heavy winds and rains, the toilet does not fall, the toilet is stable but in reality, if you go inside there, you can see and you can feel that the toilet is shaking, you can see the toilet is moving. We had one case that was at Msindweni I can't remember the year, there was a lady who went inside the toilet and there was criminals around who were watching her, waited for her to get inside, once she was inside, they came locked the toilet and pushed it down and everything (poo) fell on the lady and died and buried. Because she was sitting there, we found out after three days that there is someone locked in there but unfortunately she was dead."

The two campaigns (Clean sanitation and Safety and justice) that activists carried out were intended to deal with these problems. The sanitation in the informal settlement is involved with dynamic challenges that can only be mitigated through stakeholder engagements. The

engagements enabled the installation of additional infrastructure in some of the settlements that were identified.

5.3.7   Installation of Sanitation Infrastructure

The primary goal of the sanitation campaign was to ensure that informal settlements get enough sanitation infrastructures. In other words, it was intended to make the government accountable for basic services and service delivery (Overy, 2013; SJC, 2014). The lack of toilets was observed by the activist participant (6) as a fundamental problem: *"The toilet issue is also a fundamental problem; it's always a big problem when it comes to people's experience"*. The people's experience is that of living in a community without toilets and hence the campaign was targeted at forcing the city to provide toilet infrastructure. The interview with the activist participant (1) in RR Section, also suggested how they involved the officials to let them understand the plight of the people living in these settlements:

> "We involve the city officials from the beginning of the campaign because we went with them and tried to understand up until now why the residents of these areas still have the complaints on the infrastructure on the toilets. Remember RR section in Khayelitsha was established in the late 1980s but until 2013 until now, these residents are still complaining and still have doubts about the officials, so why is that still happening."

The activist said that their concern was that there was no plan for informal settlement yet the community did not have toilet infrastructure:

> "There was a plan, there was no plan for a right infrastructure like full flush toilet, there was no plan for that, aaaaah up until we put pressure on them. If you go, I will start with the green point section. If you go to the green point section, there were about 10 flush toilets there but now if you can go there, there is more than 100 full flush toilets. If you go to the BM section, is the same thing, if you go to the RR section is the same thing, if you go to side C areas, it's the same thing."

The lack of toilet infrastructure speaks to the historical system of planning (McFarlane, and Silver, 2017) that placed black people in Khayelitsha with no adequate planning. The question of sanitation infrastructure can be understood in "relation to political" (ibid, p.125). Thus, the

issue of sanitation in the informal settlement is influenced by the politics of Cape Town. The contestations on the sanitation infrastructure in urban poor communities are due to frustrations accumulated from many years of neglect. The sanitation campaign forced the city to recognise the neglect of poor communities. In some of the settlements that never had toilet infrastructure, new facilities were installed. The following are the 9 toilet facilities before the installation of the new facilities.

Figure 5.7. Picture of the Nine Toilet Infrastructure Before the Sanitation Campaign
Source: Author's Fieldwork 2019.

Figure5.8. Picture of Additional Toilet Infrastructure After the Sanitation Campaign
Source: Author's Fieldwork 2019.

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In the counting of toilets in the Green Point section, I found that 113 toilets were added to 9 toilets that were there previously. However, settlements such as the RR section were not given any additional infrastructure other than the identification of faults and other sanitation challenges. The interview with the ward councillor confirmed that there was no new infrastructure installed in the RR section but he gave credit to activists on social transformation in the area:

> "I would say the engagement and activism by the SJC at the time until we don't see them was very instrumental. We managed to win some cases here and there where there was no toilets and so on but in the area where you are talking about RR, there was no activism in terms of installation of new services except that they were helping in terms of identifying the problem with those installed already, personal hygiene, cleanliness of those facilities. They were very much helpful when it comes to the identification of that. We can even mention other areas outside RR where there are positive results. They have taken the city to court for an area called Taiwan, it's near the N2, we are going to install toilets for the people of that area so that is attributed to activism."

Sanitation activism has helped to identify and provide the alternative to pro-poor sanitation innovations and ensure sustainable maintenance (Ramani, SadreGhazi, and Duysters, 2010). The urban authorities are also kept in check by the pressure exerted by the activists (Mitlin, 2014). And this can be explained by the constant contestations on the issues of sustainable services of the urban poor communities (Baxter, and Mtshali, 2020). The acknowledgement of the activists' contributions by the area councillor of the RR section attests to the fact that activists have been key in social change. However, though the councillor credited the activist's work as instrumental in the RR section, he said, the installation of the sanitation infrastructure in the RR section was his effort as a ward councillor. When I asked whether the RR section benefited from the sanitation campaign, the councillor said:

> "Not really, they started in 2009, I started in 2011 as a councillor, in 2009 and 2011 there were no changes. I came in as a councillor; I pushed for change in terms of sanitation points. So I cannot attribute that achievement to them because I had to work to make sure we have sanitation in the area without their help but knowing them as I said they were instrumental in terms of maintenance, report, and so on."

The councillor's claim of sanitation infrastructure in the RR section contradicts the response from the residents of Nzomthe Street in RR section. During the interview with one of the street committee members he said that there are no toilets in their street: "*We are struggling a lot, my brother, we don't have toilets here, for example, few taps of water and this place is not in good condition*". When I asked about the challenges they face in the area, the street committee member mentioned toilets and water again:

> "…eeh…as I said it's this water and toilets yeah, is the problems that we have, we don't have toilets at all, here in this area. It's only taps and they are few; I think 3, it's only three taps here. It's only that we are crying for now". The interview with the activist who resides in the same area revealed the same thing and indicated that some residents who do not have portable toilets use the bush to relieve themselves: "…because we even myself personally, even now am using bush. You go straight and there is a bush on the left. So most of the people they were using the bush."

The ward area councillor refuted the response from the communities as a lie and indicated that there are full flush toilets in all areas except one area he mentioned:

> "No they have lied to you, there is a number of initiative that are there, other than the full flush toilet. So there is no bushes next to the freeway that people are helping themselves, that's a lie while we understand that the services that we put there are insufficient for the number of people that are there. The main challenge of that area is an informal settlement, it does not have a network. When we are talking about a network, we are talking about infrastructure that will need connection, so most of the toilet in the RR are connected to the sewer mainline so if you are connecting in the mainline such as that one, you will having blasts/floods in a way that when the pump station is full it pushes back to communities so the area RR is a geographical is a fault. The only area without any full flushing toilet is called Mwebishi square, that's the only area that does not have a full flushing toilet. In all other parts, you find full flush toilets, unfortunately, they are situated like those of BM because they are parked next to the line, they are not where people want. That's the problem so that cannot be attended to immediately because the area itself is an informal settlement but again those who say they use bush they are telling lies."

The contradiction between the area councillor and the community residents is not something new. These contradictions between the residents and representatives reflect the discontent and

frustrations of misrepresentation and lack of trust (Thompson, 2014; Thompson, Conradie, and Tsolekile de Wet, 2014). The governance systems might not allow the sustainable delivery of services as this often depends on the individuals in the office (Biljohn, and Lues, 2020). There are no initiatives developed by local governments to support the sustainability of living standards of poor communities (Atisa, Zemrani, and Weiss, 2020). In this regard, sustainable delivery requires a clear understanding of the living conditions of poor people.

The interview with the MayCo of water and solid waste who also happens to be the DA Proportional representative Councillor (PR) appeared to understand the conditions of the RR section. When I mentioned the dissatisfaction of the RR residents in terms of lack of toilets, she said:

> "Ok, so all in Khayelitsha I know for sure are serviced with taps and toilets, it's not a new settlement but if I recall and am trying to draw up the notice for RR, that settlement is also partly located in the stormwater plan so any development of that settlement is almost impossible so relocation is planned for that settlement and government-subsidised housing remains an option to citizens but only if they meet the national government qualifying criteria which limits obviously income amongst other things so people who earn a certain amount of income can access that government-subsidised housing."

Figure 5.9. Picture of the Houses in the Stormwater
Source: Author's Fieldwork 2019.

Figure5.10. Picture of Houses and the Road in the Stormwater
 Source: Author's Fieldwork 2019.

Figure 5.11. Picture of Residents Fetching Water and Washing on Taps Next to Toilets
Source: Author's Fieldwork 2019.

The challenge of being located in a stormwater plan appears to be the main issue affecting the development plans of the RR section. Other informal settlements such as the BM section and Green point section had toilets though some residents in BM were not satisfied with the chemical toilet. The interview with the activists in a focus group discussion (FGD) revealed that the sanitation conditions in the settlements have generally improved. However, to realise sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements, formal local leadership structures that are independent of political influence must be established to work in corporative governance with the city. Formal local leadership structures can help in creating the sustainability of sanitation infrastructure as communities take more ownership and initiative to maintain the facility.

5.3.8 Get to know the Local Leadership

The community leaders in the informal settlements are not formal and hence leaders perform their duties without clear direction available to formal leaders (Vivier, and Sanchez-Betancourt, 2020). The engagement of the city and community activists allowed a bottom-up approach where local leadership started approaching the city on issues of sanitation. In the same way, the contestations captured the attention of the city to realise the gaps in the leadership on the

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grassroots level. The question of sustainable sanitation cannot be answered if there is no proper representation of communities that sanitation programs are designed to benefit. The key important takeaway from the city and activist's engagements is that it allowed the city management to understand the leadership on the ground.

The leadership in the informal settlements is often elected informally, hence it is through the engagement with communities and local councillors that one will be able to understand who the leaders are in that specific community. During the fieldwork interviews, the MayCo said that the city reaches out to more formal structures but also makes attempt to include informal groupings swell as, clearly explaining the leadership at the grassroots level:

> "At ward level there are also ward committee. The ward committee is chaired by the ward councillor and it's made up of different community-based sectors. So different organisations are represented on those ward committees so we would reach out to those more formal type of community structures but more informally one also has to acknowledge and respect the fact that there are more informal leadership structures within the informal settlements, so often within informal settlements, there are elected leaders which the community has elected to represent them not in a formal way but through the assistance of the ward councillor who is normally familiar with who the leadership is within the community. We would also make a point to reach out at these leadership groupings within the informal settlement. We would call meetings with them and explain our plan of action and hear their necessary input following those internal consultation sessions, we would then proceed setting up larger community meetings with the broader community."

The informal leadership structures or street committees started way back in the apartheid system and were normally used for community safety (Cole, 1987; Drivdal, L., 2016). Street committees are the "lowest level of a loosely constituted three-tiered system of informal local rule in the townships" (Burman and Schärf (1990, p. 706). In an attempt to perform security duties, they are reshaped in line with the policies of the state and programs of political leaders at the grassroots (Bénit-Gbaffou, et al. 2012). Street committees shifted from community security to the mobilisation of communities during the years of apartheid (Seekings 2001). Seekings argue that the post-1994 transition weakened street committees (Seekings 2011). However, the mobilisation of communities in the informal settlements continues in the demand

for service delivery (Alexander, et, al. 2018; Alexander 2010). The informal settlements are thus represented by the informal voices which become more activated when there is contestation on basic services and through these contestations, they claim their recognition. However, the leadership in these informal settlements is not always stable.

The leadership in the informal settlements is highly contested and thus it is a common situation whereby different groups may claim the leadership of a particular community. The interview with the city official and the MayCo highlighted the issue of leadership where other groups tend to claim the leadership of the area which demonstrates the vulnerability of these informal structures on the grassroots level:

> "Leadership structures are often always changing so you know once you have started engaging with a particular grouping you realise that that grouping isn't necessarily the actual leadership structure and then you have to start all over again."

The contestations of the leadership in the informal settlements are sometimes frustrating and may slow down the implementation of the projects as different factions fight for validity in a given community. The MayCo indicated that this is a common scenario when they are engaging the informal settlement communities. Engagements sometimes break down after realizing that the particular group claiming validity is not approved by residents. The leadership contestations intensify particularly when it gets closer to the election season as individuals try to build their profile:

> "So you know what I find to be hmmm.. should I say frustrating is that you would start engaging with the leadership group within a community and when you believe that you're ready to implement then you would be informed that leadership grouping doesn't represent the community or have been outvoted by the community and the new grouping of the leaders contest the validity of the grouping we have been engaging and often you also have multiple leadership groups that are all challenging one another for the space of who represents that particular community. So the, often lack of sanity and cooperation within that community and internal leadership fights tend to slow down communication and often poses a great risk to be able to proceed with the project so that's often quite a re-echoing theme that more and more we seem to see and I think in my experience even more prevalent as one moves closer to local government

elections because many of these leadership figures within the community are also trying to build up their profile and getting ready to potentially contest the elections and oppose the existing ward councillor so you see those community dynamics escalate far more as you move closer to the elections, which poses further delays in the city's ability to be able to proceed with the implementation so that's one of the re-echoing themes that one encounters during consultation."

The above statement confirms Seeking's (2011) assertion that the democratic dispensation weakened the informal leadership structures. This is to say that there is a need for clear leadership structures that enable a smooth implementation of sanitation programs and create community ownership. In this regard, the engagements between the city and community activists allow the city to identify and understand the true leadership group in a particular community.

5.3.9   Realising the Need for Sustainable Engagements in Communities

Communities are very important stakeholders in the sustainability of sanitation programs hence the success of the program entirely depends on how the community is involved in the planning and design of the program (Carlsson-Kanyama, et, al., 2008; Conway and Barbier, 1988; Mensah, 2020). The involvement of communities in service delivery is one of the key batho principles that calls for people to be put first and this means considering their views on services rendered (Smith, and Mofolo, 2009) The sustainability of sanitation requires a full-time commitment which can only be realised through constant engagement with the communities. The nature of informal settlements makes it crucial that communities are constantly engaged to create a steady partnership with the city and develop trust. When asked how engagements can be shaped to realise sustainable sanitation in informal settlements, the MayCo stressed the need for communities structuring themselves in elective leadership and the importance of constant engagement. She emphasised that these engagements should be continuous regardless of whether there is a project or not:

"So it is useful that community structures themselves and if that means structuring themselves to in elective leadership structures, it does help to understand that there is a representation for the community because it's often difficult to engage in informal settlements particularly the larger ones that have thousands of residents… ahh, I think the sustainability aspect of engagement

revolves around continuous engagement and that the engagement cannot be once-off and cannot always be related to a project, or program of implementation but it needs to be on-going far beyond just sanitation type of thing. There needs to be a foundation of partnership between the community, the leadership, any other organisations operating in that community, the ward councillor, the sub-council, and the city because if you only do the once-off interaction, you aren't able to build a sense of cooperation and partnership which means that you don't necessarily have the necessary trust in place to ensure that you can proceed with installing the alternative sanitation typology."

The idea of constant engagement to ensure the sustainability of projects was also shared by the activists. During the FGD with the activists, when asked about how the sustainability of sanitation can be achieved, the activist's participant (2) said that they need to continue engaging the city to do their job: *"...of course engagement is the only way because you can't sustain the facilities that they have given us but us is just to push them so that they can do their job…"*. The same view was shared by participant 3 during the individual interview:

> "Engagement with different stakeholders is very vital to me due to that it is the thing that we suppose to keep it as the unit, it is the thing that can try to change the different perspective to other people, it's sort of the role that engagement must be there, must be strong."

The MayCo believes that the partnership between the communities and the city would promote sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements. The introduction of alternative sanitation typology often receives stiff resistance from communities and this is to a large existent attributed to lack of consultation in the decision-making process. In this regard, constant consultation builds partnership and trust between the different stakeholders in the sanitation of informal settlements. This is important in efforts to achieve goal 6 of SDG 2030. However, the activists appeared sceptical as to whether the city can be true to continuous engagements. The challenge to continuous engagement is politicizing the service delivery programs.

5.3.10 Employment of Informal Settlement Residents in the Janitorial Program

The roll-out of the janitorial program was contested to create jobs for the residents who would work as janitors. The activists and community residents demanded that the janitorial program

employ people that stay in those informal settlements. This is in line with the South African white paper 1996 (SA, 1996), which stipulates that communities should be involved in community projects. The white paper clearly states that such projects must employ residents of that particular area. In this regard, the demand of activists and community residents was in line with the rights of involvement in community projects.

The janitorial program was announced on May 16[th,] 2012 by the Mayor of Cape Town and promised to employ 500 residents in the Janitorial service. As mentioned before, the SJC activists submitted the budget proposal to the city's steering budget committee including the cost of employing 1500 janitors amounting to R100 million in US$12.3 million. The figure of the cost was calculated by the city themselves (Overy, 2013). In the budget of 2012 – 2013, the city allocated R26 million in US$3.2 million. The MayCo said that this is people's expectations and sometimes wants to dictate on whom is selected for the job:

> "The other aspect is during the engagement with communities what remains a priority is whether the city will be able to provide job opportunities in the execution of its project or roll out so even though the community are always appreciative of the services that we are rendering or the new services that have been installed, they do believe that they there need to be further benefits to the community through job actually being created in the project and often this also becomes the area of contention because community members are often want to be far more involved and influence the proceeds of who is selected for the job opportunity. Uhmmm…these aspects often result to protest actions where services are completely stopped and the projects are completely stalled."

The interview with the community activists seems to confirm what the MayCo narrated on employment contestation during the project initiation phase. The contestation with the city on the plan of the informal settlement was in terms of maintenance, repair, and employment of residents in the project. The activist participant (6) narrated the concerns during the engagement process:

> "So in 2011 we had a big match and we demanded a plan from the city of Cape Town. What's the plan for informal settlements and also we wanted the city to make sure that they look at those toilets that are already there. They improve them, they clean them, they repair them, they actually employ people in those areas to repair them. Because imagine I stay in Khayelitsha but the person who

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repairs the toilets is staying in Hout bay for example. So when the toilet is broken, you have to call someone from Hout bay to come fix the toilet in Khayelitsha. How long does it take, it might take two to three days. They have to call the company that is repairing, they have to make an appointment, they have to find him the car, he has to come here, when they come here they can't find the GPS because in the informal settlements there are no streets, they can't find the place. They are scared to even walk in, there are many challenges to come and repair. But now if the city makes sure that the people in this area are skilful to repair the toilet, it's much easier, anyone can just do it. So we don't have broken toilets but there are people here who can fix broken toilets. That's what we wanted from the city of Cape Town in 2011 but it didn't happen in the way we wanted; instead, the city employed people to just clean the toilets. The fact that they managed to employ people, it was good for us, at least most people have employment because some were not working, it's fine, we are happy about that."

The contestation on employment was based on the fact that employing people staying far delays the maintenance and repair of the infrastructure. The repair of infrastructure in case there is any breakage often takes weeks before the city sends someone to fix the problem. Tracing the location of the infrastructure that needs attention is also a problem as informal settlements cannot be reached using GPS and thus making it difficult for people who are not familiar with the settlement. The activists asked the city to tag the infrastructure so that it is easy to be traced for maintenance and repair purposes (Overy, 2013; SJC, 2011, 2013). However, as mentioned before, the security in the informal settlement is bad and most of the city workers end up becoming targets of criminals. In this regard, the employment of residents in the informal settlement would help to solve the challenge of delays and provide employment to residents.

The contestation from the margins of society is a struggle for sustainable sanitation which required information on how the city plans for informal settlements but also to empower residents through awareness programs on their social rights. The contestation was mainly on SDA, budget allocation, community policing for safety, toilet infrastructure, and installation of infrastructure. The representation in the informal settlement was also key because the city was able to understand the leadership in these communities and realizing the need for continuous engagement with communities. The sanitation campaign also provided employment

opportunities for communities through janitorial programs. The thematic relationship in this chapter is presented in the figure below.
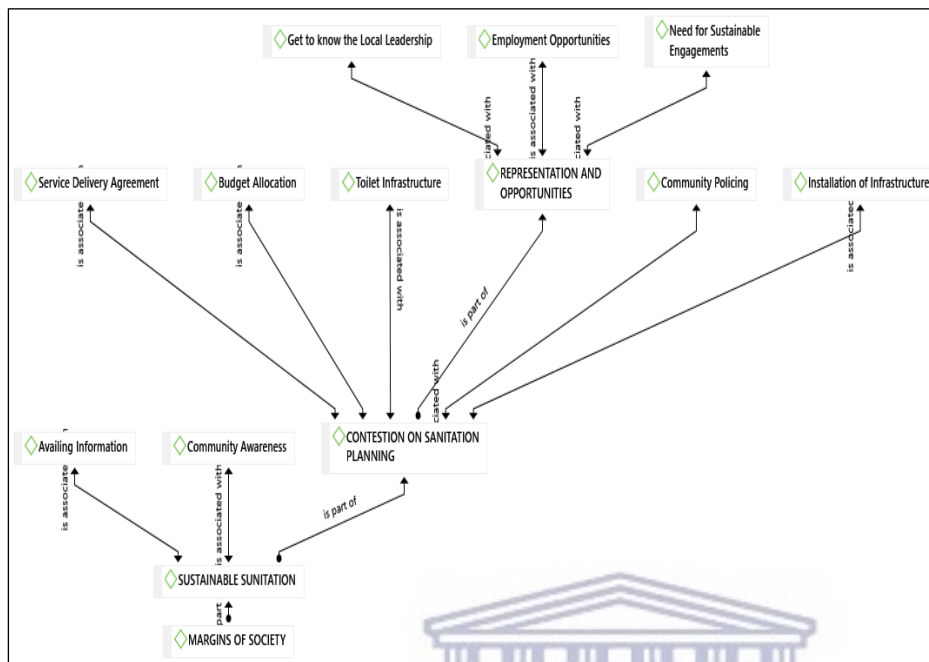
Figure 5.12. Thematic Relationship in the sanitation contestations
Source: Author's Construct 2021.

5.4 CONCLUSION.

Community activism has been influenced by the desire for meaningful social change in the margins of society. This chapter discussed the engagement between the community activists and the urban officials in the decision-making processes of sanitation in informal settlements. The spatial planning that pushed the black people to the peripheral of the city maintained the system of marginalisation. The marginalisation gave rise to the activist groups that work with the communities to challenge the city's planning and decision-making processes. The marginalised communities with the assistance of social movements assert their voices through peaceful engagements with the city. These engagements are characterised by different tactics to push for fair decisions in sanitation planning of informal settlements.

The role of this chapter was to understand the decision-making process in the provision of sanitation in informal settlements. There are many stakeholders in the delivery of sanitation

which makes decision-making tricky and complex. However, the city's department of water and solid waste is responsible for the provision of basic services in the informal settlements. For sustainable sanitation to be achieved, the decision-making process must include the communities. The involvement of communities in the decision-making process is lacking and this is attributed to the poor structuring of community leadership. As indicated before, informal settlements are a legacy of apartheid and hence they lack the planning and have continuously been marginalised which has invited contestations challenging the continued existence of this legacy.

Radical engagements have confronted city planning and advanced the voices of the marginalised communities. The evidence in this study suggests that engagements shed more light on sanitation issues affecting the people living in the informal settlements and presented demands to the urban management for improvement. The themes emerging from the analysis of interviews in the study suggest that engagement plays a significant role in sustainable sanitation. Through engagements, community activists were able to establish information on city's sanitation planning in the informal settlements. Understanding the city's sanitation plan in the informal settlement was important to inform the activists' demands for sustainable sanitation. This information was also used to challenge the resource allocation and the continued marginalisation of the people living in these areas. Activists also used the same information to explain to communities how the city allocates resources and empowered communities to demand improved sanitation services.

The engagements further provided a basis to reach a service delivery agreement with the city whereby the city would provide the janitorial services to people living in the informal settlements. The informal settlements use public toilets which are shared among residents of the settlement. The activists argued that the city maintains public toilets in affluent areas such as Sea Point in Cape Town but ignores public toilets in the informal settlements. The activists demonstrated this by lining up on Sea Point public toilets together with hundreds of informal settlements residents to show the difficulty of using few toilets for many households. After presenting these demands which the city agreed upon, the activists further demanded the

service delivery agreements (SDA). The service delivery agreement was used to keep the contractors in check on the delivery of contracted services.

However, though some of the services are appreciated by the community residents and activists, they are not convinced about the sustainability of some services. The activists were not satisfied with the sanitation typology offered by the city arguing that it is not sustainable. The activists argue that the city was forced to build toilets in the informal settlements and does not have a plan for informal settlements unless they are pushed. The activists carried out a social audit where they established problems about sanitation infrastructure in the area. During the interviews, I observed contradictions between the urban officials (councillors), residents, and community activists on the sanitation situation in the communities. The contestations appear to have their roots in these contradictions.

The contestations between the city and the urban poor communities are related to the issues of marginalisation as the city planning shows less willingness to change the apartheid spatial planning (Williams, 2009; Rodina, and Harris, 2016; Schoeman, 2018). The activists argued that city still maintains the same apartheid spatial planning system and pointed out that the city is not pro-poor. On the other hand, activists also feel that the pressure they exerted on the city management helped them to improve: *"...you know when you have been criticised a lot, you get better, they have been criticised a lot, so they have tried to address what we are trying to speak about".* In this regard, it appears that the activists recognise some of the improvements though they feel that it is not good enough to ensure the sustainability of sanitation in the informal settlements.

The budgeting issue is still contested as activists continue to push for a fair allocation of resources. The issue of budgeting was challenged on two grounds (i) the activists argued that informal settlements are allocated less budget compared to affluent areas (ii) the activists challenged the city that they are using expensive sanitation typology which is not preferred by the communities. The communities prefer flush toilets which are cheaper sanitation typologies to maintain compared to chemical toilets that are despised by the communities.

Many of the settlements where the campaigns took place have some toilets installed and janitorial services provided by private contractors. Throughout the study, I observed some signs that community engagement and the provision of toilets created some sense of ownership. Community residents particularly those that stay close to the installed toilets seem to have taken up the ownership of the toilets and sometimes take the initiative to clean the area around toilet facilities more in particular Green Point Section. This suggests that with the properly structured local leadership, communities will be able to build ownership and ensure sanitation sustainability. The current grassroots leadership (street committee) needs to be more independent with decision-making powers. The community residents feel that the councillors have all the powers but they are do not visit communities to understand their problems. The street committees receive numerous complaints and demands from the community residents but have no power to influence change.

Though street committees were strong during apartheid and worked as community safety, they later changed roles to mobilise against apartheid. The post-apartheid era has seen them weakening (Seeking 2001). The weakening of street committees has seen rising crime in the townships and this has made toilets unsafe to use. Safety in informal settlements is intrinsically linked to sanitation because toilets are located far from houses and there are no security lights.
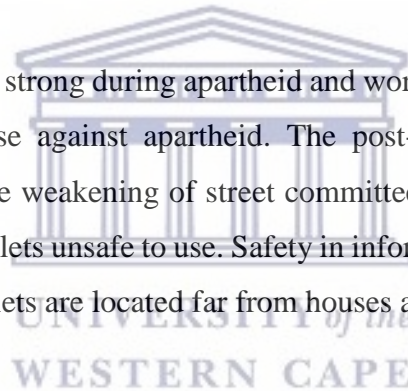
CHAPTER 6:

CONTESTATIONS TOWARDS URBAN CHANGE: A COUNTER TO MARGINALISATION?

For centuries, the struggle and resistance of the marginalised in the City of Cape Town since colonialism have been aimed at changing the unequal system to a system that serves beyond the old geographical boundaries. As indicated in Chapter 2, like any other colonised city in the world, Cape Town was also built on the foundation of marginalisation and exploitation. One of the urban theorists believes that urbanism founded on exploitation must change to benefit the entire human race:

> "Cities are founded on the exploitation of the many by the few. Thus, urbanism founded on exploitation is a legacy of history. A genuinely humanizing urbanism has yet to be brought into being. It thus remains for a revolutionary theory to chart the path from an urbanism based in exploitation to an urbanism appropriate for the human species" (Harvey 1967, p.314).

The colonial and apartheid urban planning in the Cape colony that pushed the black people to peripheral areas did not only marginalise but also exploited the black people. The poor communities' contestation for fairness in the sanitation planning is thus a demand to undo the historical injustices and these contestations have cut across the country, what many scholars have viewed as "the rebellion of the poor" (Alexander, 2010, p.25; Alexander, Runciman, and Ngwane, 2016; Alexander, 2018). The community activist's contestations appear to have made a significant effect on sanitation delivery in informal settlements of Cape Town. In this regard, the realisation of fair urbanism happens when the engagements have a meaningful and long-lasting sanitation policy shift. The process of change presents policy contestations, dynamics, and challenges to sustainable sanitation. This chapter answers the questions: How do engagements influence policy and implementation of sustainable sanitation in Cape Town's Townships? What are the dynamics and challenges of engagements?

6.1 Community Activism towards Sanitation Policy

The sanitation contestation that started in Khayelitsha Township spread very fast and became a national discussion. The disruption of business and global tourism using poo (human waste)

as a protest also added weight to the plight of the poor in the informal settlements. This forced the discussion on sanitation in marginalised communities. South Africa has a long-standing regulation that connects to sanitation though it does not directly refer to it but observe sanitation as a right to life. The "water supply and sanitation" white paper 1994, the white paper on "national water policy" 1997, and the white paper on "basic household sanitation" 2001, also attest to the fact that sanitation is a basic human right. These three documents also regulate the sanitation sector in South Africa. Similarly, the 1997 water services Act also recognises the right to access water and basic sanitation. In this regard, sanitation is solely recognised as a right that needs to be respected.

6.1.1   The Formulation of National Sanitation Policy

The three policy documents mentioned above were reviewed in 2012 by the department of human settlement in partnership with sanitation stakeholders and developed a national sanitation policy draft (DWA 2012). The draft was not gazetted to the public or taken to parliament for approval. The relevant sections in that draft were considered and introduced in the 2016 national sanitation policy draft. The draft policy was gazetted on the 12th of February 2016 by the minister of water and sanitation Nomvula Mukonyane. The policy focuses on sustainability, equality, and institutions. The policy highlights the norms and sanitation standards in the informal settlements but also prioritizing permanent infrastructure and long-term planning in the informal settlements (DWS, 2016).

The introduction of the 2016 sanitation policy draft presents a significant breakthrough for the transformation of sanitation in informal settlements. Previously, the absence of sanitation policy has meant that the municipalities apply the emergency housing program to determine the provision of sanitation in situations that are not even considered an emergency to provide temporary services (DWS, 2016). In this regard, the lack of guidance on sanitation means that the change in sanitation planning entirely depends on the individuals executing planning in the City of Cape Town. These individuals may be the technocrats, the politicians who have decision-making powers in the provision of sanitation services. This is the reason why the activists exert pressure on those in political office to act.

6.1.2 Political Will and Radical Policy Demand

The interview with the activists suggests that though they have put the effort in ensuring that there is a sanitation policy change, it entirely depends on the willingness of the city and those in the authority to work for the people. The interview with the activist participant (6) shed some light on how is it like to engage the city on a policy shift. When asked whether these engagements inform the policy of the city towards sustainable sanitation the informal settlements, he said:

> "Ahhh, It might have in a way but it depends on who is listening, it depends on who is listening."

This is to say that some individuals are willing to work for the people regardless of the system. It might also be as a result of lobbying the people inside the system which happened to be one of the tactics that activists used to get confidential information from the city (Overy, 2013). However, the activists find it difficult because structures of the city change more often which means lobbying has some limitations as well. The activists believe that the radical approach taken by organisations is due to a lack of willingness to listen to the grievances of communities citing the "poo protest" as one of the instances where people acted out of frustration:

> "Because they also change their structure more often, the city structure change every year, the person who was in utility is now in human settlement, this one is now where so it depends on who is listening and it depends on who's willing to work for people. You see no matter what happens on the ground if the people there are not willing to work with people, it won't change anything. They will wait for the noise to happen, then they will do something so it doesn't matter what you do to them. That is why now other organisations are like getting more radical-fighting because sometimes as Mandela said that it was time to force the apartheid government, they have been peaceful but it did not work and they formed umkonto wesizwe but the government did not understand. If you're not violent, they don't listen to you, so organisations are getting more radical now. Even though, I don't know whether you are aware of the poo protesters, who threw poo at the airport."

The activist explained the situation that triggered the "poo protest" which put the operation of businesses, tourism in Cape Town at standstill. The radical protests emerged out of repeated frustrations as a result of failed attempts to engage. In this regard, a hostile environment can

trigger a radical approach from the activists (Steinhoff, 2007; Cappiali, 2016; Damar, 2016). The radical approach was adopted by the activists after they felt that the city was not giving them attention to issues affecting the urban poor. The activist elaborated further on the events that triggered the radical protest:

> "So those guys it's not like they never engaged before, they engage but because you know what happens in Cape Town is that you as we speaking here talking about these issues there is someone who's been raped in Khayelitsha, there is someone who has been robbed but there are people who are just playing golf there, not caring about what is happening, they are just playing golf, worried about the ball and the wall, that's all they are worried about, so sometimes even if you speak about these issues, there are people who don't care. They don't care about what is happening until you disturb what they are focusing on, then they start looking at you, hey am talking to you, so these guys realise the only thing that the city cares about is the economy, the tourists, so let's go to disturb the tourists, maybe they will listen to us."

There is no doubt the city and the country listened to the message they sent out using the "poo protest" at the airport and the parliament. The "poo protest" smell perhaps signifies the river Thames Great Stink of 1858 that compelled the legislators to pass the budget that fixed the sanitation situation in central London (Gullace, 2019; Halliday, 2001) and in the pre-industrial towns of the Dutch (van Oosten, 2016). In this regard, the South African 2016 national sanitation policy draft may as well be attributed to the contestations of the marginalised groups in the informal settlements.

6.2   Community Activists Successes, Dynamics, and Challenges towards Social Change.

Since 2009, the community activists in Khayelitsha Township embarked on a campaign for clean sanitation for all in the informal settlements. The sanitation campaign has registered some achievements towards sanitation infrastructure, maintenance, and janitorial services. On the other hand, there have been numerous obstacles sometimes dictated by community dynamics. Community dynamics are to a larger extent caused by the politics in the area which I will explain later. In this regard, the environment in which the activists operate appears to be intimidating particularly when they opt to challenge the political stream and the city system.

6.2.1 Historical Relevance on Cape Town City Planning

The historical relevance upon which the city was founded still plays part in its everyday operations though this has been somehow neutralised by the constitutional obligations and commitment to democratic practices. As discussed in chapter two, the City of Cape Town was founded on segregation and racial discrimination of black Africans. The interview done with the activists speaks to the fact that race still plays a bigger part in the everyday operation of the city. The race factor continues to create an urban space that is highly contested between those defending to preserve privileges and those attempting to dismantle privileges in the system for certain groups. The activist participant (6) narrated how it has been difficult for activists to operate in this space:

> "The most challenge that I have faced is seeing how race is the key factor in all this space, white privilege is playing a bigger part in our lives. Mugabe tried, he got starved, Gaddafi tried he got killed, Mandela tried he got bribed. So you see how when you try to challenge the white privilege how you get kicked out. So most of the systems that we are fighting are systems that have been there for a long time. What we are trying to fight is something that is not by accident, it was created intentionally for a black person to not prosper, progress, for a black person to not go anywhere. So what we are fighting is not a fight that we will win by ourselves that will win in five years and then we are done, it's an ongoing fight, it's a fight that was planned before we were even born. How Cape Town is, we grew up in this Cape Town, it was like this, so we trying to fight that and it gonna take us forever ever to fight it."

History has shown that challenging systemic inequality needs persistence and endurance to achieve the results. The young professionals in the city of Atlanta, the capital of Georgia, formed the Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action (ACCA) in 1960 to challenge white supremacy and advocate for equal schooling and opportunities for black African Americans. The group published a pamphlet titled "A Second Look: A Negro Citizen in Atlanta" which highlighted all facets of segregation in the city (Grady-Willis, 2006, p.5). This pamphlet brought a realisation that these challenges would not just go away by simply looking at them but rather needed action. The activist's challenges engaging the city are not a new phenomenon but rather a common occurrence in the struggle for social change. However, the activists did not only get challenges engaging the city but also mobilising the communities. The FGD with

the activists indicates that initially the residents did not cooperate and thought that the activists were collecting their signatures to go and get money. Even the activists had explained that the signatures are meant for petitioning the city to render better sanitation. When asked about their challenges during the sanitation campaign, the activists said that the buy-in of stakeholders initially was challenging:

> "Buy-in of the different stakeholders- for example when we were mobilising communities for signatures, they would think that we want their signatures to get money not knowing that it's them we were helping."

The analysis of community resident's actions pointed to the level of degeneration of politics in Cape Town townships (McFarlane, and Silver, 2017). Throughout the interview, the mention of bad politics emerged as a consistent theme in all interviews with the city officials, activists, and the residents. These are characterised by formal and informal dynamics. Community dynamics are key determinants in the delivery of the basic services in Cape Town Townships. Formal and informal dynamics affect sanitation delivery in townships. The following section discusses the key dynamics in sanitation in Khayelitsha Township.

6.3   Formal Dynamics`in Khayelitsha Township

The sanitation contestations in Khayelitsha Cape Town are characterised and influenced by different actors. The formal operations of the urban officials and political actors who are also stakeholders in the provision of sanitation influence the outcome of sanitation delivery in the informal settlements. As mentioned before, the political contestations in Khayelitsha Township is mainly between two giant parties, i.e the national ruling party (ANC) and the DA leading both the provincial and local government. In previous chapters 3 and 4, I indicated how the ANC youth league in Khayelitsha vandalised the open toilets that were built by the DA, accusing the party of racists planning. However, the contestations are also within and outside the political parties over the political space and power relations that affect corporative governance to address the challenges of sanitation. The disruption of efforts towards corporative governance affects the engagements and the efforts to building community ownership. The following are the formal dynamics that influence the delivery of sanitation in informal settlements.

6.3.1 Inter and Intra Party Politics

The delivery of sanitation in Khayelitsha is characterised by inter and intraparty politics. Inter-party politics are fuelled by the ideological contradictions in a democratic establishment (Nmom, 2013). The inter-party politics is between the DA which is the governing party in the province and the ANC which is the official opposition party in the Western Cape Province (Rodina, and Harris, 2016). For example, the ANC youth vandalised the open toilets in Markhaza in Khayelitsha and called on the DA to respect peoples' dignity (Baxter, and Mtshali, 2020). The ANC youth league in Cape Town also reported the city to the Human Rights Commission of South Africa and took the city to the High Court. The ANC community activist group also complained of the portable toilets that are kept in people's houses as unhygienic and produce a bad smell (Robins 2014). The portable toilets that produce bad smells do not in any way qualify as sustainable sanitation as per the 2003 strategic framework for water services. The interview with the MayCo explained that the condition and the location of the settlement often determine the sanitation typology one has to use. In areas where the city finds it difficult to install the flush toilet, they offer portable toilets to enhance their service ratio and safety for women and children:

> "Aaaah, but often the condition of the location of the informal settlement will determine and influence what sanitation typology is suitable so a number of settlements are in inhabitable land and therefore cannot be formally serviced even though when we want to but often we can't install full flush toilets and we have to opt for other sanitation types like chemical toilets and a variety of chemical toilets and because of space constraints many of these have to be limited in terms of quantity and where they can be located and it is for this reason that the city on top of the sanitation typology which is rendered to the whole community we also offer what is called portable toilets which we issue to a household for the sole use of the household and a contractor is employed to collect these and clean them and then return them to the household and this allows us to enhance our service ratio and it also allows us to overcome the challenges of the adequate space within the settlement. So it means that the residents who are not closely located to the end of the settlement have access to the direct toilet they can keep in their home, during the night time there is no risk particularly women or children who are faced with violations when they are going to make use of the toilets in the day or during the night. So we try and use the chemical toilets as means of topping up our service and increase our service standard levels. So the chemical toilets generally are provided by the contractors

and a contract is entered into and the contractor who is responsible for collecting toilets from the households and then taking them to the waste treatment centre."

The challenge of sanitation in the informal settlement needs the cooperation of both national and local governments. The two spheres of government are governed by the two parties and this makes it politically challenging to agree on the same approach. The challenge of planning, land tenure that limit the sanitation typology to install in the informal settlement can only be solved when there is a cooperation of political decision-makers. In this regard, the historical planning problem is exacerbated by the political contestations between parties who use community challenges as political capital (Baxter, and Mtshali, 2020). The politics within the party (intra) also tend to create contestations and a lack of sanity in the townships and this tends to slow down the implementation of projects. The MayCo said that the internal leadership fights often affect the planned projects:

> "So the, often lack of sanity and cooperation within that community and internal leadership fights tend to slow down communication and often poses a great risk to be able to proceed with the project so that's often quite a re-echoing theme that more and more we seem to see and I think in my experience even more prevalent as one moves closer to local government elections because many of these leadership figures within the community are also trying to build up their profile and getting ready to potentially contest the elections and oppose the existing ward councillor so you see those community dynamics escalate far more as you move closer to the elections, which poses further delays in the city's ability to be able to proceed with the implementation so that's one of the re-echoing themes that one encounters during consultation."

The contestation of power in the township often overshadows civic engagements and this triggers informal dynamics which I will discuss later. In the mix of these contestations, there are also national and local politics.

6.3.2   National and Local Government Politics

The province of the Western Cape is led by the DA and governs the local government while the national government is led by the ANC (Rodina, and Harris, 2016). Constitutionally, the three spheres of government work together in cooperative governance (Chapter 3 of 1996

Constitution). The challenges affecting sanitation in informal settlements fall in the jurisdiction of both the national and local governments. The 'clean and sanitation for all campaigns' fall under the responsibility of the local government while the Safety and security Campaign falls under the responsibility of the national government. The interview with the community activists pointed to the challenges of operating in a province led by the two political parties sharing responsibilities for the national and local government spheres. During the FGD one member narrated how it was difficult to get the service delivery agreements (SDA):

> "I remember one comrade saying that we are in a province which is led by two political organisations, the ANC, DA. Then if you are from Khayelitsha and demand SDAs service delivery agreement documents. You can't do anything if you don't have those documents and then you have to pay for each page from that, some people they call it a tender document. Before you go to a community, before you do anything, you have to apply for those documents. You apply and have to pay for each page, a hundred thousand of pages that you need to pay, so it was very difficult up until this time around you will never get anything that you're looking for from the City of Cape Town in fact from government offices. It was very difficult."

The toilet wars in 2011 were started by the ANC youth league in Khayelitsha who vandalised the uncovered toilets and accused DA of violating human rights (Jackson and Robins, 2018; Rodina, and Harris, 2016). Some of the youth league supporters are part of sanitation stakeholders since they reside in Khayelitsha and the majority are activists. The sanitation stakeholders in Khayelitsha belong to different political parties and this creates contestations due to political interests and ideology. These contestations became an obstacle during the stakeholder engagements and this was evident during fieldwork interviews. Using participant observation techniques, I noted that some of the activists were more political in their own right, and this created challenges during the two sanitation campaigns. Participant activists (1) explained the obstacle they faced during the engagement on national and local government responsibilities:

> "First of all to have different groups, some of the groups are very supportive but not all the groups that we were working with are on our side. Because some of the groups are on the government side. That is one of the obstacles that we were facing when we try to engage government, so one thing when you go our communities if you come with something that is against the national government there are certain groups of people who are supporting the national

government. If you come with an idea against the national government, definitely those people will be against you but if you do something else that is against local government, definitely those people will support you but those who were against you before, now they see that you were not against them, your against the provincial government and they will support you, so those are the dynamics that we are facing when working with different groups in our communities."

Rodina and Harris, (2016, p.338) point out that the contestations in Khayelitsha should "be understood in the context of municipal politics, and expressions of discontent with the municipal DA government". They also observe that Khayelitsha remains the ANC stronghold and this makes the contestations more complex. As I mentioned before, the majority of the activists are political activists and ANC-leaning, this sometimes brings in conflicting rationalities of activism and party politics. At the same time, there are residents and city officials who are DA supporters in the engagement process. During the individual interviews, the activist participant (5) unpacked the challenge they face with the two parties that lead the national government and another local government:

"People when we have these two campaigns, water, and sanitation justice campaign. The people who support DA are always with us in terms of commission of inquiry where there is vigilante, there is crime, there is xenophobic extra, and you know most. We decided to have commission of inquiry because the residents of Khayelitsha they lost faith and trust in police, so they take the law into their own hands. So we went to the people and ask them why they don't trust the police. The perpetrator today is arrested and tomorrow is out. And is doing the same what he was arrested for. So those people are always with us, they always supporting us because it seems we are against the national government which is led by the ANC, talking about the national issues, so now when we talk about sanitation issues. Now when we talk about the sanitation issues, the sanitation issues for us in Khayelitsha that affect the DA government, so now the ANC they turn to us that time that we are supporting the DA, Now we are talking about toilets, we are talking about the dirts and stuff like that, Now the ANC members they come to us and say comrades lets go for it. That is why the ANC youth league members throw the poo at the airport that was our campaign that was starting of our campaign at that time. So they took the campaign out of their hands about their way not our own way. So that's how we engage about these politics. Then at the end, we explain to them, we are non-political organisations. If you come with the agenda of the ANC unfortunately for you this is not the right place for you. If you came

with the EFF agenda, then this is not the right place for you. We are here to create safe communities regardless of the colour or where you come from, here we try to make sure that everyone has access to water and sanitation, right to water and sanitation, basic human right by the way."

While these may seem to be the games of the political elites, the communities generally demand these services based on their constitutional rights regardless of who is supposed to offer such service. The MayCo pointed out that communities sometimes may demand that the city offer them services which constitutionally is a responsibility of the national or provincial government:

"And often in the work of the engagement as the city, communities don't often see, understand or view government as three spheres of government, they see government as one, ahh…and so when the city engages the community, they may raise concerns around policing, schooling or hospitals and many of these things the city government is not responsible for and constitutionally it is a service that is rendered by either the national government or provincial government so you know you often sometimes have frictions within the engagement because the community sees you as government but you are not responsible for all of government in terms of the services and that in itself does often lead to tension in the meeting or discussions or engagements.."

In this regard, the provision of sanitation in informal settlements is complex because of multiple needs of services linked to sanitation. These services range from toilet infrastructure, janitorial, lighting, and security that are shared by both national and local governments. The principle of cooperative government, therefore, appears to be challenged in this instance and needs to be revisited on how it should be applied in the governance of basic services in informal settlements.

6.3.3   Political Commitment

The planning and governance of informal settlements are neglected by the urban governments (Scheba, and Turok, 2020) given less priority (Huchzermeyer, 2006), and are often seen as temporally. Though many of the informal settlements have been in existence for more than 15 years, they are still regarded as temporary and illegal (Overy, 2013). Overy points out that the

city administration including the city officials who are responsible for planning share the idea that informal settlements are temporally hence less willing to provide permanent structures. Administratively, Overy indicates that the Auditor general often treats the investment in the informal settlements as wasteful expenditure. In this regard, the challenges in these areas are due to a lack of political will. During the interview with the activist's participant number (6) said that the city lacks the willingness to change the lives of the poor:

> "You see no matter what happen on the ground if the people there are not willing to work with people, it won't change anything. They will wait for the noise to happen, then they will do something so it doesn't matter what you do to them. That is why now other organisations are like getting more radical-fighting."

The activist gave an example of what normally happens in the city council when the debate on sanitation budget is introduced:

> "You know what happen in the council, the council is Western Cape, right. Whatever happens in the council, it will down to votes, if they don't agree, ok we can't agree, so let's vote. Who's gonna win if they vote, its DA. The DA is the one that is dominating, so the DA is the one that is not for the poor. So they can put whatever money they gonna put and then if the ANC and other party don't agree, they say let's vote. DA is gonna win, so either way, they are winning because the majority is DA. So all in all there is no change and they don't want to change because they are not working for poor people, they are working for themselves."

The same view was shared by one of the area councillors who said that the urban government has the bylaws and is not willing to change. When asked about the city's commitment to change the lives of the poor in the informal settlement, the councillor who belongs to the ANC party said:

> "That's why the city of Cape Town is like that, it's operating like that and you can't …because it's having its by-laws but as we are discussing, we are a minority in the City of Cape Town, we are always fighting with the politicians but whatever you are saying is 100% correct but haaa…am telling you that motion of yours they will take it and throw it in the bin quuu….It won't work."

Watson (2009) discusses the urban planning that has purposely excluded the poor and questions whether there might be new approaches that can be more inclusive to the poor. Watson observes that the systems of planning have changed slowly and have not changed from the old colonial planning. The colonial and apartheid planning is the same old system that pushed the poor to Khayelitsha. In this regard, the change in sanitation planning in Cape Town Township is only possible if there is political will.

6.3.4 Politicising Activists' Work by Political Parties

During the engagement process, the activists faced the challenge of convincing different political groups that the sanitation campaigns had nothing to do with the politics of Khayelitsha. The politicking in the township makes the work of activists difficult in a way that the communities often mistake them as belonging to a certain political party. During the FGD, the activist's participant (5) said that people who are members of political parties would perceive them as political opponents:

> "… the people who are in DA they called us ANC comrades but when we were dealing with safety and security those of ANC said that we were coming from DA so those were challenges."

Cape Town as a city is largely affected by the power struggle that makes 'governability' difficult (Bénit-Gbaffou, et al., 2013, p.22) though they see "political rescaling in context of neoliberal globalisation" as a major challenge. These scholars observe that the "low-income residents use party politics to make themselves heard in the urban governance" (ibid, p.30). This appears to be the challenge in urban poor communities where the residents sometimes feel neglected. The residents, community activists in Khayelitsha Township are aware of the impact of party politics concerning prioritizing the development of the area. It is this prioritisation that community activists often lobby and challenge the city about but unfortunately they are caught up in township politics and the radical approach is often restricted (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2012). However, the interview with the councillors showed that they are aware that the activists are non-partisan. One of the councillors indicated that though he works with one of the movement organisations, he was aware that they do not belong to political parties: *"...It was fruitful so yeah that's why I said am working hand in hand with the SJC. Although we are, let me clarify*

this, I know that SJC is not affiliated to any political organisation but they are doing a nice work..."

The councillors are aware that some of the individual activists either belonged to the political parties or are political activists in their own right but more often this creates a challenge on its own. One of the councillors mentioned that some activists would get challenges to access the communities and seek his recommendations from the leadership of a certain area to grant them access. The councillor admitted that the challenge is that their communities are very political:

> "Look the most unfortunate situation is that our societies are political. There are many political associations, now if you come to eeh, for example, the ANC is the strongest political organisation in South Africa, so anyone who would come, some part of the leadership would be checking by the emergence of such organisations like SJC and others. So now, in an area where you're not known if you're coming in a different political colour, you will be chased away on the basis that they don't know you. Now in those situations is when they would call me to engage those people to say, this is an NGO, it has nothing to do with our political climate, it's carrying its different economic activism. Their main issue is to engage the community on issues of water and sanitation. Those were the problems that in our areas we are too political. On top of that, some of the activists are political activists in their own right. Now if they come and engage as SJC, that banner of their political activism, sign it becomes an obstacle in matters or issues and doesn't make it easier than they are supposed to be. So those are the problems that they experienced working with other areas in wherever they were working."

The party politics was also on cards during the toilet protests in 2011 and political parties used this opportunity for "political scoring" at the expense of the poor (McFarlane, and Silver, 2017, p.125-148; Robins 2014, p.496). These party politics often overshadow the work of activists and risk them being perceived as political by residents and other parties that are being challenged for sanitation services.

6.4   Informal Dynamics in Khayelitsha Township

The informal dynamics are partly attributed to the formal dynamics and the historical legacies. These dynamics are not formal but emerge from the way of handling the social environment in

the informal settlement. The marginalisation of people living in the informal settlements creates contestations, lawlessness, disempowerment, and poverty with its related challenges. A combination of these factors dictates the provision of sustainable sanitation in informal settlements.

6.4.1 Fear and Internal Leadership Fights

The service delivery projects in the informal settlements may often cause tensions and infighting within the community leaders over resources (Drivdal, 2016a, 2016b). These contestations in the townships do not only affect the people in terms of service delivery but also the ability to boldly participate and speak out their views due to threats. The community activists expressed the challenge of empowering communities and making them ready to challenge the government for service delivery. The aim of empowering communities was to make sure that they feel bold to make follow up on the promises made by the city in public meetings. Though they felt that some communities were able to stand up for their rights, they also feel that some are still fearful and hence not strong like activists:

> "After that public meetings, we do a follow-up, then the follow up is not always done, it not supposed to be done by ourselves, it needs to be done by the residents. That's why at the beginning we have to empower them. We have to give them information; we have to make sure that they know everything that we know so that when there is a stage of follow up then the follow-up they must do by themselves. But other areas you find out that the communities they don't feel strong that much like us, to do follow up by themselves, they keep on asking us, can you please comrades do this and that, and that."

Though communities have local leadership such as street committees and other informally elected leaders by the community, the power and effectiveness of the leadership to demand the services entirely depends on the power of that particular community. During the interview with the activist participant (6), when asked about the powers of the street committees, he said:

> "The street committees power depends on the community, the street committees are not dictators, they are sent by the majority of people that this is, we send you to represent us, so the power of the street committees depends on the community, how strong the community is."

This claim was proven by the interview done with the street committee member in the RR section. One of the street committee members narrated their leadership challenges and the contestations they have with other street committees and the ward councillor of the RR section. The street committee member narrated how the area councillor and the other street committee groups have threatened to kill them after they requested a meeting over service delivery. When asked whether the community has power through votes, he protested it saying that the vote has not worked for them, he said that the councillor does not care about the community:

> "So the votes are not working for us, they are working for those who are there in the parliament yes they are working for them but for us who are on the ground, no. For example, now that man who is our council, he doesn't want to come to us so that we can share so that we can advise him to some of the things without fighting but now he wants to fight us for what because it's the community who send us to him so that he can bring the service delivery. But now we are fighting, it's hard even to get those things, you see. They are starting to threatening us so that we gonna die. They will buy some tsotsis for us so that they can shot us in our houses for what?. For asking services to Government?. Now we are keeping quiet we are just looking."

Drivdal (2016a), points out that community leaders in informal settlements often fight over resources particularly when they get projects or donations. The two factions of street committees initially worked together to get the services, however, when the services started rolling out, another group turned against the weaker group. Before the projects, the stronger group burnt down the house of the area councillor and the reason he had to cooperate.

6.4.2 Safety and Security

The issue of safety and security in the township affects both the end user of sanitation products and those that provide services. The safety and security campaign was started after realizing that using toilets in the informal settlement was increasingly dangerous, particularly for vulnerable groups. The toilets in the informal settlements are at least 200 meters or more from the people's houses and this proves dangerous for women and children as they are either raped or murdered trying to use the toilet (Overy, 2013; Robins, 2014, 2014b). During the safety campaign testimonies of people who died, raped in toilets were collected from different communities. The poor state of the toilet infrastructure also makes using the toilet a dangerous

activity. The activists' participant (1) said that toilets are not stable and there are incidents where residents lost life using the toilet:

> "Interview anyone who is using chemical toilets, they will tell you the story that these toilets are not suitable for them, they are unhygienic, they are not safe, you understand? If you enter inside the toilet, you will find out that if you look at the contract between the city of cape town and the service provider, it's stipulated by the provider that underneath the chemical toilet should be a concrete so that the toilet can be stable so that when there is heavy winds and rains, the toilet does not fall, the toilet is stable but in reality, if you go inside there, you can see and you can feel that the toilet is shaking, you can see the toilet is moving. We had one case that was at MSINDWENI I can't remember the year, there was a lady who went inside the toilet and there was criminals around who were watching her, waited for her to get inside, once she was inside, they came locked the toilet and pushed it down and everything (poo) fell on the lady and died and buried. Because she was sitting there, we found out after three days that there is someone locked in there but unfortunately she was dead. Because these toilets are not safe and you cannot rely on these toilets especially if you use them at night and you can look at places where they allocated them. You will find out that most of those toilets, they are allocated in the swamp or canal which is a wetland place that you can't walk wearing a turkey or shoe, you have to wear gumboots to get inside."
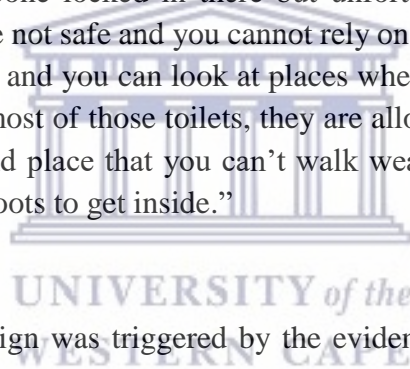
The safety and security campaign was triggered by the evidence of people getting attacked while using toilets (McFarlane, and Silver, 2017; Overy, 2013). In the interview with community activists and the residents, the theme of safety and security was repeatedly mentioned as the main challenge in ensuring sustainable sanitation. The toilet infrastructure is also often vandalised by criminals particularly the taps and pipes that are stolen and sold for quick cash in scrap yards. The councillor pointed out that activism must help to reduce vandalism to ensure sustainable sanitation:

> "We must encourage our people not to vandalise what we have. Because if you go to RR, for example out of ten toilets, three are not working and when you look at why the three are not working, it either someone has taken the system inside, someone has taken the pipe for a tap, that needs activism of our society to provide civic training, they understand that this thing does not belong to government but to us as well."

The issue of safety and security is also a challenge to the workers of the city or contractors who provide services in the informal settlements. The interview with one of the city officials said that the city officials are targeted while executing their duties in the area. The official noted that this proves a challenge to the city and stops them from achieving their goals:

> "There are many challenges as well; the crime as well is one of the things that we are not achieving what we want to achieve because they are robbing the city officials, and they kill them as well in this area. So yeah those are challenges that we are facing."

The rate of crime in informal settlements is very high and this makes using a shared toilet more insecure. The lack of safety also affects the sanitation facilities and leads to vandalism. In this regard, sustainable sanitation in informal settlements cannot be separated from a safe and secure environment.

6.4.3   Density and Space

The permanent sanitation solution in the informal settlement can be made possible by addressing the challenge of density and creating space. The toilet infrastructure can be addressed through "incremental upgrades that expand settlements upwards more than outwards, and free up space for human interaction, connectivity and supporting activities, such as jobs and livelihoods" (Visagie, and Turok, 2020, p.351). The challenge of density is a security threat and a barrier to development since heavy city vehicles cannot access inside the settlements (Overy, 2013). Through the interviews, the issue of density and space was repeatedly mentioned by all participants. The challenge of density was created due to lack of planning and neglect of the urban poor communities and pushed away from the centre (McFarlane, and Silver, 2017; Watson, 2009). High density makes it impossible for other residents in the settlements particularly those staying in the centre to have access to the toilet. For instance, in the RR section, the toilet infrastructure is located at a distance of more than 200 meters because there is no space where toilets can be placed or installed. The community sees density as the toughest challenge and believes that it can be solved by relocating some residents to another area. The activist participant (1) said that relocating some residents will create space for sustainable sanitation:

"There is no either way than trying to take some half of residents to the other areas so that these areas cannot be dense, these areas they are very density. So even the car, even the police, even the Ambulance you know, emergence transportation can't enter these areas because of density. That goes hand in hand with sanitation infrastructure, if you can get there by RR section there is only one portion of the area that has a huge number of toilets, only just like 500 metres around. Other sections, around RR section they do not have those kind of beautiful toilets because there is no space, so that is why you have taken at least allocate half of the residents to wherever, they can open the streets, they can be able to give us these powerful toilets that we are looking for. They can improve sanitation infrastructure by that way."

The MayCo and the city officials also mentioned the issue of space as a big challenge to infrastructure development. This makes it hard for all the residents in the area to access the toilet facilities because they are often located far from the centre. The MayCo said that the lack of space forces the city to place the services at the edge of the settlements:

"The challenge is that obviously, the settlements are quite dense so we often have to place these services on the periphery of the settlement. This is true for taps but also for toilets in particular and accessing this infrastructure with our equipment of vehicles proves to be challenging as settlements grow so the best place to often place these on the periphery of the settlement to allow the access. But this means that many residents or households that live in the centre of these settlements they do not have easy access and that poses a number of risks."

The risk of safety trying to use the toilet in the informal settlement is what every participant mentioned as earlier discussed and these are well documented in activism work in Khayelitsha (Overy, 2013; SJC, 2011 2014, 2014b). The fact that these areas are so dense and do not have public lights make it extremely dangerous for community residents to use toilets at night. The activist participant (6) emphasised that you cannot talk about sanitation without talking about safety due to the dense nature of informal settlements:

"If you speak about toilet alone you cannot speak about it without speaking about the aspect of safety. You need to speak about street lights, you need to speak about rape because women are getting raped trying to use or to go to the toilet, coming from the toilet, they don't feel safe without street lights its dark, you know and distance is far, its dense in BM section, it's dense in RR section,

it's dense in Nkanini, Its dense in Ndovini, its dense in Town Two, it's dense in Green Point so all these places people don't feel safe in all these areas."

High urban density may not translate into "prosperity and well-being" unless there is a strategic "governance framework" committed to change the lives of the residents (Visagie, and Turok, 2020, p.351). In this regard, it requires the government's intervention to address the issue of sustainable sanitation in informal settlements. The area councillor of RR informal settlement said that to address the issue of sustainable sanitation, the central government should provide adequate space where sanitation facilities can be installed:

> "Central government must provide the responsibility of providing adequate space and if we have those, we will be able to have proper sanitation for everyone. But while we are not in that stage, we must encourage our people not to vandalise what we have."

The issue of vandalism is related to lack of community ownership which I discuss in the next section.
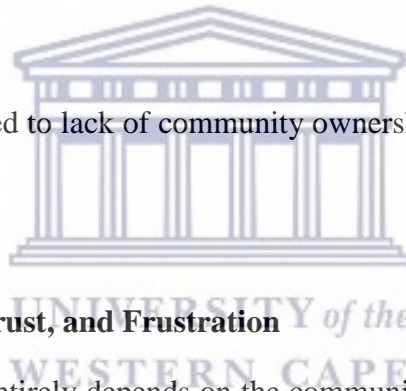
6.4.4 Lack of Ownership, Trust, and Frustration

The sustainability of projects entirely depends on the communities taking charge and owning the process and developing trust in the leadership. The neglect of the people living in the informal settlements means that they are rarely consulted in development planning. The residents in these settlements have lost trust and are frustrated due to neglect of their plight (Thompson, 2014; Thompson, Conradie, and Tsolekile de Wet, 2014). The interview with the community activists, city officials, and area councillors also raised concern on these issues. On the sustainability of sanitation facilities, the area councillor of RR section said that without ownership, sanitation infrastructures are susceptible to vandalism:

> "Sanitation facilities are vulnerable because there is no ownership, they are all parked somewhere there, people are going out so vandalism is prone in those areas."

The environment where these public toilets are located requires the involvement of communities and more in particular the activists. The studies reveal that activists have intervened in community services offering alternative ways to deal with certain challenges (Mitlin and Bebbington 2006; Mitlin, 2014). During the interview with the area councillor, he also observed that the challenge of ownership can be solved by involving community activists to train and educate residents on their responsibility to maintain the facilities. The councillor indicated that the majority of the facilities in the RR section are vandalised because people feel that these facilities belong to the government:

> "If you go to RR, for example out of ten toilets, three are not working and when you look at why the three are not working, it's either someone has taken the system inside, someone has taken the pipe for a tap, that needs activism of our society to provide civic training, they understand that this thing does not belong to government but to us as well."

The situation of the urban poor that leads to this kind of behaviour is related to challenges of unemployment and poverty as a result of marginalisation and past legacy (Pieterse, 2008; van der Linde, 2020; Watson, 2009). The marginalisation of these groups makes them lose trust and sometimes are not willing to cooperate due to empty promises. The city official said that it is very challenging to work with informal settlement residents because they are frustrated and have been told different unfulfilled promises:

> "So yes, it is very difficult to work with the informal settlement people, you understand? Because you're working with people that are frustrated and also you work with people that a lot of people are changing their minds as a result they don't know who is telling them the truth, you understand, so if I come there and promise them something they will accept and then you come in and then they accept it whereas we know that this is not gonna be happening as soon as possible. They take whatever that you bring in that you will assist them so now it's becoming a challenge now where if I didn't fulfil the promise, when you come into that particular informal settlement they think that all of you guys are the same so they don't want to listen to you, they think that you are now doing this for a particular party so those are the problems that we are facing in the informal settlement."

In this regard, the misinformation which is usually perceived as empty promises by the residents creates frustrations and this sometimes makes residents lose trust in the leadership.

The condition of the poor communities in South Africa is well captured in the work of Booysen, (2007, p.21), *"With the ballot and the brick: the politics of attaining service delivery"* which explains the community protests. In this regard, the situation of sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements can be solved by addressing the spatial challenges adopting the incremental upgrades expanding settlements upwards (Visagie, and Turok, 2020, p.351).

6.5   CONCLUSION

This chapter analysed the contestations on sanitation plan/policy in the informal settlements of Cape Town. These contestations started in Khayelitsha Township and spread rapidly to became a national discussion. The actions of community activists forced the discussion on sanitation in marginalised communities and demanded a sanitation policy. For many years informal settlements have been seen as temporary spaces even when they have existed for more than 15 years without a sanitation plan. The South African policy documents since 1994 recognised water and sanitation as a right that every citizen is entitled to.

In 2012 the department of human settlement in partnership with other stakeholders developed a national sanitation policy draft (DWA 2012). The relevant sections in that draft were later considered and introduced in the 2016 national sanitation policy draft. The minister of water and sanitation gazetted the draft policy on 12 February 2016. This policy is an attempt to address the gaps in previous sanitation documents and the challenges of marginalisation. However, amidst this effort, other forces greatly affect the sanitation service delivery, particularly in the Townships. These are dynamics that play out in the urban poor community which often dictates the delivery of basic services.

Despite this progress, some dynamics hamper the provision of sustainable sanitation in informal settlements. These are formal and informal dynamics that play out in the politics of sanitation in Khayelitsha Township. The politics of sanitation delivery is between the two dominating parties in the area that include the DA as the leading party in local governance and the ANC as the official opposition party. The ANC is also the leading party in the national government and this means that they are key stakeholders in safety and security. Safety and security are part and partial in the provision of sanitation due to the safety concerns of using a

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toilet in informal settlements (Overy, 2013; SJC, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2014b). The issues of space to address density and its related challenges also fall under the jurisdiction of the central government. Addressing these issues allows "human interactions" and promotes better livelihoods (Visagie, and Turok, 2020, p.351).

CHAPTER 7:

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SUSTAINABLE SANITATION IN THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

The main aim of this study was to explain the plight of the poor people living in the informal settlements that are normally regarded as illegal (Bradlow, Bolnick, and Shearing, 2011) and often neglected in the delivery of basic services (Nyashanu, Simbanegavi, and Gibson, 2020; Taing, 2015). The contestations, tensions, and contradictions discussed in this thesis have been caused by the social exclusion and marginalisation of the urban poor during colonial, apartheid, and post 1994. These contestations of the urban poor play a vital role in the transformation and meaningful social change of communities (Harvey & Cities, 2012; Miraftab, 2009; Williams, 2009). Harvey further argues that the marginalisation of the urban poor has led to the emergence of pressure groups or social movements attempting to claim the "right to the city". In Cape Town South Africa, the exclusion and marginalisation of the poor particularly black African dates back to the colonial and apartheid era. The systems that were put in place and the spatial planning during oppressive days still exist in post-apartheid South Africa. It is these systems that continue to marginalise the previously disadvantaged groups in the allocation of resources and service delivery. For instance, the resource allocation that was contested during the colonial era is still heavily contested by the activists as an unfair distribution of resources.

As indicated in this thesis, the community protests sometimes targeted affluent areas of sea point where public toilets are well maintained compared to the public toilets in the informal settlements. The activists have consistently posed questions on the status of informal settlements even when others have existed for more than 15 years but are still being referred to as informal. The status of informality puts these settlements in vulnerable positions since informal areas are less prioritised in financial planning. The decision-making on the planning in the informal settlement is also complex due to a lack of clarity on the office responsible for planning and implementation of services. The sanitation planning in the informal settlements involves many stakeholders and this often means that the bureaucratic processes take longer which creates the discontent of the marginalised. The marginalisation of informal settlements has thus led to the emergence of voices that claim to fight the system that still reflects the colonial and apartheid planning following constitutional democracy.

In chapter one, this thesis presented the study as an engagement between community activists and the urban authorities. It is through these engagements where the issues affecting the poor are contested and more often leads to tensions between the activists and the city. The contestations are radical protests, peaceful protests, and litigation. However, the activists also use lobbying, and all the approaches are within the confines of the constitution. Since 2011, the sanitation delivery in the informal settlements has been improving though there are still contestations on issues of fair resource allocation, safety, and sustainability of sanitation services. Safety is because informal settlements are so dense with no security lights, yet they use shared toilet facilities that are located far from people's houses. Sustainability centres on issues of poor sanitation infrastructure such as chemical toilets that are not preferred by the residents and a less inclusive engagement process that does not include all stakeholders in decision making. A sustainable project has to include all the stakeholders in the planning and decision-making process (Bahadorestani, Naderpajouh, and Sadiq, 2020; Eichhorn, Hans, and Schön-Chanishvili, 2021; Mathur, Price, and Austin, 2008; Wiek, and Walter, 2009). It is an exclusion in decision-making that appears the root cause of contestations, and tensions in the urban poor communities.
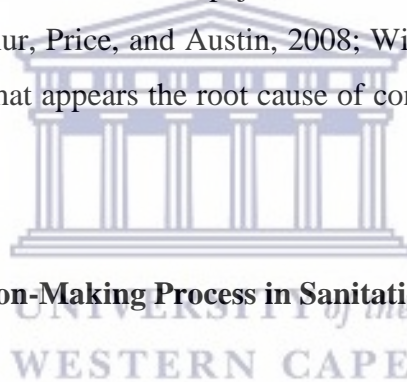
7.1   A Critique of the Decision-Making Process in Sanitation Delivery in Informal Settlements

The decision-making process in sanitation delivery in informal settlements has raised tensions and contestations. The violent protest that often breaks out in the poor communities is directly related to the alienation and silence of the state in the service delivery (Booysen, 2007). The reaction of the poor has been widely viewed by social movement researchers as the "rebellion of the poor" (Alexander, 2010; Alexander, Runciman, and Ngwane, 2016). It is through these contestations that the activists challenge the historical structural planning and marginalisation of poor communities. Previously, challenging the exclusion has been difficult due to access to information such as SDA. This was one of the contestations where community activists demanded the city to allow them access to SDA. In Cape Town municipality, the information on basic services has been made available online particularly on the city website, Sub-council offices, MyCity bus, and stations. Other engagement mechanisms for informal settlement residents that have been utilised for engagement purposes include making use of community radio, pamphlets, and public address speakers. The engagements have certainly worked as a

reminder of the city's obligation to include communities in the decision-making process and promotion of citizenship.

The decision-making structure in the City of Cape Town appears to be top-down, it includes the council where area councillors sit and the sub-council managers. Though constitutionally, the communities are represented in the council, community projects require community residents to take part in the planning and implementation. In other words, communities have to decide on what works for them and what does not work. Throughout the study, community residents complained that they are not included in the planning of sanitation projects. The inclusive planning of sanitation in informal settlements is a sophisticated one due to multiple stakeholders. This means getting the buy-in of every stakeholder who offers a service or consent to the proposed plan. For instance, the upgrade of the settlements requires the provision of space which can be offered through the central government under the human settlement department. Safety is a very big challenge in the delivery of sanitation in informal settlements due to long distances to the toilets and darkness at night. In this regard, the sustainability of sanitation in informal settlements requires corporation between local and central government.

The engagement between the city and the informal settlement residents is not effective to ensure sustainable sanitation. The engagement process is challenged by the following factors.

7.1.1   Poor structuring of community leadership

The grassroots leadership in the informal settlement is not well structured to allow continuous engagements in the delivery of sanitation. This is one of the challenges that were cited by the MayCo and the other City of Cape Town officials. The poor structuring of the grassroots leadership appears to be linked with the post-1994 transition that weakened the street committees. In the 1980s, the street committees played a vital role in the liberation struggle and lost their shape and influence in the post-apartheid government. The lack of well-structured leadership leads to internal contestations where different groups claim to be leaders in a particular area. The turn of events such as these complicates engagements and the planning of sanitation delivery.

The Informality of local leadership structure in informal settlements makes the leaders work under challenging institutional and social environments with less support, "authority", "legitimacy" available to leaders in the formal governance institutions (Vivier, and Sanchez-Betancourt, 2020). The informal leadership in informal settlements relies on the mercy of lobbying the area councillors and NGOs operating in the area for support. In most cases, the power of street committee leaders depends on the power of the community to support and demand the services. However, often this does not prove effective and ends up in violent protests as a result of anger and frustrations of residents dealing with a complex city system.

7.1.2 Engagements between service providers and end-users

There is a missing link between the service providers and the end-users of sanitation services. The service providers are not normally included in the engagements between communities and the city. Communicative theory indicates that planners must be involved in the engagement process with the community (Hoch, 1994; Forester, 1994; Innes, 1995). On contrary, the engagement process between the City of Cape Town and the communities does not include the contractors and planners. The interview with the MayCo noted that after engaging communities, the city calls the contractors to start the work. This often causes tensions as the communities often complain that the contractors do not offer appropriate services. There are contestations and contradictions on the 'said' meetings between the city and communities, the interview with the community residents and the activists indicate that the city rarely meets the communities but rather implements the services without asking the community. However, the MayCo indicated that due to the challenging work schedule of informal settlement residents, meetings are normally put at 7 pm in the evenings after work. This is also a challenge due to security concerns which results in many people not attending.

7.1.3 The politics of Khayelitsha as a township

The politics of sanitation in Khayelitsha informal settlements has been widely covered in the scholarship work (Barnes, 2018; Baxter, and Mtshali, 2020; Jackson, and Robins, 2018; Robins, 2014, 2014b, 2015; McFarlane, and Silver, 2017, 2018). The engagements on sanitation are often disrupted by interparty politics and internal fights on the leadership of the

area. These fights affect the planning and implementation of sanitation projects. The residents also claim that the governing party in the area gives better services to areas where they have the support and excludes other areas where they have no supporters. The "poo protest" in 2011 was mobilised by the ANC members in Khayelitsha who felt that the DA was neglecting the sanitation services in the area. The ANC youth league also dismantled the open toilets in Makhaza and took the DA to court and reported them to the SAHRC (Barnes, 2018; McFarlane, and Silver, 2017; Robins, 2014, 2014b). The community activists under the umbrella of SJC started their campaigns to fight for the poor people in the informal settlements who are failed by political contestations. The idea of the sanitation campaign was also to influence the decision-making process in the planning and implementation of sanitation services. As mentioned before in other sections, the decision-making in the planning and implementation of sanitation in informal settlements is so complex due to the numerous stakeholders involved in the delivery of sanitation. In this regard, the engagement process in the decision-making process on planning and implementation in the informal settlements plays a central role towards sustainable sanitation.

7.2   Engagement Process and Decision-Making Structures

The engagement processes in the decision-making of sanitation delivery in informal settlements involve the following stakeholders: the city technical officials, MayCo, sub-council managers, ward councillors (including ward committees), and community residents. According to an interview with the MayCo, this composition takes part in decision-making on the implementation of sanitation services, but the community activists and residents denied being consulted on implementation. From the evidence in this study, it is clear that community residents do not take part in the planning as well as the implementation of sanitation projects. This is problematic in a way that attaining sanitation sustainability requires the involvement of communities as key stakeholders in planning and implementation of sanitation projects (Lagardien, and Cousins, 2004). Ward councillors are the representatives and the link between residents and the city in the planning and implementation of sanitation services. However, the trust in both the city officials and ward councillors is low among community residents (Thompson, 2014; Thompson, Conradie, and Tsolekile de Wet, 2014) due to politics and empty promises. The community residents seem to trust community activists, NGO's and street committees (Thompson, Conradie, and Tsolekile de Wet, 2014).

The community activists and community residents contested the claim that councillors engage community residents in the planning and implementation of projects. Community activists argue that the planning and implementation of projects need to include community residents to ensure sustainability. The emergence of community activists was to engage and challenge the lack of planning and unfair allocation of resources in the informal settlements. The activists claim that the idea of engagement was met with less willingness to cooperate by the city, and this created contestations that resulted in protests and legal challenges. The available evidence suggests that the lack of the city's willingness to cooperate is due to politics in the area. The community activists are also political activists in their own right, and this creates tension and discomfort. The legal route was also used to challenge the apartheid rules that block group protests. One of the prominent cases was the SJC10 when 21 community activists chained themselves outside the municipal council office and were later arrested. The law to restrict protest was successfully challenged to allow peaceful protests in the Cape Town CBD. The law was challenged on the basis that it is an apartheid law hence should not be used on infringing constitutional rights to protest. This demonstrates the argument in this thesis, that the engagements between the community activists and the city can challenge and change the systems of oppression. However, dismantling the legacy of history takes a gradual process of engagement hence the need for continuous engagements. The continuous engagement must include the state and non-state actors at the grassroots level.

The evidence in this study suggests that engagements particularly by non-state actors at the grassroots have improved the state of sanitation in the marginalised communities. The non-state actors together with the community activists work for the communities and thus fill the gaps that are left by the state and political actors. The achievements of community activists reveal that sustainable sanitation is possible when the grassroots level is involved in the decision-making process.

7.3   Approaches and Strategies for Engagements

The community activists adopted certain approaches to engage in the demand for sanitation in the informal settlements. These approaches are dictated by the response from the urban authorities. The approaches were used to demand the constitutional rights to protest, access to

information, and improved sanitation. The demand for social justice involved court challenges between the activists and the City of Cape Town. This was mainly done when the activists felt that the city was not willing to cooperate on certain obligations. The lawsuits were thus to emphasise the constitutional obligation to provide basic services as stated in the 1996 constitution (Robins 2014b) and the human rights to dignity. However, the city would also use a legal approach to engage or sometimes respond to community activists. The key factor in this approach is the efforts by the NU legal centre and the SJC that provided support and the strategies to challenge the social injustices in the informal settlements.

The community activists capitalised on disrupting the everyday businesses and forcing the city to recognise them. The SJC adopted a strategy to use media coverage such as Televisions, radios, prints from both local and national press. They published more than 20 opinion pieces on sanitation in the informal settlements and covering peaceful protests. The social movements have mastered the art of "disrupting everyday activities to draw attention to" pressing issues such as sanitation (Axon, 2019). These tactics are intended to draw the attention of the middle class, workers, and owners of capital to understand the plight of the poor in informal settlements.

The engagement tactics appear to keep evolving as activists evaluate the past approaches. The common activism approaches such as protest are now being looked at as ineffective and do not deliver the much-needed results. Based on their ideas, the activists invent different tactics that keep their demands in the ears and minds of decision-makers. Instead of protesting in Cape Town CBD and barricading roads, activists now target key decision-makers and pay them a visit to their residences early morning before they leave for work. The official is blocked from leaving home until he/she commits to their demands. This approach is done after the activists have tried all avenues to meet the official but failed. The activists argue that other avenues such as petitions, protests are no longer effective, and officials easily ignore such demands. However, these are still done to follow the constitutional channels.

7.4   Contestations and Sustainability

Radical engagements have confronted city planning and advanced the voices of the marginalised communities. The evidence in this study suggests that engagements shed more light on sanitation issues affecting the people living in the informal settlements and presented demands to the urban management for improvement. The themes emerging from the analysis of interviews in the study suggest that engagement plays a significant role in sustainable sanitation. Through engagements, community activists were able to establish information on city's sanitation planning in the informal settlements. Understanding the city's sanitation plan in the informal settlement was important to inform the activists' demands for sustainable sanitation. This information was also used to challenge the resource allocation and the continued marginalisation of the people living in these areas. Activists also used the same information to explain to communities how the city allocates resources and empowered communities to demand improved sanitation services.

The engagements further provided a basis to reach a service delivery agreement with the city whereby the city would provide the janitorial services to people living in the informal settlements. The informal settlements use public toilets which are shared among residents of the settlement. The activists argued that the city maintains public toilets in affluent areas such as Sea Point in Cape Town but ignores public toilets in the informal settlements. The activists demonstrated this by lining up at Sea Point public toilets together with hundreds of informal settlements residents to show the difficulty of using few toilets for many households. After presenting these demands which the city agreed upon, the activists further demanded the service delivery agreements (SDA). The service delivery agreement was used to keep the contractors in check on the delivery of contracted services.

However, though some of the services are appreciated by the community residents and activists, they are not convinced about the sustainability of some services. The activists were not satisfied with the sanitation typology offered by the city arguing that it is not sustainable. The activists argue that the city was forced to build toilets in the informal settlements and does not have a plan for informal settlements unless they are pushed. The activists carried out a social audit where they established problems about sanitation infrastructure in the area. During

the interviews, I observed contradictions between the urban officials (councillors), residents, and community activists on the sanitation situation in the communities. The contestations appear to have their roots in these contradictions.

The contestations with the City of Cape Town and the urban poor communities are related to the issues of marginalisation showing less willingness to change the apartheid spatial planning (Williams, 2009; Rodina, and Harris, 2016; Schoeman, 2018). The activists argued that the city still maintains the same apartheid spatial planning system and pointed out that the City is not pro-poor. On the other hand, activists also feel that the pressure they exerted on the city management helped them to improve:

> "You know when you have been criticised a lot, you get better, they have been criticised a lot, so they have tried to address what we are trying to speak about."

In this regard, it appears that the activists recognise some of the improvements though they feel that it is not good enough to ensure the sustainability of sanitation in the informal settlements.

The budgeting issue is still contested as activists continue to push for a fair allocation of resources. The issue of budgeting was challenged on two grounds (i) the activists argued that informal settlements are allocated less budget compared to affluent areas (ii) the activists challenged the city that they are using expensive sanitation typology which is not preferred by the communities. The communities prefer flush toilets which are cheaper sanitation typologies to maintain compared to chemical toilets that are despised by the communities (iii) using toilets in the informal settlements is very unsafe and thus the activists needed an improvement of budget on policing. The poor allocation of budgets in the informal settlements leads to poor services. The poor or lack of services leads to a poor environment that becomes a life threat to the residents of informal settlements due to associated diseases. The safety aspect also has led to the loss of lives as vulnerable groups go to use toilets, particularly at night.

Because of the nature of informal settlements in terms of density, the provision of toilet infrastructure does not put into consideration the safety aspect. The toilet infrastructures are

located very far from the households intended to use the facilities. In most cases, toilets are located at the edge of the settlements far from the people living in the centre of the settlement. Accessing these toilet facilities becomes a big challenge for vulnerable groups such as women and children. Besides, some of these toilet facilities are despised by the residents as apartheid toilets (SJC, 2014; Baxter, and Mtshali, 2020). The issue of sanitation in Cape Town has been viewed as a historical factor and that it cannot be separated from the question of race and segregation (McFarlane, and Silver, 2018). The contestation on the quality of facilities such as chemical toilets implies that these facilities are not liked by communities and thus less sustainable.

Generally, the engagements made some achievements for the people in the informal settlements. Many of the settlements where the campaigns took place have some toilets installed and janitorial services provided by private contractors. Throughout the study, I observed some signs that community engagement and the provision of toilets created some sense of ownership. Community residents particularly those that stay close to the installed toilets seem to have taken up the ownership of the toilets and sometimes take the initiative to clean the area around toilet facilities more in particular Green Point Section. This suggests that with the properly structured local leadership, communities will be able to build ownership and ensure sanitation sustainability. The current grassroots leadership (street committee) needs to be more independent with decision-making powers. The community residents feel that the councillors have all the powers but they are do not visit communities to understand their problems. The street committees receive numerous complaints and demands from the community residents but have no power to influence change.

Though street committees were strong during apartheid and worked to maintain community safety which later changed roles to mobilise against apartheid, the post-apartheid has weakened them (Seeking 2001). The weakening of street committees has seen the rise of crimes in the township and this has made toilets unsafe to use. Safety in informal settlements is intrinsically linked to sanitation since toilets are located far from houses and there are no security lights.

To address these challenges, there is a need for continuous engagements between communities and the urban authorities. The involvement of communities in service delivery is one of the key batho principles that call for people to be put first and this means considering their views on services rendered (Smith, and Mofolo, 2009).

7.5   Contestations on Sanitation Policy

This thesis analysed the contestations on sanitation plan/policy in the informal settlements of Cape Town. These contestations started in Khayelitsha Township and spread like a wildfire and became a national discussion. The actions of community activists forced the discussion on sanitation in the marginalised communities and demanded a sanitation policy. For many years informal settlements have been seen as temporary spaces even when they have existed for more than 15 years without a sanitation plan. The South African policy documents since 1994 recognised water and sanitation as a basic human right that every citizen is entitled to.

In 2012 the department of human settlement in partnership with other stakeholders developed a national sanitation policy draft (DWA 2012). The relevant sections in that draft were later considered and introduced in the 2016 national sanitation policy draft. The draft policy was gazetted on the 12th of February 2016 by the minister of water and sanitation Nomvula Mukonyane. This policy is an attempt to address the gaps in previous sanitation documents and the challenges of marginalisation. However, amidst this effort, other forces greatly affect the sanitation service delivery, particularly in the Townships. These are dynamics that play out in the urban poor community which often dictates the delivery of basic services.

Despite this progress, some dynamics hamper the provision of sustainable sanitation in informal settlements. These are formal and informal dynamics that play out in the politics of sanitation in Khayelitsha Township. The politics of sanitation delivery is between the two dominating parties in the area that include the DA as the leading party in local governance and the ANC as the official opposition party. The ANC is also the leading party at the national level which means that they are key stakeholders in safety and security. Safety and security are part and partial in the provision of sanitation due to the safety concerns of using a toilet in informal settlements (Overy, 2013; SJC, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2014b). The issues of space to address

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density and its related challenges also fall under the jurisdiction of the central government. Addressing these issues allows "human interactions" and promotes better livelihoods (Visagie, and Turok, 2020, p.351). The sustainability in informal settlements requires corporative governance between all stakeholders that include the NGOs, local and national governments.

7.6 Towards understanding the civic action and the everyday struggles of the urban poor people.

This section discusses the understanding of civic action about the everyday struggles of the urban poor. The section is guided by the earlier discussions on civic action in Europe and America, colonialisation, and apartheid systems that used segregation in spatial planning and provided no channels of civic engagement to native black Africans. The colonial and apartheid system of segregating certain groups of people is thus viewed as a historical process that created historical traditions or practices leading to social inequalities and exploitation of the natives. The reason for reviewing historical processes is to understand the possibility of historical traditions of engagements being entrenched in contemporary urban governance.

Throughout the study, the activists repeatedly referred to the current sanitation contestation in the city of Cape Town as something that happened before they were even born and is still an everyday reality. This implies the continued existence of historical processes in the contemporary urban governance of Cape Town. These are exacerbated by the historical spatial patterns of planning and development that put people in the dunes of the Cape Flats. The city of Cape Town's five-year integrated development plan 2017-2022 also acknowledges that the legacy of apartheid still decides where people live and work (City of Cape Town 2017). This confirms the activist's claims that not much has changed in systemic planning and resource allocation. As one of the famous songs by Letta Mbulu "Not Yet Uhuru" (meaning no freedom yet) released in 1994 notes that no freedom yet and has become common in people's expression about life in post-apartheid South Africa. I have argued in this study that the current sanitation contestation is the continuous struggle for the complete liberation of the black Africans. In other words, the struggle for transition in South Africa is still incomplete as recognised by the World (World Bank Group, 2018).

The legacies of colonisation and apartheid were created through disengagement using the oppressive systems of segregation. In Chapter Two, the reviewed literature indicates that even when the black Africans wanted to be heard, they were never given a chance but only imposed to submit to the orders of urban management. The only group that had a right of say in the city planning were the property owners/ratepayers and they also had the right to vote. Though this changed in the post-apartheid government, there has been a contestation on some of the colonial and apartheid laws that still exist. They are being challenged by activists through courts of law. A vivid example is the SCJ10 where activists were arrested for protesting outside the civic centre and were charged under the apartheid law. This was successfully defended by the activists and the constitutional court ruled in the favour of peaceful protest without notice.

The sanitation contestations ignited civic engagement in the informal settlements of Khayelitsha Township. The court challenge by the SJC demonstrated the importance of social capital (civil society) in civic engagement in marginalised communities. Using the social capital in civic engagement, the marginalised groups can confront and challenge the historical traditions and pave way for social transformation. Just like the work of Putman in the regional government of Italy demonstrate the role of social capital in civic engagement in the two regions, with failures in the South attributed to historical traditions of exploitation (Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, 1994), the sanitation contestations are also linked to the historical processes that marginalised the native black Africans and created inequalities that still exist today.

This study indicates that sanitation contestations are also due to structural planning in budget allocation. The activists deliberately fought to access the information on sanitation budget planning to ascertain the city's priority areas. They established that the allocated budget to informal settlements was smaller compared to allocations in the affluent areas. As discussed before in this thesis, the issues of contestations on budget allocation in Cape Town are not new and thus appear to form part of the legacies of exclusion and exploitation. Though the city has tried to address some of the challenges, it seems more complex due to the continued growth of informal settlements that stretches the city's resources and the limitations of viewing informal settlements as temporary.
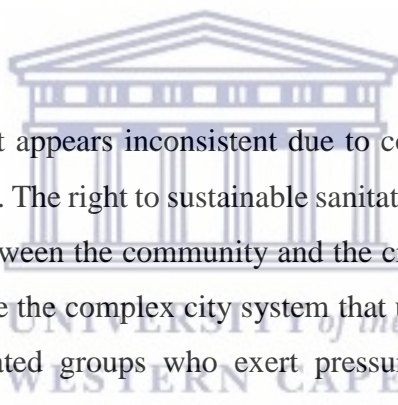
As discussed in this thesis, the issue of informality also forms part of contestations between the city and community activists. The community activists have continuously argued that these settlements should be treated as permanent since they have existed for more than 15 years. However, addressing the issues of informal settlements appears complex due to multiple stakeholders involved and thus requires compromise. Putnam's work in Northern Italy indicates that progress was possible because leaders were willing to compromise even along party lines. In this regard, addressing the issue of informal settlements that have stakeholders in different political groupings, requires compromise to reach an effective consensus on the development of informal settlements.

7.6.1 Fighting for "our rights" and "our dignity"

Unlike the great stink where the summer smell forced the lawmakers to act on the sanitation situation in central London, the geographic location of Khayelitsha far from the city centre means that the community must fight to claim their rights and respect for their dignity. As discussed in this study, the symbolic queue on a public toilet in the green point 2011 was to demonstrate to the city management the extent of the struggle faced by the residents of the informal settlements who have no toilets, and some use few toilets that are not well maintained. Much as the queue was a demonstration of their everyday struggle, it does not give a real experience to someone who has never lived in that environment. This is to say that the everyday struggle is well known to the poor who stay in informal settlements and thus it's important to involve them in the planning and implementation of sanitation projects. The involvement of people is contained in chapter 7 of the 1996 South African constitution. In this regard, community protests appear to signify the struggle to claim respect, freedom, and the right to urban life.

The community activists who are the residents in these informal settlements emphasised that their fight is for dignity as clearly stated in Chapter 7 of the 1996 South African constitution. The activists who are the residents in the three informal settlements narrated the undignified environment and shame that people endure daily. These activists indicated that it is much easier for them to unite other communities in the struggle for sanitation because they all face the same challenge and are willing to claim their rights. The right to sanitation speaks to the right to the

city as put forward by the Lefebvre. In Lefebvre (1968), the right to the city is understood as an improved and having a full right to urban life. In this regard, the right to urban life should be dictated by the inhabitants of the city as opposed to the capitalists. This philosophical view is shared by Harvey, (1973,2008,2012) who calls for social justice in the city in his first writing on the right to the city. This means having the right to change the world we live in and this gives us the right to shape ourselves including the environment around us (Harvey, 2008; Harvey & Cities, 2012). The fight for the right to sanitation is thus a fight for social justice and a fight to reshape the city of Cape Town. Harvey understands that the capitalists and the state wants to control the city and plan the city according to their priorities. This is to say, they cannot concede to the idea of social justice and hence the need for mass movements to demand that the city pays careful attention to the quality of urban life. In this regard, the right to the city or the right to sanitation is achieved through the collective action of communities living in deplorable conditions.

However, the fight for the right appears inconsistent due to communities' heavy reliance on community-based organisations. The right to sustainable sanitation can be achieved when there is a continuous engagement between the community and the city. The community leadership structures are so weak to engage the complex city system that uses bureaucratic channels and thus needs the elite sophisticated groups who exert pressure and sometimes manage to bend/jump bureaucratic channels. The majority of the residents repeatedly mentioned that the organisations fight for them in the struggle for sanitation. Furthermore, the interview with the street community and community residents reveals that the community sometimes does not understand the channels they can follow to claim the services and hence rely on violent protest by blockading the road and burning tires. At this stage, it means that the community residents have already realised that their demands forwarded to the ward councillors are not yielding any results. In most cases, councillors are also caught up in the partisan politics and bureaucratic dilemma to the extent that they are not able to influence the quick response to the challenges faced in the area. In this regard, the fight for the right to sanitation in the Khayelitsha Township is influenced by multiple factors particularly party politics, and this fuels anger and frustrations among residents.

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7.6.2 Civic Action and Structural strain

The struggle for social justice in Khayelitsha informal settlements is linked to the historical processes that led to the creation of Cape flats where Khayelitsha Township is located. In other words, Khayelitsha can also be viewed in the context of urbanism in Cape Town which was formed on the exploitation of the poor. It is this exploitation that fuels collective action and social justice. Smelser's (1965) explanation of the structural strain theory indicates that the emergence of social movements is based on six factors which are evident in the civic action in Khayelitsha informal settlements. The first factor is for the people in these communities to experience the problem or the deprivation of their rights. This will make them understand and realise that the problem is real. Furthermore, there must be an ideology that claims to solve the problem and circulated among the community to influence them to take part. These must be followed by the events that will trigger civic and the society must be ready for change. This starts the mobilisation of all necessary resources (Sen and Avci, 2016) for civic action to take place.
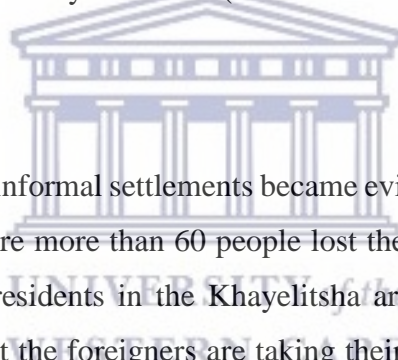
The civic action in Khayelitsha informal settlements became evident after the 2008 xenophobic attack on foreign nationals where more than 60 people lost their lives. After careful research by the concerned community residents in the Khayelitsha area, it was established that the problem was not the claims that the foreigners are taking their jobs but rather the deplorable living conditions. The community residents and other loose organisations came together to challenge the government on the living conditions in the informal settlements of Khayelitsha Township. A series of petitions and numerous protest tactics were adopted to get the attention of the state. This kind of civic action required numerous resources including human resources such as the community activists for community mobilisation, elites, researchers, negotiators, and also the funds to facilitate the activities. In this regard, the civic action in Khayelitsha informal settlement is a result of structural exploitation and marginalisation of the poor black Africans.

7.7 Recommendation

Sustainable sanitation, particularly for the urban poor, has been on the global development agenda for many decades. To achieve this and other current development goals particularly

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 6, the United Nations believes that people's participation is very crucial hence the emergence of the concept of community participation. The Brundtland commission of 1987 coined as "our common future" intended to direct nations on sustainable development with three pillars as economic, environmental, and social. The three pillars are still difficult to achieve particularly in poor communities such as informal settlements. The 1987 Brundtland commission report led to the development of other approaches to development for example sustainable livelihood. Since its inception, the sustainable livelihoods approach has been used and encouraged by campaigners of development such as the British (DFID) who are viewed as the sole promoter of this approach (DFID, 1999). The international community has also indicated its commitment to end poverty and all its challenges through SDGs by 2030 (SDG, 2015). Numerous approaches emphasise the inclusion of people in the decision-making process and community ownership of shared facilities (Braimah, and Filmua, 2011), and sustainability. The process of building and strengthening communities requires directly working with the people and thus the need for planners to work with local stakeholders in the grassroots structures (Bezboruah, 2021). In this regard, the local leadership structures need to be involved in ensuring that plans and programs for the communities are sustainable.
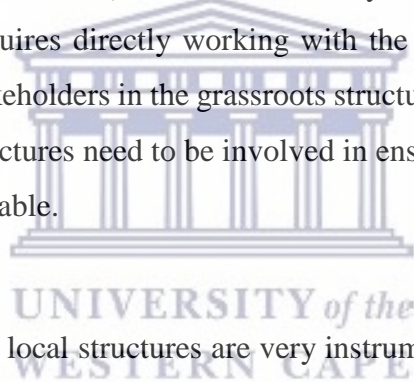
In the context of this study, the local structures are very instrumental in the transformation of sustainable sanitation in informal settlements. The local structures in this case the ward committees understand the everyday struggles of the people and are easily approachable by the community residents. This makes them well-positioned to promote development programs in communities particularly the informal settlements. However, as much as they understand the terrain and closer to people, they lack the authority and legitimacy to carry out these duties since they are informal (Vivier and Sanchez-Betancourt, 2020). In this regard, the proper structuring and formalisation of power at a lower level is necessary for street committees to function independently and improve service delivery at the grassroots.

This study has identified the gap in the involvement of communities in the decision making in the provision of sanitation services. The local leaders of the street committees appear disconnected from the plans and programs of the city, yet they are the nearest ambassadors of

people in the informal settlements. I have argued in this study that for sustainability to happen, the people must be involved in the planning and implementation of sanitation projects. In this regard, street committees must be used as a vehicle to promote government programs to the people in the informal settlements.

As mentioned before, street committees were strong during apartheid and worked to maintain community safety which later changed roles to mobilise against apartheid. The post-apartheid democratic transition seems to have weakened the functioning of street committees (Seeking 2001). The weakening of street committees has led to a rise in crimes in the townships and this affects the livelihoods and transformation of communities. Street committees also perform a significant role in promoting development programs and thus would form an important part of the development agenda.

In early 2000, South Africa introduced the ward committee as an important structure in the local government to assist in enhancing community participation (Piper, and Deacon, 2008, 2009). However, Piper and Deacon claim that ward committees are "too dependent" on the strength of the ward councillors, the willingness of political parties, and the support of municipal government (ibid, p.415). This means that the lower levels of governance are less likely to actively take part in decision-making due to over-dependency and lack of proper or clear support structure. This has a lot of implications in terms of supporting and popularizing government development programs at the grassroots level, bearing in mind that a successful program depends on how communities embrace and own the processes. This is to say that programs such as sanitation services that focus on the people at the grassroots require the involvement of street committees in decision making. This approach creates ownership and avoids or eliminates behaviours of vandalism of sanitation infrastructure. In this regard, the study believes that sustainable sanitation in informal settlements can be achieved through the involvement of communities and ensuring the buy-in in communities is well thought before the implementation of development programs versus the buy-in that is good on paper but absent on the ground.

Alternatively, the appointments of committees on issues of sanitation in the informal settlement will enhance the sustainability of sanitation facilities that are prone to vandalism and other problems. Though the City of Cape Town has devised means to reach out to community residents in the informal settlements, the nature and density of these settlements sometimes make these attempts difficult to achieve. The interview with the community activists who understand the terrain in the informal settlements suggests that the appointment of committees within each settlement to monitor issues of sanitation would be a workable solution to this challenge. These committees may be appointed as volunteers who work closely with communities, ward councillors, and the city. A committee of this type would also work as the link between residents and the city officials thus improving the relationship and trust.

Finally, sanitation in the informal settlements can be improved by utilising the social capital that the communities possess. The majority of community activists that work with movements such as SJC reside in these communities. These activists can assist in educating and spreading awareness on the issues of public health. Such programs are currently missing, and this leads to a high need for maintenance as some facilities are vandalised and misused by residents. For instance, one of the reasons that lead to blockage of sewer is due to pouring or flushing food. Things such as this have been normalised in the informal settlements due to the lack of portable bins where food can be disposed of. In this regard, the community activists can be instrumental in educating communities but also advising the city on certain issues that can be addressed.

7.8   Possible future research based on this thesis

The social transformation of the poor people in metropolitan Cape Town still requires rigorous investigation on numerous issues that affect the progress in the informal settlements. This research investigated the engagements between the community activists and the urban authorities in the delivery of sustainable sanitation. However, there is a need for future research to understand the ability of street committees in promoting service delivery at the grassroots level. Several studies indicate that once communities are empowered, they can promote sustainable sanitation. Street committees have been weakened in the democratic transition but can be instruments in promoting development programs. The effectiveness of the street

committee would promote community ownership and trust which seems to have widened due to challenges of representation.

Achieving sustainable sanitation in informal settlements seems complex due to the location and the nature of settlements. The shared toilets prove complex to maintain and make them sustainable and in a good environment that is friendly to the neighbouring families. However, involving women in organised groups as community health committees in managing public toilets might prove instrumental in achieving sustainable sanitation in the informal settlement. Some of the women of the green point section were instrumental in maintaining the toilets around their area. A further study to understand the mechanisms that would equip the community to take part in promoting sustainable sanitation in informal settlements is necessary. For instance, one of the demands during the sanitation campaign was that the city train residents who can fix toilets when they break down than waiting on someone that live far from the community. However, such an initiative requires one to understand the challenges and implications of such an approach. Thus the implementation of such initiatives needs to be informed by research on social behaviours and proficiency of residents in these communities. The reality is that most of the informal settlements I investigated in this study have been in existence for more than 30 years with no plans for in-situ upgrading. For instance, the RR section investigated in this study was established in 1989, and ever since that time families keep expanding in size. In this regard, the issues of informal settlements seem to be still around for many years to come, and thus it is important to find a way to work around it and making these places habitable.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A. Field Research Tool A. Questions for Activists participants

1. What is your opinion on stakeholder/interest groups engagement in your organization?
2. What is the idea behind stakeholder engagements?
3. What is the role of activists in the stakeholder/interest groups engagement process?
4. How is your organization engaging the city on the issues of sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements?
5. What are the processes involved in the engagements between you and the city officials on the state of sanitation in the informal settlements? Can you please explain these processes?
6. What do you think about these processes?
7. How do these processes facilitate a better working relationship between all stakeholders/interest groups? If not, what are the issues involved and how can this be improved?
8. How do you think these engagements will promote sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements of Cape Town?
9. How do you think sustainable sanitation be achieved in the informal settlements of Cape Town?
10. How important are the engagements in the affairs of sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements?
11. What are the issues and strategies of sustainable sanitation in poor urban areas that are discussed in these engagements?
12. Who are the stakeholders/interest groups involved in these engagements?
13. How do stakeholders/interest groups get involved in these engagements?
14. According to programme brief of your organization, your focus has been on advocating for a sustainable sanitation plan for informal settlements. How do you intend to achieve this? What challenges do you encounter as you advance this idea?
15. What are the strategies within the organization that specifically focus on influencing policies?
16. What would you say are the achievements of these engagements thus far?
17. Before these engagements, what was the position of the city on sustainable sanitation in the informal settlement?
18. What is the current understanding between you and the city on sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements?
19. What are the main challenges emerging from the engagements with the city and the city officials?
20. What are the mechanisms and strategies do you have in place to ensure continuity of these engagements?
21. What is the role of politics in the promotion of sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements?
22. How do you navigate power relations in these engagements?

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APPENDIX B. Field Research Tool B. Interview Questions for city Officials participants

1. What is the position of the city about stakeholder/interest group engagement?
2. What has been the experience of the city in terms of stakeholder/interest group engagements on sanitation issues in the informal settlements?
3. What has been your experience in these engagements?
4. How would you describe the relationship between stakeholders/interest groups involved in these engements?
5. How are these engagements assisting you in an effort to achieve sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements?
6. What is your view on sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements of Cape Town?
7. What would you say are the achievements of these engagements thus far?
8. Where do you think improvements are needed in these engagements?
9. How do you think engagements with stakeholders/interest groups can be improved?
10. Apart from these engagements, what other plans does the city pursue to achieve sustainable sanitation for the urban poor in the informal settlements?
11. What do you think are the challenges being faced towards implementation of these plans?
12. How is the City planning to include the poor as we head to the future of the 4ᵗʰ industrial revolution?

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APPENDIX C. Field Research Tool C. Interview Questions for Community leaders participants

1. What are the challenges do you face as a result of poor sanitation in your community?
2. What do you think can be the solution to poor sanitation in your community?
3. How do you work with the social movements on issues of sustainable sanitation in your community?
4. In your view, how does working together with social movements and other groups help in promoting sustainable sanitation?
5. What is the position of the community on the role of working with other groups to promote sustainable sanitation?
6. How was your experience in these engagements?
7. In your opinion as a community leader, how does the community want these engagements to be organized?

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APPENDIX D. Field Research Tool D: Researchers, Experts and Interest groups

1. What is your view on stakeholder/interest group engagements on sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements of Cape Town?
2. What is your view on the approach and organization of activists in their engagements with the City on sustainable sanitation in the informal settlements of Cape Town?
3. How has the intervention of movement organizations contributed to improvement of sanitation and offering alternative leadership in the informal settlements of Cape Town?
4. What is your opinion on how these engagements can be made more effective in order to achieve its intended goals?

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APPENDIX E. Field Research Tool E: On Life History (Activists)

1. Can you please tell me about your biographical details?
2. When did you join this organization and why did you join?
3. What was the reason that led to the formation of this organization?
4. What roles have you played since you joined this organization?
5. Please tell me about the daily experiences you encounter working as an activist in this organization.
6. How has your participation in the organization changed your life and the life of those close to you?
7. What is your experience working with other stakeholders/interest groups on issues of sanitation?

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APPENDIX F. Field Research Tool F: Participation Observation Guide

1. State of sanitation infrastructure.
2. Neighborhood environmental health
3. Attitudes among city officials and activists (statements, expressions)
4. Passion and belief of movement members (trust,
5. Political will of the city officials (official documents, policy briefs, openness to partisan discussions)
6. Handling of contestations, tensions and differences (Media speeches, media statements, position on contested issues).
7. Strength of coalitions, collaborations and networking of movement organisations.

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APPENDIX G. FGD QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COMMUNITY RESIDENTS

1. How long have you been staying here in BM Section?

2. How often do you have meetings here in this community about sanitation?
3. Do you mean you have never had meetings about toilets, or water?
4. Do you have street committee in this area?
5. Do the street committee organise meetings and address you on issues of sanitation?

6. You mean the meetings normally focus on stealing, crime? Focus on Community issues such as?
7. How often do the councillor of this place come and address the community of sanitation or other issues?
8. What are the challenges of sanitation you face in this community?

9. How many household use one toilet?

10. Does the toilets have padlocks for the six households can lock it to limit other users?.
11. Do you think if you had meetings on sanitation, it would improve the situation in the area?

12. Depends on committee, how? You mean the street committee, the ward committee?
13. So you mean there is a committee that distributes those pota potas?
14. who informs you about the toilet on when you're going to pick it, do they bring it direct here or they inform you and you go pick it?

15. Do you mean whoever gets there first is the one that picks the pota pota toilet?
16. Do people ask the street committee or ward committee about toilets?
17. Do you mean to say that you don't know the street committees?
18. You mean to say that you have never seen the people who are on the street committee?

19. Who elects or appoints the street committees?
20. Do you mean to say they just decide the leadership?
21. Do you know your area councillor?
22. What do you think would be the reason for communities not to organise themselves and discuss these issues?

23. Do you have organisations that work in this community to improve sanitation in this area?

24. What do you think about involvement of social justice coalition in sanitation campaign of this community?.

25. Do you think that the community does not have a voice?

26. You mean to say that people on their own don't organise sanitation campaign?.

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APPENDIX H. FGD QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS

1. How is the current situation in the areas where you had sanitation campaign since 2011?
2. Why did you choose to engage different stakeholders? Why did you choose to use that strategy as opposed to violent protest?
3. What was the role of activists during the engagements on sanitation campaigns?
4. Why did you choose to have the campaign than approaching government structures on sanitation delivery?
5. You mentioned safety campaign as well, do you mean to say that sanitation is more linked to safety?
6. When you started engaging the city, was it easy for the activists to access the people responsible for sanitation delivery?
7. How did you make sure that these engagements work regardless of the difficulties?
8. How do you think these engagements helped in promoting sustainable in the informal settlements and is it sustainable?
9. Are these engagements still on-going or they stopped when you stopped the campaign?
10. In your view, how can sustainable sanitation be achieved in the informal settlements?
11. How important were these engagements in promoting sustainable sanitation?
12. What challenges did you face during the campaigns?
13. Would you say that the sanitation campaigns somehow influenced policies on sanitation delivery?

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APPENDIX I. Research Ethical Clearance

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19 August 2019

Mr A.K. Mukiga
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Ethics Reference Number: HS19/6/36

Project Title: Community activism and social change of the urban
poor in the Western Cape: Advocating for sustainable
sanitation in Cape Town's informal settlements.

Approval Period: 19 August 2019 – 19 August 2020

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of
the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above
mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted
to the Ethics Committee for approval.

Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of
the study.

Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape

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HSSREC REGISTRATION NUMBER - 130416-049

FROM HOPE TO ACTION THROUGH KNOWLEDGE

APPENDIX J. DATA ANALYSIS ATLAS.TI WORD CLOUD