The Urban Poor, Civic Governmentality and the Problem of Participation

By

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from work, or works, of other people, has been attributed and has been cited and referenced.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines practices of the Informal Settlements Network (ISN), part of the South African Slum Dwellers International (SA SDI) Alliance, as initiators of civic participation in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. The SA SDI Alliance is made up of four organisations namely the Community Organization Resource Centre (CORC), Utshani Fund, the Informal Settlement Network (ISN) and the Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP).

Through the thesis, I aim to provide an understanding of the nature of civic participation and the formation of "responsible" citizens amongst the urban poor in Khayelitsha, South Africa (Brown, 2015, p. 133). Critical in developing this understanding are the tools of the SA SDI Alliance through which the urban poor of Khayelitsha, Cape Town are allowed to participate in civic affairs. Drawing on theories of neoliberal governmentality the study traces how civic participation facilitated by the SA SDI Alliance manifests nationally through policy and at the provincial and local government level. The ultimate objective of the thesis centres on how participation under neoliberalism affects the lives of people in urban settlements through the activities of self-help organisations such as ISN.

Using semi-structured interviews and shadowing three community mediators, the study unpacks the life trajectories and lived experiences of community mediators who are members of ISN. Whilst, describing these community mediators' lived experiences, the thesis examines the tension points relating to how ISN members navigate personal, community and institutions of participations that we do not see in the public discourse. The closer examination of these tension points enhances our understanding of the theoretical discourse surrounding the challenges and contradictions that participants face under neoliberalism. These challenges include the interface with fluid community dynamics. Furthermore, the thesis provides insights into the mutability of roles assumed by the community mediators and how it practically manifests on the ground.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

SA SDI Alliance – South African Slum Dwellers International Alliance

CORC – Community Organisation Resource Centre

ISN – Informal Settlements Network

FEDUP – Federation of the Urban Poor

ASGISA - Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa

GEAR - Growth, Employment and Redistribution

RDP - Reconstruction and Development Programme

ANC – African National Congress

DA – Democratic Alliance

EFF – Economic Freedom Fighters

SANCO - South African National Civic Organization

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

SDI – Slum Dwellers International

SPARC - The Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres

SATAWU - South African Transport and Allied Workers Union

ANCYL - African National Congress Youth League

TRA -Temporary Relocation Area

LIST OF MAPS

IMAGES

CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY: BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH PROBLEM

Image 1: Critical Thinking Cartoon (University of Nottingham, n.d.)

The critical thinking cartoon is, to a great extent, depicting the paradoxes of community participation engendered by institutions (University of Nottingham, n.d.). The teacher (knowledge broker) expects the learners in his class to be nurtured in such a manner that they are creative, critical and informed thinkers; yet he wants them to abide by his rules. The learners are granted the agency to think outside the box provided it is within the delineated scope that he has for them. In essence he wants to control and mould them in a manner that is comfortable for him.

The cartoon suggests that his teaching style, as well as the curriculum he presents, will most likely be a reflection of the beliefs of the school (institution) he is employed by. In his classroom the teacher describes the world for his students and provides them with the knowledge with which to navigate it. Within the wider institution, a set of incentives and disincentives shapes the mode of participation for model students. The application of these incentives or disincentive are in turn based on a student's

ability to conform and shape his or her self to the curriculum taught and rules applied in the school. The intention is that the teacher creates model citizens who can maximise their value to themselves and others through productive participation in post-school life.

One can hence say that the cartoon represents the paradoxes and maybe even controversies surrounding community participation facilitated by organisations that perform the role of knowledge brokers seeking to bridge the gap between civil society and state. These organisations often present themselves as actors working with and in the interests of civil society – representing the disenfranchised and ensuring that their voices are heard. However, a critical observer might consider that more-often-than-not, how the knowledge brokers facilitate participatory community processes is such that only a limited set of pre-determined outcomes are possible to be arrived at by the participants in any given participatory process. The critical observer might find it difficult to imagine that suchf an approach could result in an authentic representation of what the participants seek for themselves. Would this be a fair observation? Is this negative or positive? What are the dynamics at play? These questions have guided my research and analysis.

The focus of this research is an examination of the practices of the Informal Settlement Network (ISN), a constituent organisation of the South African Slum Dwellers International (SA SDI) Alliance[1], as initiators of civic participation in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. As I attempt to evaluate SA SDI's practices and understand the nature of urban citizenship in the South African urban realm, I draw on literature about governmentality that is selected for its ability to articulate key concepts, practices, and processes relating to civic participation under neoliberalism. I do so to present a conceptual framework that can help me unpack ISN and the wider SA SDI Alliance's paradigms, policies and practices in South Africa. I consider the organisational, individual, and institutional stakeholders with who the SA SDI Alliance interacts to situate the alliance within this conceptual framework.

The SA SDI Alliance use 'tools' such as savings, data collection, partnerships and learning exchanges (SA SDI Alliance, 2018). The aforesaid 'tools' serve as mobilisation methods among community members, to facilitate engagement with stakeholders, specifically government. These engagements relate predominantly to housing development, informal settlement upgrading, securing land tenure, livelihoods initiatives and access to basic services (SA SDI Alliance 2018). I mainly draw on the practices of ISN as community mediators and analyse the kind of subjects that are created amongst the urban poor who engage in informal settlement upgrading through ISN's activities. By community

[1] The SA SDI Alliance is made up of four organizations namely the Community Organization Resource Centre (CORC), Utshani Fund, the Informal Settlement Network (ISN) and the Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP). CORC and Utshani Fund are both South African registered NGOs and perform professional support functions for grass roots, community based organisations FEDUP and ISN.

mediators, I refer to members of the community who mobilise other members in the community to "produce a local political consensus" (Chatterjee, 2004, p. 66). Mediators engage in this mobilisation intending to facilitate the devolution of government power by bridging the gap between the (local) state and civil society (Chatterjee, 2004; Bawa, 2011). Ultimately the devolution of this power allows the mediator to make claims on behalf of a marginalised group.

I further reason that it is pertinent to understand how equal citizenship and community are conceived in the modern state. Chatterjee (2004, p.10) argues that "equal citizenship" is mediated by and realised through property and community. He argues that "all citizens belong to civil society and are, by virtue of that legally constructed fact, equal subjects of the law" however, their relations to property determines equal citizenship based on a particular conception of civil society (Chatterjee, 2004, p. 74). Whereas, community, relates to how "activities of governmental functions produce numerous classes of actual populations that come together to act politically. To effectively make its claim in political society, a population group produced under neoliberalism must be invested with the moral content of the community" Chatterjee, 2004, p. 75). This is a significant part of the politics of "modern governmentality" (Chatterjee, 2004, p. 23). One could argue that the concept of equal citizenship is questionable as ordinary citizens on the ground are communicated with and told that they are equal – probably by institutions that are deemed to be knowledge brokers. Still, we know that that is not the truth and understand that some citizens are more equal than others. In the context of this research, I aim to understand how equal citizenship is sought and some of the realities associated with pursuing equality.

Michel Foucault proposed the concept of governmentality to explain a transition in the aim and "modes of governance from (repressive) sovereign power concerned with control over the territory to a form of biopower and rule concerned with the welfare, care, and security of the population" (Anwar, 2011, p. 5). This contradiction is made palpable by Chatterjee's (2004) dual conception of post-colonial Indian society.

> The classical idea of popular sovereignty, expressed in the legal-political facts of equal citizenship, presents a homogeneous construct of the nation. The activities of governmentality require multiple, cross-cutting and shifting classifications of the population as the targets of various policies, producing a necessarily heterogeneous construct of the social (Chatterjee, 2004, p. 36).

Drawing from the Indian state's treatment of its different citizens, Chatterjee (2004, p.66) argues that in as much as all citizens should ideally be equal members of civil society, society is nevertheless comprised of two types of citizen groups – "civil society and political society" – and we need to make a clear distinction between these two groups. Civil society is made up of a minority of the so-called

responsible, rights-bearing, good citizens (property owners, ratepayers - who are entitled to the claims they make because they pay for what they get.) Political society, on the other hand, is made up of the majority of lower-income and poor Indian citizens 'breaking the law' to assert their rights, through informal practices or survivalist activities. These include street traders, recyclers, informal settlement dwellers all of who can only make claims and only work through exerting democratic voting power or as large collectives demanding that the state pay attention to them. Since they infringe laws and engage in informal practices deemed unacceptable by the Indian state, they are often not seen as full citizens on par with members of civil society (Chatterjee, 2004; Bawa, 2011). Roy (2009a) argues that organisations such as ISN are involved in helping the state create "responsible", pacified citizens who are not rowdy and clingy but are self-reliant and law-abiding (Brown, 2015, p. 133). Is ISN involved in formalising 'political society' and absorbing them into 'civil society'?

Chatterjee heuristic terms (political and civil society) can also be used to make a distinction between ratepayers and slum dwellers in the South African contexts. For example, if ISN members build infrastructural projects resulting in a house, they are not trying to mould the individual into a ratepayer (i.e. a member of civil society). Instead, they are trying to give them a place to live. However, the implication of how housing is provided (and also tenure) – in fact, the only way – is that they enter a scenario of civil society where they will eventually be compelled to act as so-called good and "responsible" citizens (Brown, 2015, p. 133). I thus seek to uncover not only the nature of urban citizenship in the context of Khayelitsha and Cape Town but also the kinds of responsible citizens that the SA SDI Alliance, through its practices, is trying to mould as well as what implications this has for community participation and democracy.

1.2 A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SA SDI ALLIANCE

Salma Ismail, who is an education specialist with interest in adult learning and teaching, outlines the history of the SA SDI Alliance, then called South African Homeless Peoples Federation. The latter originated in the wake of the South African people's dialogue on land and shelter grassroots conference held in Broederstroom in 1991, convened by the Southern African Catholic development association and Asia coalition for housing rights (Ismail, 2015).

This conference proposed a model, which included organising poor women into savings groups and providing micro-credit through the informal economy to enable them to build their own homes (Ismail, 2015). The approach was to mobilise poor African women to save money daily because women were believed to be responsible for the family and children. After the conference, the South African Homeless People's Federation and Mahila Milan[2] began a regular program of learning exchanges with

[2] Mahila milan "Women Together" in Hindi—is a decentralised network of poor women's collectives that manage credit and savings activities in their communities based in India (SPARC, 2014).

communities working with the People's Dialogue on Land and Shelter (South African NGO). Between 1993 and 1994, more than 50 savings schemes and 1400 savers respectfully were established in South Africa under the South African Homeless People's Federation (interchangeably called the federation) (Patel, Bolnick and Mitlin, n.d).

To administer increased donor resources, the federation and People's Dialogue initiated the Utshani Fund as a new financial entity in 1995. In 1996, the federation built their first show house on a piece of land donated by the Catholic Church in Philippi[3], Cape Town. This project was called Victoria Mxenge. It became an important precedent for community-led housing development and negotiation with the state (Ismail, 2015). In 2000, the federation, Peoples dialogue and Utshani fund joined forces and formed the SA SDI Alliance.

Following a struggle for autonomy and control of the federation's assets, the South African Homeless People's Federation split from the SA SDI Alliance towards the end of 2005. It was then that the Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP) (as a collective of poor women federating around savings) was established and the Community Organization Resource Center (CORC)[4] took over technical support functions to the federation (Ismail, 2015). To broaden the scope and citizen engagement among the urban poor and engage about housing alternatives, specifically informal settlement upgrading, the Informal Settlements Network (ISN) was formed in 2008.

1.3 INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Participation has been repeatedly emphasised in development discourse both at local and global level, particularly in the planning and implementation of policies. For instance, the Local Government Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 mandates the South African government to demonstrate democratic, bottom-up decision-making (Parker, 2002; Republic of South Africa, 2000). Arnstein (2019) argues that the importance of citizen participation lies in its ability to grant policy-makers an opportunity to learn from the experiences on the ground and respond to people's real needs. Yet, the sad reality is that policy-makers rubber stamp the process due to challenges about who participates, why and how, expenses associated with the process and the time it consumes (Parker, 2002; Arnstein, 2019).

In the meantime, the urban poor's increasing inability to access basic services in South African cities such as Cape Town has solicited civic organisations such as the ISN to advocate for the in-situ upgrading of informal settlements. Thereby they seek to give meaning to citizenship of the urban poor in highly unequal cities such as Cape Town. For instance, the SA SDI Alliance views freedom as

[3] Philipi is one of the largest townships in Cape Town, located in the Cape Flats.
[4] CORC replaced Peoples dialogue as the main support NGO to FEDUP. The Staff members of People's dialogue were absorbed into CORC.

participation in community struggles and seeks to promote the co-production of knowledge and efficient service delivery to citizens (Evans, 2010; Mitlin, 2008; Adigheji, 2010). As a part of the SA SDI Alliance, the ISN not only advocates for inclusion through the distribution of services but also hopes to teach norms of self-reliance amongst the urban poor. The ISN thus emphasises changing communities' ways of thinking and doing things—particularly instilling in communities the notion that they can do things themselves rather than exercise patience and wait for the government to come to their rescue (SA SDI Alliance, 2016; Roy, 2009a).

Some scholars have also observed that contemporary practices of participation are often an instrument of neoliberal governmentality aimed at shaping citizens as economic subjects. Ultimately such practices seek to maximise the citizen's capabilities and see themselves as empowered capable citizens (Roy, 2009a; Appadurai, 2001; Brown, 2015; Cornwall & Fujita, 2012). Given this realisation, participation in the neoliberal era has, to some extent, come to mean the generation of self-help strategies and not necessarily participation in larger decision-making forums that affect the structural realities of people's lives. Brown (2015, p. 134) argues that by being embedded in our daily lives, such practices place a "moral burden" on citizens to become economic citizens, most notably the urban poor, as they adopt self-help strategies promulgated by civil society organisations. With this perspective in mind, it became vital for me to critically analyse the practices of participation employed by the SA SDI-affiliated groups such as the ISN. Although my intention has not been to simply condemn or celebrate the practices of participation in neoliberal times, I am interested in gaining insights about them, and analysing the nature and the magnitude of the moral burden that they place on citizens on the ground.

While carrying out this research, I regarded ISN members, particularly community mediators in informal settlement areas such as Khayelitsha, Cape Town, as the primary objects of the study. I examined how their practices extend neoliberal governmentality and how this governmentality is lived out on a day-to-day basis by people who become community mediators. Drawing on Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality, I ask what is the mind-set among the urban poor that is so produced? Building from Max Weber and Foucault's writings, Wendy Brown reminds us how "rational action comes to displace all other forms, those springing from faith, tradition, affect, fealty to a leader, or any other pre-rational or non-rational source" (Brown, 2015, p. 119). Foucault (as cited in Brown 2015, p.117) relates this rationality to governmental practices that "shift away from the power of command and punishment targeting particular subjects and toward the power of conducting and compelling populations to act at a distance". He refers to neoliberal governmentality not as "retreat of the state but as prolongation of government and transformation of politics in ways that restructure the power relations in society" (as cited in Lemke 2002, p. 11). The neoliberal assessment of the state embraces the classical liberal emphasis on individual's self-reliance and active citizenship as a form of participation in various spaces for citizens (Von Holdt & Schinkel, 2010; Rose, 1999; Evans, 2010).

Looking at ISN activities through this lens, I gain more insights on how their activities institutionalise civic participation among the urban poor in South Africa to create empowered citizens.

Research Questions and Objectives

My research sought to investigate the extent to which organisations are initiating civic participation, and through their forms of participation facilitating the production of "responsible" citizens in Khayelitsha, Cape Town (Brown, 2015, p. 133). In attempting to do so, I examined the life histories and everyday experiences of ISN's community mediators as community members familiar with their surroundings as well as transmission belts between the community of Khayelitsha and external concerned stakeholders (the local state, NGOs, CBOs, and the SA SDI as a whole). Whilst describing these community mediators' lived experiences, the thesis examines the dimensions and tension points that emerge as ISN members navigate personal, community, and institutions of participation. These are modalities of participation that always paid heed to public discourse surrounding how civil society groups such as ISN among many other actors do or do not abide by the rules of the City[5].

Why are ISN and NGO structures important in contemporary South Africa? The study broke up this issue into the following two sub-questions: To what extent are the participatory practices of ISN involved in the shaping of community members as responsible, active citizens? As I look at the community mediators as examples of people formed through ISN practices, I look at what kind of citizen is being created through ISN's participatory forms. To what extent is there an interplay between the formation of community members as active, responsible citizens, the framing of governable subjects and the moral burdening of citizens? In attempting to unpack the research questions as well as give more depth to the investigation, the study made use of the following subsidiary questions:

- Who are the individuals that have become community mediators through the ISN's projects?
- Under what circumstances did they become community mediators? What are their life trajectories, and how did they come to seek greater participation in the civic affairs of Khayelitsha?
- What are the participatory ISN tools at their disposal? How do they use those tools in engaging with their respective communities?
- What is the relationship between community mediators and the City, their relevance in the broader shift of the City as a neoliberal institution that has been relieved of some of its 'duties' and has privatised a lot of services? To what extent does their engagement with communities place a moral burden on the communities in question?
- What ways of thinking, acting and engagement with communities do the tools generate for ISN members?

[5] I use a capital letter 'C' when referring to the City of Cape Town because it is a government institution.

- What challenges do ISN members encounter, and to what extent are they morally burdened by the pressures of their work? How do they navigate the challenges? What implications does this have for community participation and (development) planning at sub-local and citywide level?

1.4 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Qualitative research methods were deemed appropriate for the study as qualitative research acknowledges that the world is made up of different social phenomena. It, therefore, aims to identify people's views and relations in their social structures whilst also describing the context of the social setting that they investigate (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002). Furthermore, the study used ethnography to unpack the social context and engagements that the study hoped to gain insights into.

Brayboy and Deyhle (2000) mention that ethnography relies on what we, as observers, see and what the participants in our research studies tell us. Ethnography was useful for me when collecting the data for this research because it allowed me to use a variety of techniques to collect data such as participating in ISN meetings, listen to their voice. It is defined as the study of "people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' utilising methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities involving the researcher participating directly in the setting – and by extension in the activities themselves" (Brewer, 2004, p. 312). The range of ethnographic techniques that I used includes in-depth interviews alongside participant observation. This was premised upon understanding that it is important to grasp the research participants' actions and their experiences of the world, whilst gaining knowledge of their social world through intimate familiarity with it and in capturing the voices of people who inhabit it (Brayboy and Deyhle, 2000).

The methodology which the study employed includes desktop research - the review of literature on the workings of the SA SDI Alliance and tools as secondary sources of understanding the ISN. I was thus able to comprehend not just the workings of the SA SDI Alliance and the ISN, but also the scales of participation in governmentality that it introduces in people's lives. I have also sought to contextualise the practices of the SA SDI Alliance as a federation of the urban poor by examining how these relate to those of SDI internationally. Similarly, I sought to do the same in relation to the role of the ISN within the SA SDI. I also reviewed literature about governmentality, which has helped me unpack civic participation under neoliberalism and how it relates to the activities of ISN.

I also conducted interviews with three ISN members. I reasoned that this would enable me to unpack their life stories and trajectories as well as uncover how they have come to seek greater participation in civic affairs (particularly how they became community mediators through the ISN activities). The three

interviews were semi-structured and, through multiple ride-along with the three community mediators, I participated in some of their activities for over four months. The shadowing of the community mediators afforded me a glimpse into their daily experiences, their interactions and engagements with other communities around the informal settlement upgrading process as well as the nature of their engagements with other community-based organisations outside of the ISN. Additionally, the ride-along – coupled with the interviews – granted me an opportunity to, as a researcher, make the juxtaposition between what the community mediators said and what they did.

Through semi-structured interviews, the participants told their life stories, portraying their narratives and identities as part of their larger story of existence as community mediators. People lead storied lives in that they "construct their identity and convey it to others in the form of stories which also offer a way of creating continuity and structure to experiences" (Riessman, 2008, p.8). However, as a researcher, I am aware that the subject of identity is multi-dimensional, and all the interviewees were approached to tell a story of their lives as community leaders[6]. In other words, my interlocutors were well aware that it is precisely this part of their lives that I was interested in. Throughout the research process as a researcher, I relied on reflexivity, to balance the weaknesses of representation of the real world. I found the representation of the real-world problems could leave the subjects vulnerable and exposed, which I was able to avoid by using my insider knowledge, which I elaborate more below. In fact, other than being community leaders, they are normal residents of informal settlements who are constantly faced with service delivery issues such as lack of water and sanitation, and lack of a stable income to support their families.

Ethical Considerations

During the period that the ride-along and interviews were conducted, I was an employee of the CORC, an organisation that is part of the SA SDI Alliance. As a CORC employee, I had access to meetings which the ISN was involved in as part of my daily duties. However, concerned about abiding by good research ethical practices, I sought permission to attend the meetings mentioned above from my three respondents and diarised notes of interesting issues that emerged during meetings. Thus I attended and partook in the meetings in my capacity as a researcher, as well as in the fulfilment of my day-to-day duties as a staff member playing a supportive role and giving technical advice to community members during the discussions.

This, therefore, meant that insofar as I was an insider in the SA SDI Alliance I was simultaneously an outsider to the ISN because I was not a community leader in an informal settlement, nor was I a resident

[6] Based on my experience working at CORC, a community leader is elected by community members to represent the community's needs as well as resolve community level disputes. I am not particularly sure about the structures nor how often the elections take place at the community level.

of Khayelitsha where the study was focused (and where some of the meetings occurred). Being both an outsider and insider afforded me opportunities to gain the trust of the community mediators. They knew where I worked, and they were well aware of my intentions as a student as well as an employee of CORC.

As a researcher, I was constantly aware that the advantages of accessing information as an insider are not absolute. Hence my access to the information, interviews, and meetings was dependent on negotiating access and building trust with the participants. Most of the community meetings which I was invited to during the fieldwork period were at night. Meetings take place at night so that decisions taken by the community could include employed residents, most of whom were unavailable during the day. Yet, due to my concerns around safety - attributable in large part to the high crime rates in Khayelitsha - I was often unable to attend such meetings but would ask my respondents for feedback on the issues that were discussed.

Interestingly, there were some meetings that I was not allowed to partake in as they were considered 'secret'. Most of such meetings were internal ISN meetings and meetings that were attended by some political leaders. As Mwrebi[7], one of the ISN respondents put it: "we sometimes have to wear different caps, and we do not want to confuse you" (Mwrebi, Personal Communication, 24 April, 2018). This emphasised the point that there is a power dynamic between the researcher and the researched in as much as the researcher controls the interviewee(s), the interviewees also control the researcher for the reason that they make and direct the knowledge produced by the researcher. This is solidified by Charmaz (1996), who argues that a research product is constructed by both researchers and researched. While I acknowledge the existence of a power dynamic between myself and my respondents, it did not detract me from my research objectives.

Data Collection and Analysis

At the time of doing the fieldwork, the activities of the ISN were concentrated in Khayelitsha, Site B. Activities had intensified in Khayelitsha since SA SDI Alliance had received grant funding from an international funder – Fund X [8]- to set up a community-led informal settlement upgrading fund which was initially called the 'City Fund' but was later renamed the Community Participatory Fund (CPF). Established in 2013, the CPF was co-financed by donor funding and the urban poor[9] to leverage government funding into projects initiated by the SA SDI Alliance. As of 2013, the CPF was managed by an advisory group made up of members from the SA SDI Alliance. At the time, the projects were

[7] Mwrebi is not his real name. For reasons of anonymity and protecting my respondents, the names of the three community mediators were changed.
[8] Fund X is not the real name of the donor.
[9] Community members contributes to the fund through collective savings and contributions as co-financing for projects

limited to informal settlement upgrading projects in Khayelitsha and Mfuleni but were later extended to the broader Cape Town and Stellenbosch areas.

ISN is a reasonably new organisation with a very fluid membership structure. The three community mediator participants that the study encompassed have been involved in the activities of the SA SDI Alliance in Khayelitsha for more than three years. With the insider knowledge, I had gained whilst working at CORC, I had approached members who had been operating in Khayelitsha for quite some time and were thus very familiar with the study area. After approaching the participants and establishing a rapport with them, I interviewed them at their chosen venue, not only to make them feel comfortable enough to speak, but also to prevent distortion of information which, according to McCurdy and Aldam (2014), ensues when respondents are not comfortable.

The community mediators who I interviewed were two women and one man. One of them was Ngcobo[10], a black woman of African descent in her mid-30s and originally from the Eastern Cape. During the time I interviewed and shadowed Ngcobo she was a resident of UT Gardens, an informal settlement in Khayelitsha Site B. The other female respondent was Davids, a so-called coloured woman in her late 40s, originally from Cape Town. Davids [11]grew up in Rylands and later lived for about 20 years as a back-yarder in Manenberg before her recent move into a community-constructed housing project in Mitchells Plain. The male participant was Mwrebi, a black male of African descent in his mid-30's who was born in Gauteng Province (then Transvaal) and grew up in the Eastern Cape. Mwrebi grew up in the Eastern Cape and currently lives in a Temporary Relocation Area (TRA) in Mfuleni (also Known as Bosasa[12]) which was established by the City of Cape Town and the Provincial Government to provide medium-term temporary accommodation for people in emergencies. However, as with many TRAs in Cape Town, the definition of 'temporary' is loose. In fact, some people living in Bosasa were reported to have lived there for as many as ten years.

All three interviews were scheduled and took place separately and privately. Davids was interviewed in English because she was Afrikaans speaking and I am not fluent in Afrikaans. Mwrebi's and Ngcobo's interviews were conducted in isiXhosa, and since I am only partially fluent in isiXhosa; English was used, where necessary, for purposes of clarity.

[10] Ngcobo is not her real name. For reasons of anonymity and protecting my respondents, the names of the three community mediators were changed.
[11] Davids is not her real name. For reasons of anonymity and protecting my respondents, the names of the three community mediators were changed.
[12] The settlement got its name because it is located opposite the Bosasa Horizon Centre, a care centre for children awaiting trial. The state capture scandal surrounding the Bosasa company specialising in providing services to government most notably prison services has emerged sometime after this name was likely coined.

Davids's and Ngcobo's interviews took place outdoors - at the back of a community hall far from people whilst other ISN members were participating in a meeting. The interview with Mwrebi, however, took place at the CORC boardroom (where I worked). The eventual decision to interview the three research participants in the said places was influenced by several factors, among them the participants' busy schedules. Due to their work as community mediators, they were usually unavailable and away from home. Consequently, the interviews could not be conducted in the privacy of their homes but instead of had to be done in other suitable and conducive environments.

During the time of the research, I also deliberately avoided discussing the particularities of my research – particularly research participants' respective roles in specific projects - with (former) senior colleagues at the CORC. Due to the fact that I was more often than not working with my participants very closely on CORC related projects, the implication was that I was granted access to information that the management at the CORC was not privy to but would not be happy about. Thus, my avoidance of the CORC colleagues. My avoidance may not have been noticeable, but I wanted to build a good trusting relationship with the participants.

My analysis of the data may have been affected by various subjective biases because, unlike an outsider, I may take some things for granted or have a thorough understanding of the events that might result in a flawed analysis with partial perspectives (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000). To lessen such challenges to my work, the analysis of the research used thematic coding and narrative analysis to identify important themes and concepts in the data. Through coding, I developed an initial conceptual framework for the research and sorted the data thematically. To emphasise and support research findings, I present descriptive accounts of selected quotes from the research interviews. Through narrative analysis, I was able to investigate the extent to which the respondents constitute themselves as political agents working towards effecting neighbourhood change (Mason, 2002). I further drew from other bodies of literature, where I borrowed concepts or explanations to see how they fit with the findings (Ritchie, Spencer, & O'Connor, 2003).

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE MINOR DISSERTATION

Through the thesis, I engage with the research questions mentioned above. The research questions led me on a path to do my fieldwork. Having done this fieldwork, the thesis examines and seeks to highlight the tension points relating to how ISN members navigate personal, community and other institutions of participations that we do not hear about in public discourse. I do this in **four chapters**.

In **chapter one**, I introduce the objectives of the study as well as the theoretical underpinnings of civic participation in contemporary South Africa. Additionally, the chapter outlines the methodological approach taken for this study. **Chapter two** unpacks a theoretical frame that explains the emergence of

ISN as an instance of governmental rationality and neoliberalism. The chapter showcases how governmentality manifests at the national and local level. I do this by unpacking the objectives of ISN as agents of civic participation and the context of Khayelitsha (where the study is set). **Chapter three** demonstrates how ISN activities cultivate acts of citizenship, thereby influencing a range of new ways of conduct amongst the members of ISN and the communities. **Chapter four** sums up the study by exploring the lived experiences of the community mediators. This section focus primarily on ethnographic analysis. The ethnographic analysis comes last because it needs to contextualised through a description and study of ISN activities in light of theories of governmentality and participation. Through the community mediators' narratives, I examine how participation unfolds on the ground. I gain insights on the challenges, dynamics of participation as these mediators interact with communities, political representatives, City processes/ technical procedures. I end the thesis with concluding remarks about the main arguments that emerge.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 THE CONDUCT OF CONDUCT

This chapter unpacks the theoretical frame that I mobilize to explain the emergence of ISN and other such organisations in post-apartheid South Africa. It seeks to answer questions related to the relevance of organisations such as ISN within the broader shift of South Africa towards a neoliberal policy landscape from 1996 when the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy was initiated. Ultimately the chapter aims to use this theoretical frame to develop an understanding of how the concept of neoliberal governmentality manifests nationally through policy, manifests at the provincial and local government level, and finally how it manifests at the level of local settlements through the activities of self-help organisations such as ISN.

The chapter contextualizes the thesis with a brief description of Khayelitsha and its relation to City of Cape Town. I further outline ISN and its objectives and practices in the broader context of urban development in South Africa. The next section delves into the theoretical frame of neoliberal and civic governmentality, followed by an analysis of South Africa's policy regime shift from distributive to neoliberal redistributive policy - the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and GEAR respectively. During this shift, the state is seen to have redefined its relationship with citizens from "provider and recipient" to one that the state is a "facilitator and co-producer" (Van Donk, 2012, p. 17). The analysis draws heavily on Michael Foucault's work on neoliberalism and governmentality in order to provide a conceptual frame through which ISN's work in Khayelitsha can be viewed. Ultimately the chapter seeks to answer the following question: to what extent is the emergence of the SA SDI Alliance linked to the broader neoliberal governmentality in South Africa and what are the rationalities that so emerged?

2.2 CONTEXT

Introducing Khayelitsha, Cape Town

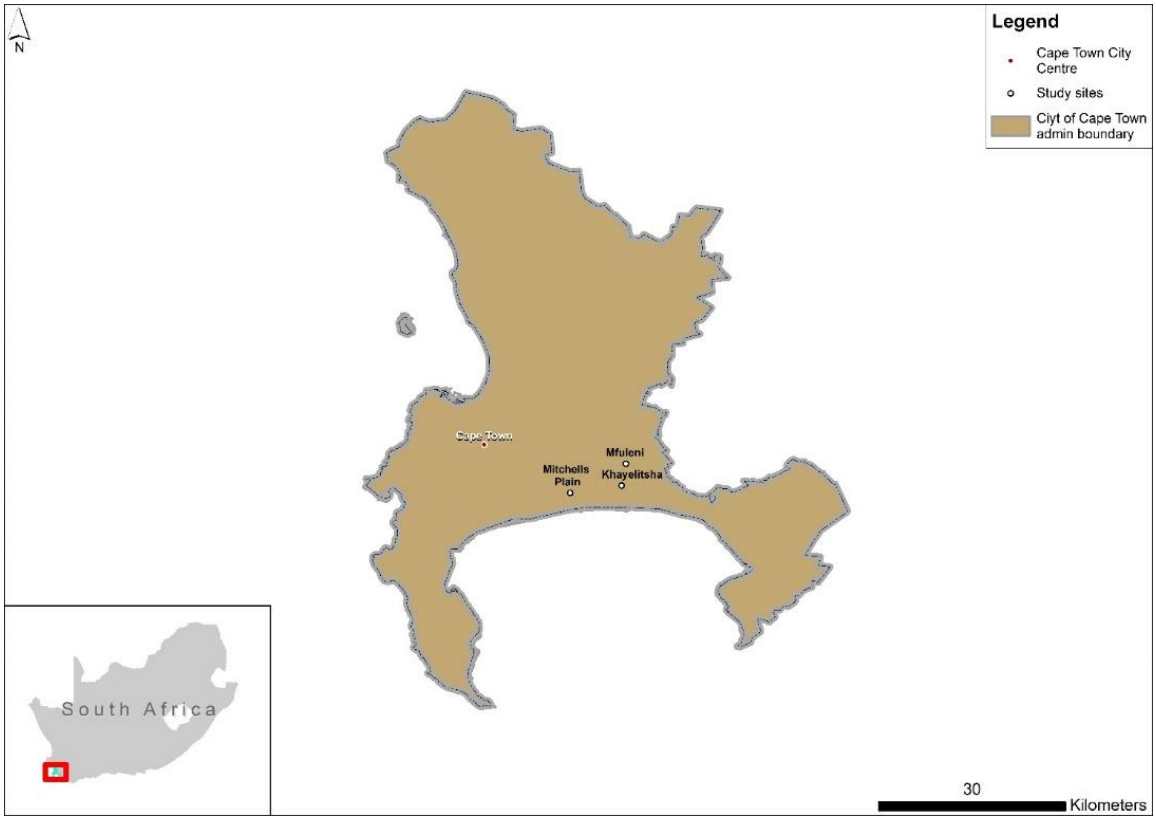
ISN draws its membership from a network of settlements across the breadth of Cape Town's informal settlements. This research study makes central reference to the workings of the ISN in the Cape Flats, particularly in Khayelitsha, the central area of focus. Although the scope of the research enabled me to access to ISN's operations in areas other than Khayelitsha (see Map 2) I focus on this geography for the reason that the majority of my fieldwork was concentrated there.

With a population of approximately 4.1 million people on 2446 km^2, Cape Town - is the second-most populous metropolitan city and second-largest economic centre in the country after Johannesburg ("Geography, History and Economy", 2020). A very prominent city, Cape Town is the Western Cape's

provincial capital and primary city as well as one of South Africa's legislative capital. An aspiring global city striving for global competitiveness, Cape Town is Africa's most popular tourist destination and (due in large part to its natural and human made features) "is recognised by Forbes as one of the most beautiful cities in the world" (Booyens, 2012; "Geography, History and Economy", 2020).

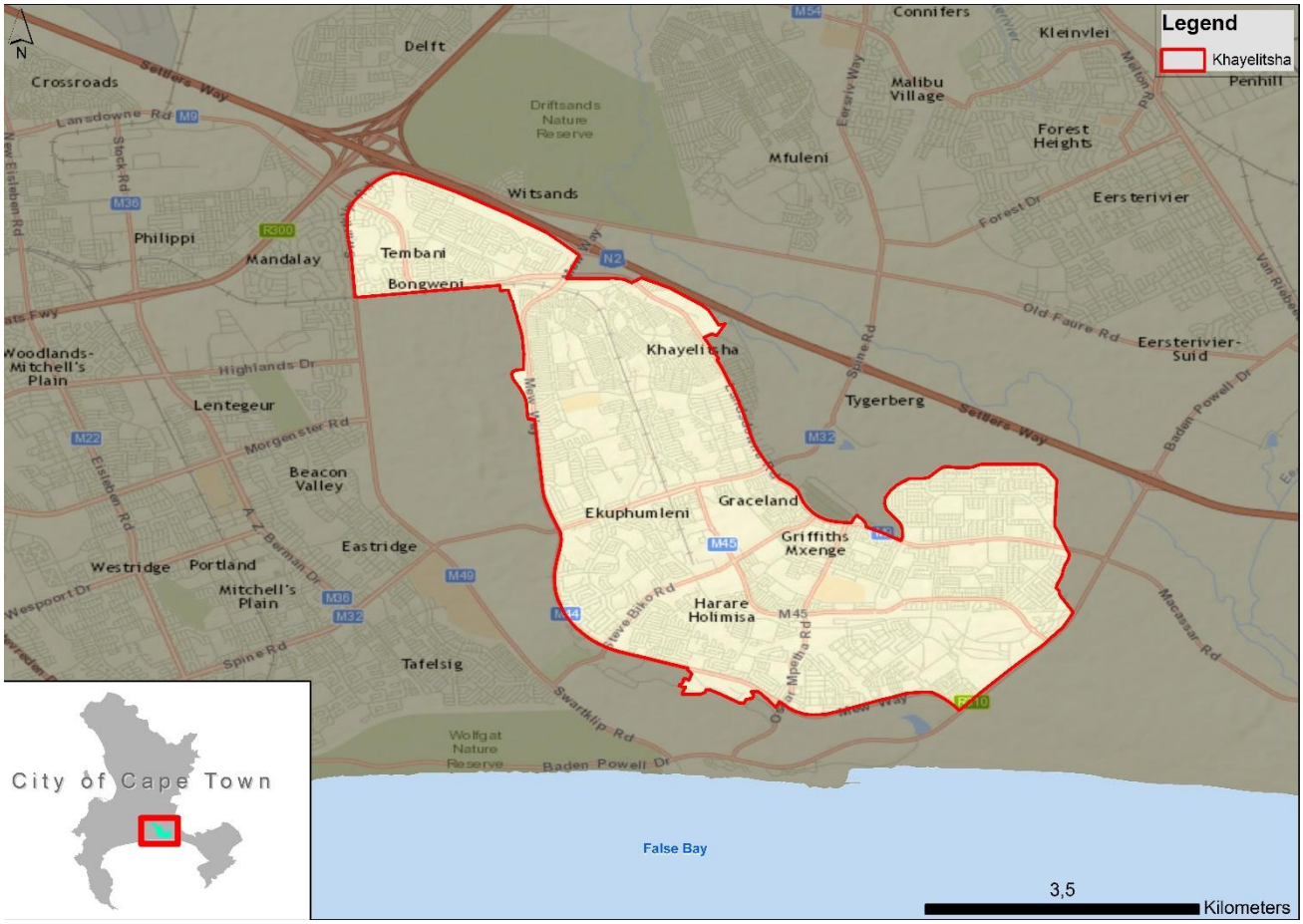
Yet, within this beautiful, populous and prosperous metropolis exist extreme socio-economic and spatial disparities (Miraftab & Wills, 2005). Just like most South African cities, Cape Town has a legacy of spatial segregation inherited from apartheid spatial and socio-economic planning. Despite citywide policies aimed at redressing disparities - spatial segregation and socio-economic inequality continue to prevail and get exacerbated. The city's spatial morphology is still constituted in such a manner that centrally favourably located affluent suburbs, which were primarily reserved for whites during apartheid, exist alongside poverty-stricken settlements whose inhabitants are African and Coloured people on the urban edge (Lemanski, 2004).

Khayelitsha is located 30 km from the Cape Town Central Business District and is dominated by informal settlements and low-cost housing. The township's distant location from the City, coupled with its neglect and underdevelopment, contributed significantly to depriving it of its economic development potential (Ngxiza, 2011) The deliberate segregation, a part of apartheid planning and racial development strategy, created vast distances between Khayelitsha and areas of socio-economic opportunity.



Map 1: Khayelitsha, Mfuleni and Mitchell's Plain Relative to Cape Town Metropolitan Region (City of Cape Town, 2011).

The illustration (Map 1), shows the location of Mfuleni, Khayelitsha, and Mitchell's Plain concerning the metropolitan city of Cape Town. Whilst all these townships are located close to each other, they are fundamentally different racially, linguistically and culturally (City of CapeTown, 2013).



Map 2: Subareas within Khayelitsha

Khayelitsha – isiXhosa for 'new home' is the largest African township in the City of Cape Town. It is a large area divided into sections which have, over the years, been subdivided into different administrative wards with varying councillors in response to the development of the township. Anderson, Azari, & van Wyk (2009) trace the genesis of the township back to the 1970s with the settlement by new arrivals to Cape Town of an area called Crossroads[13]. These migrants who came from areas such as the Transkei were in dire need of a place to live and work in the Western Cape (then Cape Province). Some settled in Crossroads - quickly erecting homes which were essentially shacks

[13] Crossroads is a triangular piece of land approximately 90 hectares in extent, near Cape Town International Airport, Philippi industrial area and adjacent to Browns Farm area (Anderson, Azari, & van Wyk, 2009, p. 5).

constructed from wood, corrugated iron sheets, and plastic. In August 1975 approximately 1100 people were living in Crossroads. By 1977 the number had grown to 18 000 (Anderson, Azari, van Wyk, 2009).

As the influx of people continued over the next few years, the demand for space in Crossroads grew substantially (Anderson, Azari, & van Wyk, 2009). This demand triggered the apartheid government's decision in 1983 to create Khayelitsha and, "establish it as the home of the entire legal Black population of Cape Town" (Anderson, Azari, & van Wyk, 2009, p. 5; Adlard, 2014). Around 1983 and 1984, the government went on to establish Site C in response to the proliferation of squatting in Crossroads (Zonke, 2006). As the number of shacks in Crossroads grew, the then newly built Khayelitsha also exhibited a proliferation of informal settlements. For instance, in the period from 1985, shacks were also built in areas of Khayelitsha today known as Site B, Green Point, Macassar, Town Two and Harare (Zonke, 2006). In fact, according to the 2011 Census data, 45% of the households in Khayelitsha resided in informal housing (City of CapeTown, 2013).

As has been noted, from its inception Khayelitsha continued to develop from a planned township area under apartheid, into a sprawling, mostly informal urban area characterised by a lack of basic services and infrastructure resulting in inadequate living conditions for the vast majority of its residents. Baralsky (2016) writes that "the township experiences some of the highest murder rates in the country, currently at a ratio of between 76 and 108 murders per 100 000 of the population at different police stations in the area" (Department of Community Safety, 2018). Most of Khayelitsha's residents are trapped in the web of poverty with the majority living below the low-income bracket and with no regular income. All of this is against the backdrop of high unemployment and crime rates (Barolsky, 2016).

It is within this urban complexity that the community mediators operate as conduits between the community and other stakeholders such as local government, ward councillors, political parties, other civic organisations. Examples of prominent civic organisations in this space include the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO)[14] and the SA SDI Alliance. Given this context, to what extent could Khayelitsha have shaped the community mediators as active, so-called responsible citizens? To what extent have they used their roles as community mediators and active citizens to mobilise the communities in Khayelitsha in the different areas of the township? Before engaging with these questions, the historical background and the intended objective of ISN's operations in areas such as Khayelitsha is briefly traced.

[14] SANCO is a national civic organisation that was founded in 1992 building upon earlier successes of independent civics

Informal Settlements Network (ISN)

Birthed from FEDUP, ISN was founded in 2008 as part of the SA SDI Alliance to broaden its engagement in informal settlements in urban areas and to shift the Alliances' focus from building houses using the ePHP[15] towards addressing tenure security and services delivery realities associated with the exponential growth of informal settlements in cities like Cape Town. In 2004[16] the South African government's housing policy shifted towards creating an enabling environment for informal settlement upgrading. Resulting from years of advocacy, it is within this context that ISN emerged.

ISN is amongst the first attempts in post-Apartheid South Africa to bring the urban poor under one umbrella (Bradlow, Bolnick, & Shearing, 2011). These organised and networked urban poor collectives engage various community leadership structures at the settlement-level. These leadership structures, in turn, mobilise the community around issue-based development planning. Nationally, ISN has so far successfully leveraged political capital to successfully implement informal settlement upgrading projects by signing MOUs and developing non-formalised relations with several metropolitan and local municipalities[17].

The constitution of ISN'S leadership as well as its praxis are fairly distinct and well documented. Its governance structures have been described as open and consisting, "of regional leaders grouped in working teams" and a "national coordinating team" (SA SDI Alliance, 2012, para. 3). Its practices are guided by principles of learning by doing, working with organised communities and building self-reliance (Bradlow, Bolnick, & Shearing, 2011).

> "ISN has three primary objectives: the first, organise the urban poor to create the voice of the urban poor in policy development. Secondly, to equip the urban poor with the knowledge that enables them to engage effectively with the state. Thirdly, to enhance the governance structures at the community level" (SA SDI Alliance, 2012, para. 2).

Ultimately this aims to challenge conventional development outcomes for the poor by advocating for inclusive cities and acknowledgement of community knowledge (Bolnick, 2012).

Having offered a historical overview of Khayelitsha and the origins of ISN, the next section conceptualises the characteristics and relationships between governmentality and neoliberalism. The aim of this is to help us understand ISN's neoliberal response to political participation. The thesis gives

[15] Enhanced People's Housing Process (EPHP) is a process where beneficiaries are actively involved in the decision making over the housing process, product and make a contribution towards the building of their own homes.

[16] The Breaking New Ground Policy (2004) recognised the challenge of informal settlements.

[17] City of Cape Town, Ekurhuleni, eThekwini (Durban), City of Johannesburg, Nelson Mandela Bay (Port Elizabeth), Stellenbosch, Mangaung (Bloemfontein) and Polokwane

an understanding of how the practices of ISN can be viewed as forming part of contemporary practices of participation that are often seen as instruments of neoliberal governmentality involved in the shaping of community members as citizens capable of tackling their challenges.

2.3 HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF NEOLIBERALISM

Civic Governmentality and Neoliberal Governmentality

According to James Ferguson (2009), there is variation in the way the word 'neoliberalism' is used in contemporary scholarship. In the paper, (The Uses of Neoliberalism, 2009, p. 170) Ferguson first and foremost observes that neoliberalism is seen as a belief or "doctrine" which varies all the time. Concerning the state, neoliberalism is often understood in its economic interpretation; of market-orientated reform policies, privatisation of state functions, and thus perhaps – from a superficial perspective – a retreat of the state from certain functions for purposes of efficiency (Ferguson, 2009). Foucault (as cited in Jamieson, 2012, p. 46) uses the term neoliberalism to describe a "mentality of rule ... [and] rationality of government". On the ground and concerning the poor, neoliberalism has been criticised for encouraging inequality and poverty as well as for widening the gap between the rich and the poor; and, for destroying the livelihoods for vulnerable communities particularly in the global South through the deregulation of the economy (Appadurai, 2003; Roy, 2009b; Sharma & Gupta, 2006).

In post-apartheid South Africa, many theorists have written about the change of policies from distributive to "neoliberal redistributive policies", which I expand more on in the next section (Moos, 2017, p. 27). Concerning this policy change, Williams and Taylor (2000) posit that neoliberalism failed many poor citizens and that the neoliberal notion of trickle-down did not materially manifest itself in improvements for the poor. Instead, it led to jobless growth and exacerbated socio-economic and spatial inequalities. However, Ferguson in his book (Give a Man a Fish: Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution, 2015), not only disputes that neoliberal forms of governance and economy are dominant whilst the "welfare state is embattled, in retreat, or barely hanging on", but also, challenges our understanding of the manifestation of neoliberalism on the ground (Ferguson, 2015, p. 1). The title of his book reflects on a popular proverb "give a man a fish, and you feed him for a day, teach a man to fish, and you feed him for a lifetime". The popular interpretation of this proverb refers to the difference of giving someone temporary solutions than long-lasting skills that they could use in their lifetime. The proverb has been widely applied in the development sector to refer to the implementation of self-sustaining programs.

Whilst there are many influential accounts of how neoliberalism led to the exclusion of the poor, Ferguson brings to light that there are new arguments that aim to observe and argue for the enablement and inclusion of the poor. On the face of it is the state's expansion of welfare to include the marginalised, alongside a neoliberal policy agenda, which complicates our (development practitioners) understanding

of neoliberalism in that it challenges what has perhaps become a reflexive position on such practices—that they deliver anti-poor outcomes. Ferguson (2015) argues that in neoliberalism, social welfare has been reformed and does not look like traditional social welfare programs offering state health, education etc.

As can be seen in the analysis above there are various interpretations of neoliberalism. I do not aim to understand the evils or good of neoliberalism for the urban poor but rather seek to learn and to increase understanding of the implicit and explicit governmental techniques through which it operates. Therefore, in the context of this thesis, I borrow Foucault's use of the term neoliberalism because of my interest in how its manifestations appear at the local level through organisations such as ISN.

Foucault suggests that under the liberal democratic theory, one can observe the emergence of the distinction between state and society (Foucault, 2006). Within the liberal democratic theory, the state is seen as an organ delivering on a social contract and providing accountable government through democratic elections. At the same time, its citizens enjoy civil and political rights (Mercer, 2002). In response to the above challenge, Foucault (2006, p.131) conceptualised governmentality as a new approach to the problem of government, an "art of government" aimed at responding to the question about the governing of human behaviour, not solely in the interests of strengthening the state, but in the interests of society understood as a realm external to the state (Gupta, 2012). Foucault's reconceptualisation of the art of government presents a government that has all the components required to take care of society. A rational government that can provide for its citizen's by securing its welfare, improve its conditions as well as its wealth (Murray Li, 2007). However, the will to improve welfare is based on the citizen's relations and links to resources, wealth, social, and political relations. For social welfare to manifest on the ground, understanding the citizen's needs "the population as its primary target" is important, consequently giving the state knowledge of where to intervene in society is crucial (Foucault, 2006, p. 142). Hence, the rationale for mapping or cartography, collecting census data on the population as sources of knowledge (Ferguson, 2006). Behaviours and population patterns are expressed as birth, death, infant mortality, literacy, crime rates. According to Foucault, knowledge so produced is "used for the production of social order and social control" (Simon, 2005, p. 1). It is also used to formulate targeted policy interventions to foster beneficial results for its resident.

Using an example of quantified human behaviour referred to by Foucault (2006) to locate ISN's work in the framework of governmentality specifically, the use of community data collection tools such as mapping, enumeration, and profiling of informal settlements are used by ISN members as engagement tool. Through ISNs partnerships with the state these tools are examples of how governmental has indirect site of informal settlements. It is nevertheless ironic and interesting that implicit in its very definition, an informal settlement's population appears on the surface of it to be non-quantifiable and

as escaping census or statistical capture due to its highly informal character – activities, documentations, living conditions (Simone, 2013; Kihato, 2011). The profiling exercise undertaken by ISN includes the collection of the history of the settlement, its name, GPS location and mapping of services points, including water taps and toilets. The enumeration exercise also captures detailed household information such as household socio-economic conditions (SA SDI Alliance, 2012). The utility of these tools to ISN and FEDUP is that they are meant to be used to promote the well-being of the poor and bring the challenges faced by them within the gaze of development discourse (Sanyal, 2007; Simone, 2013). The data plays an important role in creating formal knowledge generation - it is analysed and used for planning purposes, thus creating visibility to policy-makers (Huchzermeyer, 2009; Nersiah, 2010). Rose (1999) points out that numbers generated through enumerations and profiles become modalities for the production of knowledge necessary to govern.

Foucault (as cited in Flint, 2002, p. 620) argues that since the eighteenth century, we have been "living in the era of... governmentality". In modern governmentality, unlike in "sovereign rule", "power is not always expressed in an overtly repressive form". Rather than envisaging power existing through government institutions and rulers of states such as Kings, in the modern state, it is replaced by a mode of power-based "upon detailed knowledge, routine intervention and gentle correction" of the day to day lives of people (Clapham, 1997, p. 771). Therefore these approaches or "arts of government" are disseminated over many sites of non-state governance such as the gym, the schools, communities, and even individuals through their invisible powers also called "biopower" (Huxley, 2007, p. 188).

Neo-Liberal Governmentality

Building on the theory of governmentality, Foucault introduces neoliberal governmentality. He conceptualises this as the state delegating responsibilities to the lowest structure of the population resulting in restructuring of "power relations in society" (Foucault, as cited in Lemke 2002, p. 58). In most cases this seen as the retreat of the state. In describing the effect of neoliberalism on the role of the state he (Foucault)suggests that a neoliberal State does not translate into less regulation or weaker states, but the state ends up increasing the sites for regulation and domination by creating "autonomous entities of government that are not part of the formal state apparatus" (Sharma, 2006, p. 21). Neoliberal governmentality suggests that we should not only look at government as something that does not emanate from the state or political structures or powers but as something that is also embedded in our daily lives. Through neoliberal governmentality, we can govern ourselves and other people, as much as we can be governed and governed by people around us, the sites of governing are distributed through various instruments integrated in our day to day practices of our life. The thesis aims to analyse how these forms of neoliberal governmentality occur in the day to day lives of ISN. How does ISN use its tools (learning exchanges, savings and data collection) as instruments to govern the lives of ISN members and also be governed?

Gürkan (2018) argues that neoliberal governmentality is not only concerned with the elimination of the centralised bureaucratic social welfare but also with the transformation and reconstruction of the embedded social structures, norms and values. Thus instead of pursuing a sharp rupture with individual liberties, neoliberalism as a mental rationality works on the continuity of individual liberties by pronouncing every society to be self-governing via its own set of constructed societal norms and "regimes" of truth (Mills, 2013; Gürkan, 2018, p. 689). At the same time, there are shared regimes of truth – a neoliberal regime being one such example of a shared condition across societies. It becomes somewhat clear from the arguments mentioned above that the transformation of the "technologies of government" have significantly reconfigured – and perhaps have also been significantly reconfigured by - the roles and identities of the citizenry as well as the way power is exercised over citizenry in the neoliberal age (Mills, 2013; Swyngedouw, 2005, p. 1992).

Civic Governmentality

Ananya Roy, who is an urban planner and is interested in poverty in the global South, has also studied civil society organisations such as the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC). SPARC is the Indian equivalent of CORC and part of the Indian SDI Alliance. In the study Roy (2009a, p.159) introduces the concept of "civic governmentality" which builds on and yet departs from Foucault's conceptualisations of governmentality. Roy (2009a) envisions civic governmentality as a specialised regime that functions through particular mentalities or rationalities. These include infrastructure of populist mediation, technologies of governing (i.e. knowledge production) and norms of self-rule.

SPARC is internationally celebrated and respected for working to improve the lives of slum dwellers in India through organisations such as Mahila Milan and Slum Dwellers International (SDI) (Bradlow, 2015; Roy, 2009a; Buckely, 2011). SPARC's objective is to mediate and bridge the gap between the state and the urban poor by emphasising "working with rather than against the state" (Roy, 2009, p.166). Similar to the SA SDI Alliance, SPARC believes in boardroom negotiations which are different from traditional views of state-society relations (confrontational/ radical relationships) in highly contested and marginalised contexts which are perhaps more reminiscent of barricades and protest (Buckely, 2011; Bradlow, 2015).

Rather than see SPARC as an organisation that deepens democracy, Roy (2009a) pronounces that SPARC is an organisation that operates as part of the state by extending bureaucracy to the urban poor through the participatory planning process. Through the data collection process (enumerations) they (SPARC) brings the pavement dwellers under the requirements of the law, making them visible to the state. Roy argues that SPARC ensures a peaceful displacement of the poor through relocations rather

than resorting to radical/ uncivil tactics like picketing by insisting on "collaboration rather than confrontation" with the state (Roy, 2009a, p. 169). Hence one might suggest that SPARC acts by co-opting "political society" and discards uncivic political society's radical attempts at being heard when facilitating the relocation of pavement dwellers in the streets in Mumbai (Buckely, 2011).

Roy (2009a) also points out that SPARC, by encouraging the movement of the poor from areas targeted for "urban redevelopment and renewal", reinforces the transformation of the city as a clean, neoliberal city "slum-free world-class city" (Roy, 2009a, pp. 169 -173; Buckely, 2011). I partially agree with Roy; however, her perspective challenges the essence of my work as a practitioner who has been involved in improving living conditions in informal settlements through informal settlement upgrading projects. It might be asked what is wrong with capacitating people to become responsible citizens who are able to get results through non-confrontational engagements with the state. I do though understand that some informal settlement projects that I have been involved in can be manipulated and used by politicians and City officials to clean the city, especially if the community has not initiated them. Moreover, I acknowledge that the change that is obtained from one informal settlement upgrading project is piecemeal and superficial rather than deep and structural. However, my observation is that the through the involvement of groups such as ISN, the City has become more tolerant of informal settlements as part of the urban fabric. There is more acknowledgement that public participation budgets must be increased to accommodate different interest groups. In turn, residents of informal settlements that I worked with have established a greater understanding of how the City budgets are prioritised and can influence the process for their benefit. Buckley (2011, p.282) disagrees with Roy by saying that without the involvement of organisations like SPARC, the poor would be further disadvantaged. By negotiating the community and the city can, in principle, achieve a "solution that is superior to either of the extremes".

The thesis uses Roy's (2009a) concept of "civic governmentality" to analyse the extent to which ISN's activities such as the implementation of several informal settlement upgrading projects though reblocking[18] negotiated through MOU's with the City contributes to a neoliberal city (SA SDI Alliance, 2012). In the upcoming chapters I examine how ISN interacts with communities through slogans promoting collaboration with the government rather than confrontation, and through this generate collective action advocating for an inclusive city and informal settlement upgrading.

[18] "Blocking-out" and "re-blocking" are interchangeable terms the South African SDI Alliance uses to refer to the reconfiguration and repositioning of shacks in very dense Informal settlements in accordance with a community-drafted development plan (Tshabalala & Mxobo, 2014). Reblocking policy offers clear benefits with respect to fire safety, establishing roads, reducing grey water hazards, creating jobs and instilling a sense of pride within the community (Ground Up 2016). In 2013, the reblocking policy was adopted by the City of Cape Town in order to reduce the urban poor's vulnerability to disasters such as flooding and shack fires (SA SDI Alliance 2012).

2.4 A RECENT HISTORY OF THE INFLUENCE OF NEOLIBERAL THINKING IN SOUTH AFRICA

To understand the critical narrative of neoliberalism in South Africa, it is important to briefly review how South Africa's post-Apartheid economic changes came about. My review of the literature focuses on the two policies, namely, RDP and GEAR respectively because their implementation provides the crux of my analysis. This analysis describes a shift from a redistributive to a neoliberal policy framework in South Africa. The analysis of this policy shift answers the following two broad questions - (1) to what extent is the emergence of the SA SDI Alliance linked to broader neoliberal governmentality in South Africa and what are the neoliberal rationalities of civic participation in pursuit at settlement level that emerge? (2) What shapes the ways of thinking, acting and engaging between the SA SDI Alliance and the South African government and how does this influence their relationship?

Gary (1996, p. 149) believes that "the rapid growth in the NGO sector in Africa parallels the era of structural adjustment and the rollback of the state is no mere coincidence". Since the involvement of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Africa through structural adjustment policies, NGOs grew in different sectors such as health, education, and agriculture. NGOs function as service delivery mechanisms to citizens and advocates for improved governance to increase accountability in all sectors (Suleiman, 2013). Donor funding has blurred the relationship between the state and NGOs, and governmental mechanisms and functions have been subcontred to NGOs (Ferguson 2009).

Kahn (2010) argues that unlike most countries in the global south, since South Africa has not been a regular borrower from the IMF scholars cannot easily trace structural adjustment to South Africa's linkages to neoliberal thinking. Nor has South Africa had structural adjustment programs. However, the World Bank's involvement in the country's affairs through the so-called Washington Consensus is argued by some to be the basis of the influence of neoliberal thinking in South Africa (Williams & Taylor, 2000; Kahn, 2000; Levy, 1999; Williams & Taylor, 2000).

Cooper and Catchpowle (1999) also argued that at the time of the ANC's unbanning, the organisation had no clear political and economic policies. Instead, the organisation had relied on an emotional attachment to the principles of the 1955 Freedom Charter[19] with its vague but prominent redistributionist slogans (Williams & Taylor, 2000). Kahn (2000) traces another possible influence to a loan made by the IMF in 1993 when the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) ran the country where the conditionalities of the loans, although reasonably low, were said to be neoliberal (Kahn, 2000).

[19] The Freedom charter unlike the constitution is a political document. However, encapsulating the unifying vision of the constitution and the effort to find ways to bind people. The Charter is a manifesto for freedom and it became the banner around which large masses of people rallied. Its mode of creation, content and subsequent propagation was part of a democratic and popular movement for change (Suttner 2006:6).

Neoliberal Influence Post-Apartheid

In 1994, the democratic government adopted the RDP policy framework, which was meant to redress the vast inequalities caused by apartheid. The RDP policy had an intent to construct a strong developmental state focused on both social and economic development for all South African citizens (Bond & Mottiar, 2013). At the same time, the 1994 democratic elections symbolically unveiled a new era of freedom and opportunity. The RDP attempted to combine measures to boost the economy with a redistributive minded provision of infrastructure including, housing, basic household services such as water, sanitation, and electricity to groups marginalised under the previous apartheid regime. However, according to Rose (2006) this was done without consideration for the fiscal constraints limiting future roll-out and maintenance of the massive infrastructure delivery. During this time, the government was also heavily criticised mainly by the business community for its lack of a clear macroeconomic blueprint policy.

As a result, in 1996, Thabo Mbeki, then Nelson Mandela's Deputy President, announced a new strategy for the nation's economic development - the GEAR program. GEAR was observed to hold fully-fledged neoliberal characteristics. This new policy promised that it would increase annual growth by an average of 4.2 per cent, create 1.35 million jobs by the year 2000, and boost exports by an average of 8.4 per cent per annum (Williams & Taylor, 2000). Investors, both local and foreign, applauded this announcement. Williams and Taylor (2000) remark that this was a significant policy shift whereby the undoing of apartheid's considerable inequities was no longer the primary goal. Instead, what became a priority seemed to be "good economic policy" aimed at making South Africa "competitive in the global market-place as well as creating an "enabling environment" through macroeconomic policy (Williams & Taylor, 2000, p. 32; Suttner, 2006). By positioning South Africa as an investor-friendly country GEAR adopted a "market reaction (for example, in the foreign exchange market) and notions of business confidence as the yardstick to assess government's performance." (Williams & Taylor, 2000, p. 34; Roberts, 1997). Brown reminds us that, according to Foucault, neoliberalism is a new form of governmentality whereby the market becomes a "truth" - the reality that the world and everything is organised according to its logic (Brown, 2015, p. 67).

In the early 2000s, there was a rise in "popcorn protests"[20] organised by social movement organisations in South Africa and spurred by the increase in deteriorating living conditions amongst the poor (Ngwane, 2010, para. 8). Around the same period, the then-president Thabo Mbeki launched a program called 'Vukuzenzele' which could be translated into 'arise and do it yourself' which aimed at encouraging the strengthening and extension of collective action to meet social needs in the provision

[20] Popcorn protests are sporadic protests that emerged after liberation claiming dissatisfaction with service delivery, organised by new community organisations independent of the newly-constructed hegemony of the ANC (Ngwane, 2010).

of services (Government Communications, 2006). As alluded by Mbeki under the new dispensation, developmental challenges were sought to be addressed through enhancing citizen capacities whilst dependency on the state was seen as a challenge for economic growth (Ferguson, 2006; Gürkan, 2018). It is in this context that civil society organisations like the SA SDI Alliance began using slogans such as "Nothing for us without us, no upgrading for us without us" (SA SDI Alliance, 2012, para.5). My analysis of the central overarching concept (neoliberal governmentality) has given us an insight into its manifestations in and through national policy, as well as sub-locally (via self-help organisations and leaders carrying out its mandate) (Evans, 2010; Rose, 1999).

2.5 CONCLUSION

The analysis of the theoretical frame suggests how the manifestations of neoliberalism and civic governmentality appear at the national level through policy as well as at community level via organisations such as ISN. The arguments about the functions of a neoliberal state have challenged reflexive opinions held by professionals in the development sector in relation to the positioning of NGOs to the state and communities. Provocations relating to our understanding of neoliberalism such as those relating to the contribution of NGOs to the prolongation of state rule via their work with self-help organisations such as ISN, as well as the subcontracting of governmental mechanisms to NGOs are notable examples brought forth in this chapter. The role of NGOs in creating capable citizens is noted by Ferguson (2009) as being a characteristic of neo-liberal governmentality.

This chapter has contextualised the emergence of ISN and linked it to the broader trend of a rationality based on neoliberal governmentality in South Africa. It has further described development challenges under neoliberalism that encourage self-help activities and noted how these are implicit in the work of ISN as it aims to build self-reliance amongst the urban poor in South Africa. The next chapter will further explain how activities of ISN are extensions of neoliberalism by looking at how these broad concepts are applied on the ground.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 ISN'S RESPONSE TO NEOLIBERAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

This chapter aims to develop an understanding of ISN as facilitators of participatory processes aiming to create "responsible" citizens (Brown, 2015, p. 133). I apply responsibilisation as a theoretical frame in order to unveil how ISN depoliticises participation at the community level through its community engagement tools (data collection, exchanges and saving). How does the capacitation of people enable them to become responsible citizens who might be able to get results through non-confrontational, depoliticised engagements with the state? How does inculcation of responsibilization take place? These are some questions that the chapter seeks to answer. It is organised into two broad sections: In the first section, I analyse how ISN creates urban citizenship through participation and what do they hope to gain in doing so. The second section unpacks the human side of ISN. The role of struggle-like songs and slogans and their utility as tools of education and persuasion amongst members of ISN is discussed. I provide a sketch of the kind of people that make up ISN's membership, provide insight into how they engage with local government and most importantly, how they carry and conduct themselves. At the crux of my analyses are the challenges that occur in these interactions.

3.2 'RESPONSIBILISATION' A MARKET EMBEDDED MORALITY

This chapter draws from the earlier analysis about the emergence of NGOs in Africa, as well as the implicit and explicit ways in which governmental techniques operate using various apparatuses. It further builds on Roy's earlier analysis of civic governmentality focusing on the mechanisms such populist mediation and inculcation of norms of self-rule. I primarily aim to develop an understanding of how governmental techniques permeate through and operate within the blurred relationship between civil organisations and the state. To highlight this dynamic, I examine how ISN has become a subcontractor of these governmental mechanisms while promoting good governance (Wright, 2012; Satterthwaite, 2005).

The thesis uses "responsibilization", a concept theorised by Wendy Bown (2015, p.124) whose recent scholarship has focused on neoliberalism and the political formations to which it gives rise. Responsibilisation is a governance technique that addresses the issue of governance and control (governing from a distance) through the "transformation of economic actors and actions such that teamwork and stakeholder consensus replaces individual interest…. featuring explicitly governed, responsibilised and managed subjects" Brown (2015, p. 71). It builds on the concepts of freedom of choice and individual liberties but aimed at social actor/s who assume/s moral capacities to promote self-regulation and personal risk assessment (Mills, 2013; Gürkan, 2018).

The ways of regulating oneself are promoted through various avenues including rules, norms and moral encouragement in such a way that it meshes with the "morality of the state" and the health of the economy (Shamir, 2008, p. 7; Biebricher, 2011). Often the state encourages people and communities to acknowledge their responsibility (governing their risks), tutoring people to build their capacities and become self-dependent[21]. The premise being that responsible citizens are those who can govern themselves using popular discourses or strategies such as participation, empowerment, and democratisation. People are considered capable of governing themselves if they are prepared to take responsibility for their own choices and actions, but the number of options always limited (Rose, 1999). Shamir (2008) argues that for responsibilisation to be effective, it operates at the level of individual actors performing specific roles whilst using particular identities (interest groups) to mobilise other members to perform self-governing tasks.

Likewise, when the ISN members mobilise residents in informal settlements, they do so in line with their objective of placing communities or people at the centre of development. They (ISN) advise residents to identify their challenges, thereby formulating a community level vision that will lead the community to better living conditions enabled by improved access to basic services. These community visions are achieved through seeking strategic partnerships with local government via formal Memorandum of Understandings (MOU). Such partnerships (MOUs) between the state and the SA SDI Alliance are mechanisms of "responsibilisation", replacing the "opposition or tension" between government and citizens with "collaboration and complementarity" by emphasizing that stakeholders are pursuing a common end thus shifting the responsivity from the state to actors such as ISN (Reuben, 2004; O'Meally, 2013; Brown, 2015, pp. 124-126; Shamir, 2008). Summerville, Adkins, & Kendall (2008) contend that these notions of local empowerment, capacity building and local knowledge are strategies that create a moral subjectivity of responsible self-help and self-reliant subjects. The subjects, so created through ISN activities, would produce the ends of government thus constituted as "responsibilised" individuals who are required to regulate their own lives and manage them at the micro-level (day to day practices to create efficient beings) rather than being able to challenge the neoliberal state at a macro-level (challenge why they are poor and spatial injustice) (Lister, 2002; Anwar, 2011; Brown, 2015, p. 71; Siltaoja, Malin, & Pyykkönen, 2015).

Using the SA SDI Alliance's savings tool, community members are expected to show their commitment to change by saving collectively. The savings have an individual/ community/ household benefit. However, in the responsibilization theoretical frame, community savings groups delineate governance mechanisms at the lowest level of society. Members inculcate transparency and accountability as the moral foundation of the savings group. Through regular attendance of meetings, both the committee and members have a dynamic relationship amongst each other which ensures that these values are

[21] See Mbeki's Vukuzenzele initiative

integral in the running of the group. In this case, the committee holds the rest of the savings members accountable and vice versa, ensuring that the record books are adequately recorded to prevent mismanagement of funds thereby contributing to a transparent and accountable governance structure.

Whilst dealing with governance issues, the outcome is that the savings group members are financially empowered to deal with household challenges by using the savings to pay for school fees, groceries, and home improvements. It is hoped that through savings members will gain the confidence and knowledge to deal with finances that contribute to poverty alleviation at the household level. Additionally, members are expected to gain experience to manage group dynamics that contribute to strong community-level governance structures—focusing on the creation of power within, an essential aspect of collective action. The alliance seeks to go beyond amassment of finance through slogans such as, "We do not collect the money we collect people" (SA SDI Alliance , 2012). By this members mean that during the collection of money and regular interaction among members, there is an expectation of facilitating strong social bonds, which is also the first important step for communities to deal with internal governance issues (Bolnick, 1996).

ISN members are hence empowered to simultaneously deal with internal governance issues and mobilise other members through savings. It is the savings that are said to provide a financial resource for development at the community level (Boonyabancha, 2002). Consequently, it is hoped that by applying these savings to the delivery of common goods a sense of ownership will be created amongst community members. It is said that infrastructure that is purchased and installed through community savings has a far better rate of surviving vandalism than that provided for 'free' by government. In another example, the Community Participation Fund (CPF) a community-led fund set up by the SA SDI Alliance seeks to enable communities to access financial resources for community-led development projects such as informal settlement upgrading project. Here community members are encouraged to contribute financially to their projects. The criteria include a 10% financial contribution towards the project costs, and CORC contributes 90% through donor funding for projects that demonstrate a potential to benefit the community at large. It is believed that such a project will foster efficient use of financial resources as they are targeted only to areas that are identified by the community. The project aims to ensure effective development since everyone (including the community) has put their limited financial resources where their mouth is (Boonyabancha, 2002; Hendler, 2016).

In addition to savings, Patel (2004) maintains that community members learn the process by which change can be achieved and learn to be self-reliant from each other through horizontal peer-to-peer knowledge sharing exchanges. ISN members organise knowledge-sharing exchanges at community, regional and international level. During the learning exchanges, community members come together to share good practices that are happening within their network as well as encourage each other. In some instances,

government officials are invited to learn what the community members are doing, and/or how they are interacting with the government with the hope that they (government officials) will include community knowledge in the planning process by acknowledging the urban poor as capable participants in urban development (Patel, Bolnick, & Mitlin, n.d). Through regular interactions and sharing of good practices, the urban poor's capabilities as self-reliant, capable members are encouraged, empowering them to further seek collaboration with the state to gain access to urban services. These are the hopes and aspirations on which the ISN's program for facilitating participation are based. Below, I analyse what kind of citizens are created in the process and question whether they are burdened as they carry their activities as "responsibilised" citizens (Brown, 2015, p. 84).

Depoliticising Participation

In the mid-1980s, "participation" became a buzzword in development discourse and was associated with words such as sustainable development, basic needs and capacity building (Cornwall, 2018, p. 269). Power is, as it has always been, at the centre of the participation paradigm. Nevertheless these 'new' and increasingly institutionalised understandings of empowerment sought to contain the concept within the bounds of a depoliticised participation (Harriss, 2007). In this thesis, I refer to depoliticizing participation as a process that enables participants to access the urban development process. Therefore, as part of depoliticising participation, proponents of public participation emphasised the importance of allowing citizens to meaningfully exercise their voice to shape the outcome of development that affects their daily lives without taking recourse to overtly political and confrontational power play. (Ramjee & Van Donk, 2011). Participation, however, cannot escape its inevitable politicisation as it is commonly the site of shifting power dynamics which incorporate political actors. Indeed, Cornwall (2008) suggests that people exclude themselves from participatory processes either because they have experience of being silenced by more influential voices or for fear of reprisals.

It must be noted that in South Africa participation has been decentralised to local structures through formal institutional reforms that seek to increase good governance. Participation can hence take both formal and informal structural forms. The choice made by an individual to engage in either of those two forms is determined by context. Either form of participation ought to create a conducive environment for consensus building and offer citizens an opportunity to take part in governance building (Quick & Bryson, 2016). The reality though is that they yield "varying degrees of citizen influence" (Ramjee & Van Donk, 2011, p. 15). In my analysis of participation in urban areas in South Africa, people participate mostly through formal channels. Examples of this traditional form of participation include electoral participation in the form of voting at the national, provincial and municipal level; participation at policy Imbizos[22];

[22] A Zulu word meaning 'a meeting' particularly a gathering called by an elder. The South African government uses this term to refer to policy engagement forums with communities.

representation on ward committees, and participation at council planning meetings such as Integrated Development Planning (IDP) meetings. Securing participation in these spaces as mentioned above for participation is often an official prerequisite for government service delivery; it is not always an optional means of building broad-based consensus amongst citizens.

A key reason for this is that individual choices driving the level of participation or participation at all are driven by the ever-present dynamics associated with local-level politics and power. Mitlin (2008) goes so far as to say that a citizen's choice to participate is based on their expectations of having a satisfying experience being met or unmet. Participants who have hope in influencing the process are more likely to participate. Citizens can also participate via more informal forms that may be in collaboration or confrontation with the state. Miraftab (2004, p. 1) explores the concept, "Invented Spaces", which are described as those spaces characterised as, "being occupied by the grassroots and claimed by their collective action, but directly confronting the authorities and the status quo". This form can sometimes be seen to be 'uncivic', for instance, protest action and litigation because they seek to challenge the state (Hicks 2009; Ramjee & Van Donk, 2011).

The Alliance uses non-confrontational methods when engaging with government. It seeks to genuinely depoliticise urban development in South Africa through the use of several tactics including the use of engagement tools[23], which are also used globally in the broader SDI network (currently present in 32 countries in the global South). This objective is that this toolbox is used to empower community members so that they participate and engage with the state. Empowerment in the context of community development relates to "the creation of sustainable structures, processes, and mechanism, over which local communities have an increased degree of control, and from which they have a measurable impact on public and social policies affecting these communities" (Toomey, 2009, p. 3; Bolnick, 1996).

During my fieldwork, in a meeting in K2, an informal settlement in Khayelitsha (Observation, 09 May, 2018) when I was shadowing one of the participants, the City's Transport and Urban Development Authority (TDA), presented its plan for an intervention to the community through a participatory forum, organised by them (TDA) through its interactions with ISN members. The project was a small project presented as a 'traffic calming' project at the entrance of the settlement. In this meeting, the community members showed disappointment in how small the project was and noted that the interventions will not eliminate or address crucial challenges like frequent shack fired faced by the community. Initially, the

[23] The tools include data collection (enumeration, Profiling and GIS mapping), partnerships, group savings, and learning exchanges.

community thought that the department would improve the access roads within the settlement, which would enable easy access of emergency vehicles.

While they were talking in anger one of the research participants, Ngcobo (Observation, 09 May, 2018) quickly interjected saying, “It’s important that the community brings the government closer to it and it doesn't matter how small the project is because the involvement of one department may lead to another”. One could assess this incident and suggest that Ngcobo’s statement did not necessarily mean that she did not share the views of the community but rather that her interjection aimed to steer the engagement in a direction which would not disrupt ISN’s relationship with the City (TDA). Furthermore, it showcases Ngcobo’s dynamic yet unifying role between the City’s objectives and those of the community. Although in this instance, the community did not get what they wanted, Ngcobo’s involvement demonstrated that they are citizens willing to work within the confines of the state and not challenge it.

Days after the above incident, at ISN’s regional dialogue held in Khayelitsha (Observation 12 May, 2018) I noticed that it was the first time that community leaders of RR section, an informal settlement located in Site B Khayelitsha, were attending these dialogues. Upon being asked to report on challenges plaguing their settlement the representatives of the RR section mentioned crime, flooding, sewer overflow, and lack of toilets (most of the community members use portable chemical toilets called ‘Mshengu’ which were hardly cleaned and thus posed health challenges to the community). The information that the RR Section representatives presented was certainly their reality on the ground. Still, most of the regular ISN members felt that the necessary quantitative evidence did not back it. The mobilisation strategy in these community dialogues obliged community representatives (ISN members) to share practices that would enable settlement leadership structures to gain a place at the negotiation table with government officials. It dawned on me while observing the activities of this dialogue that this form of civil discourse potentially removes barriers and increases the scale and scope of participation of the community leaders beyond discreet groups of citizens living within particular geographical areas. The result of this is an increase in the urban poor’s ability to engage with the government.

These community leaders from RR section had not used numbers to define the severity of the lack of quality sanitation facilities in their area; instead, they relied on broad-based subjective claims. The City of Cape Town uses the Western Cape Provincial Government’s standards of access to basic services which make use of a method involving the calculation of ratios of service points to users. For example, access to water is measured using a ratio of 1:25 (25 households to 1 water tap), and toilets are 1:5 (5 households to 1 toilet) (Western Cape Government, 2016 b). Numbers provide measurable estimates of the situation in respect of a settlement’s total population, the per cent of those living there without services, and the

per cent of those with access to amenities. ISN members at this regional dialogue had insights into such practices.

It is essential to realise that access to technical expertise provided by CORC enables ISN to depoliticise access to urban services. The process of delivery is presented in technocratic terms by politicians and city officials. CORC has qualified urban planners, GIS specialists, and architects who train ISN members transferring professional knowledge and tools, and developing products that further empower ISN. With the support of CORC and the much more experienced ISN members, the leaders of RR section were taught to define access to services based on the data-driven technocratic language of the City of Cape Town. The regional dialogue in Khayelitsha resolved that the community leaders of RR be supported by ISN and organise service mapping[24] of the settlement. Examples of products that are co-developed through this process include maps which might be used to show areas with vulnerabilities to flooding or to display shack numbers which are helpful in various spaces of participation. The use of GIS devices and maps to convey these and other urban services (or lack of) that can be geo-referenced transforms the politics and power relations associated with decision making in the delivery of services.

After having done this peer to peer learning exercise, RR section's leadership was then seen by ISN to be on the same level as other settlements in the ISN network in respect of their having been empowered to engage with government successfully. In particular, the counterfactual product produced through community data production both supplements and objectively challenges data and other technical tools used regularly by city officials and engineers. In the next section, I examine how the activities mentioned above in which ISN is involved seek to empower urban poor citizens, ultimately, making claims around urban citizenship.

Urban Citizenship

Urban citizenship is highly contested in South Africa, mainly because of the growth of informal settlements in the country's cities, indicating an emerging struggle in pursuit of urban inclusion (Áwumbila, 2017). Oren Yiftachel (2009b) points out that the struggle of urban inclusion holds the implication that economic inequalities between residents of the same city will also extend to basic rights to property, services and political power. Cities are viewed to be vital contributors to human capital development for their inhabitants due to the opportunities they provide (Áwumbila, 2017). Yet, as argued by seminal scholars such as Yiftachel (2009b, p.92), the divide between the haves and have-nots in cities will continue to exist due to the implementation of neoliberal policies which view urban development as

[24] Service mapping consists of detailed geospatial data collection of service points (toilets and taps) collected using GPS devices. This information is then represented in the form of a map. Examples of data points mapped through this means include toilets, taps, and informal settlement locations and extents.

spaces for "growth, efficiency, and accumulation". This is in turn prejudices and challenges the prospects of realising successful development at the community level. Therefore, understating of rights created through urban citizenship, help us develop an understanding of what members of ISN hope to gain out from participating in urban development.

Yiftachel uses the concept of "gray spaces" to describe informality by saying that it tends to lie in-between "legality/approval/safety', full membership and the "darkness of eviction/ destruction/ death" (Yiftachel, 2009a, p. 243; Yiftachel, 2009b). Also, gray spaces are distinguishable from "white spaces" in the sense that they lack integration, are eliminated from the urban fabric and therefore exist partially outside city plans (Yiftachel, 2009b, p. 93). White spaces, on the other hand, are well planned and protected by planning laws such as zoning schemes indicative of inclusion or recognition. However, the implication of this for poor households, in particular, is that finding a place to live and work in the city is a struggle with legally registered and serviced land rarely being available or affordable. Thus members of poor households resort to spaces in informal settlements to meet immediate shelter and subsistence needs (Napier, Berrisford, Kihato, McGaffin, & Royston, 2013; Huchzermeyer, 2009). In most cases, the existence of such populations is condemned and seen as chaotic and dangerous by many including the prevailing notions of urban planning (Yiftachel, 2009b). These unplanned urban zones tend to form a new form of urban segregation lacking certainty and basic services for the inhabitants to realize their urban citizenship fully (Yiftachel, 2009a).

Miraftab and Wills (2005) argue that urban citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa is built around access to housing and urban services. This argument provides little if any appreciation of citizenship, particularly as citizens can be seen to be passively assuming their rights such as a 'free house' as enshrined in the constitution. To substantiate this Heller (2009, p. 125) argues that the status of citizenship, which he calls, the bundle of rights, is different from the "practice of citizenship". Unlike national citizenship, where there is the formal documentation of citizenship, citizenship in a local (informal) community is acquired through the residence and lost in the same way through abandoning residence (Bauböck, 2003). Isin's (2008, p.15) theoretical work on contemporary forms of citizenship illustrates how certain new actors are emerging to embody particular "acts of citizenship". Through these acts, they assert themselves as claimants of rights and, by so doing, enact themselves as citizens (Holston & Appadurai, 1996).

Many factors underpin the ability of a community to come together. The interaction of community groups such as the ISN with a broader constituency of the urban poor is important. There is the sense that their collective action enables them to mobilise this constituency's latent capacity for collaboration and to encourage the involvement of external stakeholders such as the government as they seek urban citizenship.

In my observation, ISN makes particular claims about urban citizenship. Core among these is the ability for communities to take part in formal and informal forms of participation meaningfully. Furthermore, by actively participating in issues that affect their day to day lives through acts of citizenship, they enact themselves as citizens of Cape Town. ISN members recognise their lack of connectedness to the rest of the city through basic urban infrastructures such as water, toilets, electricity and houses. They actively learn the language of the city through data collection, which they present while reiterating how they are being robbed of their right to the city. I have briefly outlined how urban citizenship differs for the urban poor in competitive cities such as Cape Town. However, the crucial part of the analysis is understanding how one can claim urban citizenship through "acts of citizenship" and the benefits associated with that action (Isin, 2008, p. 15). In the next section, I analyse how these acts are cultivated among ISN members and the broader communities they engage.

3.3 CULTIVATING ACTS OF URBAN CITIZENSHIP: WHAT KIND OF CITIZEN SUBJECTS ARE CREATED?

I used my experience of attending the ISN meetings to understand how this type of civic participation aims to establish internal bonds through regular meetings in communities and sloganeering as a basis for common struggle among residents of informal settlements. Ultimately these bonds are utilised for the development of external links to political and financial power (Lemanski, 2008). In this section, I sought to answer questions relating to how ISNs tools and rituals generate ways of thinking, acting and engagement amongst who for what?. The ISN meetings always kick-started the proceedings with songs and slogans. The song's themes always revolved around the challenging living conditions in informal settlements as well as the processes of engaging with the state.

Struggle songs and slogans had a significant role in the South African liberation struggle against apartheid. They are still very much present in the communal lives of South Africans today. The use of struggle songs can be referenced to well-known South African activist, Steve Biko who described African music as a way of communication suggestive of why they continue to permeate in the present-day (Le Roux-Kemp, 2014).

> Songs and rhythm are used to 'talk about' shared experiences and from this common experience of oppression grows a culture of defiance, self-assertion, and group pride and solidarity. It not only restores Africans' faith in themselves but also offers hope in the direction taken (Le Roux-Kemp, 2014, p. 248).

Similarly, in a dialogue meeting (Observation, 01 May, 2018) held in Khayelitsha as part of preparations to meet with the Director of the Informal Settlements Department of the City of Cape Town, ISN slogans were shouted out. In the presence of 33 community leaders representing approximately 11 informal settlement pockets in Khayelitsha's Site B, Mrwebi started the meeting in prayer followed by the ISN slogan translated below:

Amandla! X2	Power! X2
Yimali Nolwazi,	Is money and knowledge
Ayilumi Ma ihlafuna!	It does not bite when it chews!

He repeated this slogan several times, moving from the front to the back of the room before stopping and saying, "I hear others are saying Amandla! ngawethu[25]! (Power is ours)'. He (Mrwebi) laughed softly then turned to the group and said,

> How can Amandla abengawethu (power be ours) when we do not have electricity, water, or toilets and live in shacks? Here [in the ISN] we say 'Amandla Yimali Nolwazi - Power is knowledge and money.' We used to say 'ngawethu (ours) during the struggle now the struggle is over, apartheid is over, and we want shared knowledge, information, and resources for development in our communities. We say 'Ayilumi Mayihlafuna' (it does not bite when it chews) because when community leaders meet with the government officials, they usually sit in the boardrooms and are given tea with biscuits. Once they taste the warm tea and sweet biscuits they forget all that they have come to meet the officials about and go back without talking about the challenges in their settlements (Observation, 01 May, 2018).

As alluded by Mwrebi in his narrative in the meeting with the Director of the informal settlement department (Observation, 15 May, 2018), the board room had a long table with seats around it and extra seats on the sides. At the back of the room, they had doughnuts, biscuits, tea, and coffee. When the meeting started, the Director of Informal Settlements called the tea lady to bring in hot water and said, "You are welcome to have some tea while we talk". The community leaders laughed and quickly said they would eat at the end of the meeting. The community leaders carried with them the same traits they had learned from ISN meetings in their respective communities – in this instance, not eating before negotiating with

[25] Amandla Ngawethu is likely the most well-known anti-apartheid slogan. The call and response, "Amandla-Awethu" rallying cry. A leader or orator calling out Amandla (power) and the group responding Awethu (ours). This was often utilised in direct marches against Apartheid officials or police and had as its object to instil fear or to intimidate" (Le Roux-Kemp, 2014, p. 250).

the City. This steadfastness of principle is certainly suggestive of a new culture and norm of discipline emerging from ISNs activities at the level of the settlement.

During apartheid, and perhaps in present times, slogans and songs are/were an effective way of "putting the audience in a particular frame of mind" (Le Roux-Kemp, 2014, p. 250). The songs and slogans that are usually sung by the SA SDI Alliance members may indeed closely resemble some of the apartheid struggle songs. Still, I noted that the ISN tweaked the meaning and structure in such a manner that they adapted the community members' current reality/conditions. Some of the songs were composed by members and coloured by their perception of the circumstances prevailing at the time of the song's composition. Le Roux-Kemp (2014, p. 251) also note a similar phenomenon is saying that "struggle music in terms of an Aristotelian rhetoric is its fluidity and flexibility to capture the emotions and articulate the conditions of the time".

We ended the dialogue meeting (Observation, 01 May, 2018) by singing another song;

Zenzele Zenzele X2	Do it you yourself x2
Siqova udaka, Sibeke is'tina	We mix the concrete, we lay the bricks
Singene endlini	We move into the house
Ngoba Siyazenzela	Because we do it our selves
Asiwafuni Amavila la x 2	We do not want lazy people here x2
Ngoba Siyazenzela	Because we do it ourselves

This song is about sharing the values and morals of the ISN members and demonstrates that their urban citizenship is accompanied by practices that require them to do things themselves and not wait for the government. This is the basis by which ISN as an organisation moves to encourage communities to be hands-on and proactive in self-governance. ISN promotes active citizenship and instils this in the residents in these spaces of participation, instilling the notion that a good citizen is one who gets up and does it him/herself rather than waits for the government.

One can see that the effectiveness of these songs lies mostly in their "ability to persuade a certain kind of behaviour" (Nkoala, 2013, p. 52). Nkoala (2013) further emphases that the persuasion can happen through the character and power of the orator. In this case, Mwrebi would start the songs as he starts or ends his meetings. The rest of the meeting's participants then sing the song creating an intimate sense of collective experience, consensus, and ultimately (later) action as each participant interprets and draws meaning from the content of the songs and slogans on their terms.

On (Observation, 21 June, 2018) when shadowing Ngcobo in the field, weeks after the engagement with RR section informal settlement at the ISN dialogues, and the meeting with the Director of Informal Settlements, the news reported a service delivery protest in RR section. The residents burned tyres, blocked the national highway (N2), and damaged municipal property including a newly built multi-million-rand community hall. On that particular day, I was meeting with Ngcobo, and her cell phone rang constantly. I noticed how intently she avoided the persistent calls. After some time, I asked her why she was not answering her phone. In response, she said the following:

> You know, the councillor blames us for what is happening in RR section. He says the community received information that they were not supposed to receive in the meetings with the director of informal settlements and now he (the councillor) is left with the mess of communities protesting for access to services. The community leaders of RR-section keep calling me. Still, I told them in the morning that an ISN member does not toy toy because they have access to information from city officials (Ngcobo, Personal Communication, 21 June, 2018).

The activities of ISN are meant to create subjects that confirm and adopt non-confrontational methods of participation. The community member's instinct may be to use the aggressive tactics that they are familiar with to draw attention to their challenges. On the other hand, this reflection by Ngcobo relating the tension points between local politics and ISNs activities is indicative of the precariousness of being a community leader and ISN member. The community mediators work in politically charged settings. They have to negotiate with and form coalitions with networks of people who are useful to their work and thus, who they do not want to make enemies out of. They are tarnished and blamed when things go wrong, so they have to tread very carefully with these relationships.

One can easily empathise with the role ISN leaders have to play as interlocutors between communities and government and make the assessment that this role could be considered a burden. In my assessment the role requires having to please the community, keep them informed, enlighten them, and get the information on the one hand; and, it requires keeping government officials and political representatives content on the other (do as they say). Trade-offs are made to maintain these working coalitions and networks; this means that there will be winners, and there will be losers, with the losers sometimes being community members themselves. Based on the assessment it seems that in many cases ISNs allegiances fall more on the side of the City and its plans, as well as with communities to who those plans are acceptable and are thus compliant. As residents of such communities, it seems the loyalty to the urban poor is compromised ethically and morally.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The chapter explored the meaning of urban citizenship in contemporary South Africa as well as some of the dynamics associated with its realisation. I explored how ‘community-led' groups, such as the ISN champion political rights of the urban poor and the kinds of rights that are created. Through the application of an analytical framework on how the concept of responsibilization relates to urban citizenship and participation. The chapter has shown how ISN’s activities attempt to create responsible citizens. I argue that the ISN mediators are burdened by the context in which they operate. They have to continually navigate and trend carefully between their (ISN) relationships with the City to participate in the urban development process fully. However, this implies that they have constantly moulded the communities which they operate into “responsible” subjects using a variety of tools such as slogans, participatory methods that aim at consensus-building (Brown, 2015, p. 133). Whilst establishing new norms of empowered and self-reliant citizens, the notion of civic participation in urban development seems to imply a compact between communities of urban citizens in the richness and complexity of their power dynamics as well as associated individual obligations; civic organisations brokering community interests (ISN) and the state. In the next chapter, I use the lived experiences of the community mediators to examine the interfaces and various kinds of power dynamics that emerge at different levels.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 TECHNOLOGIES OF GOVERNING FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE COMMUNITY MEDIATORS

This chapter attempts to analyse ISN's activities from the lens of community mediators in poor urban areas such as Khayelitsha. Individual mediators' actions are shaped by their historical backgrounds as well as by the possibilities of conduct outlined by the neoliberal state from which they seek to leverage positive change. The chapter is comprised of two sections. In the first section, using interview excerpts, I explore the historical background of the respondents to understand more about the profile of people who become ISN members and what their life trajectories have been. In the second section, I explore in detail what their day to day lived experiences suggest to us about the dynamic interfaces in the challenging community context in which they work. I concentrate mainly on their interaction with the state, community-based groups, political parties, and with broad community constituencies within Khayelitsha. Ultimately I aim to provide insight into the question of what their daily lives might tell us about ISN and how it has been engaging issues associated with urban citizenship through the means of participatory approaches.

4.2 EXPERIENCES AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY FED INTO BUILDING AGENCY TODAY

Through this thesis, I have sought to explore the lived experiences and daily practices of ISN members to shed light on nature of civic participation under neoliberalism. Closer look at the lifeworlds of ISN members sheds light on the ways in which civic participation unfolds on the ground in disenfranchised communities. Some of the central themes of my interviews with community mediators were anchored on participants' experiences of growing up in different parts of South Africa; how they had found themselves living in the area of focus (Khayelitsha); and, their pathways to becoming community mediators. Of course every individual has a back story and this, to a greater or lesser extent, influences his/her conduct or agency in the present. I trace where the community mediators are from, how their formative years influenced the people they are today, how they arrived in Cape Town, came to live precisely where they do and how they became leaders in their communities.

Introducing the Community Mediators

It is quite clear that the backgrounds and upbringing of the community mediators influenced their political agency. Ultimately this also suggests their pathways to becoming community leaders and specifically leaders of ISN. Both Ngcobo and Mwrebi joined ISN after being elected community leaders in their respective communities. The community elected Ngcobo as a community leader of UT Gardens in 2011. She credits her ability to achieve this to her participation in her high school's debating team as a teenager. Mwrebi encountered ISN in 2009 in a meeting called a 'network meeting'. This was after the community elected him as a community leader of Burundi informal settlement in 2005 and he had begun to attend community meetings in that capacity.

The network meeting was meant for community leaders of residents of informal settlements to discuss challenges relating to service delivery.

Both Ngobo and Mwrebi were both attracted to the ISN approach of engaging with the city because previous strategies for accessing services from the City they had been involved in (such as service delivery protests) had failed to produce the desired result. In Ngcobo's case, she had been involved with SANCO but felt that the engagements through that body had no room for discussions about the improvement of her settlement. She felt that SANCO prioritised issues related to people that already had houses, whereas her settlement still lacked basic services such as toilets. Davids is one of the founding leaders of ISN. After experiencing the challenges of being a backyard dweller, she had joined the South African Homeless People's Federation, after its split from the SA SDI Alliance in 2005 (which I elaborated earlier). She later joined the Western Cape backyarder's network, drawing on lessons from her previous experiences. She was later instrumental in the formation of ISN in 2008 by virtue of her work mobilising community leaders from informal settlements to join this new network.

Participant 1: Mwrebi

Mwrebi, a 38-year-old man, is married with seven children. He was born in Gauteng, in a place called Vereeniging. After his birth, he relocated back to the rural village of Colombane near the town of Tsolo in the Eastern Cape Province. He mentions that his grandfather had a strict hand, but at the same time, he taught him 'Ubuntu'[26] and how to stand up for himself. Mwrebi identified strongly with the concept of Ubuntu, placing it as the source of his identity as a community mediator. Through this concept 'Ubuntu', Mwrebi constructs his identity. Mwrebi sees himself as someone who during his upbringing was inculcated with principles associated with the importance of linking people and groups together. He also sees himself as someone who from an early age was conditioned to facilitate unity and camaraderie.

Mwrebi further traces the emergence of himself as a leader to a time after initiation school when he started a soccer team called Colombane Home Defenders which also helped to link communities in his village. That was at the time being ravaged by a livestock theft war stretching between Tsolo and neighbouring Qumbu. Subsequently, Mwrebi joined and actively engaged in the ANC youth league until he relocated to Cape Town. Mwrebi explained how the resultant change he saw in his community impacted his view of himself and his capabilities as a leader by saying, "When I saw that I had capabilities of being a leader in my community I saw that I could be a leader of any kind. I started believing in myself. That I was capable of engaging with different people, and that people could hear me" (Mwrebi, Personal Communication, 24 April, 2018).

[26] Ubuntu a Nguni term which translates as 'personhood', 'humanness', consists of the augment prefix u-, the abstract noun prefix bu-, and the noun stem -ntu, meaning 'person' in Bantu languages (Kamwangamalu & Nkonko , 1999, p. 24)

In 1996, during the civil war in Tsolo/Qumbu, Mwrebi's father was shot dead and his homestead burnt to ashes for his involvement in the conflict. Mwredi was 16 years old when his father was killed and had to stop schooling to provide for his family. When he arrived in Cape Town in 1998, he lived in Dunoon at an informal settlement called eThembeni. In eThembeni he shared a shack with his brother and three other men. He recollects how they still depended on the family in the Eastern Cape for survival because they did not have jobs for almost a year. In 2005 his wife and three children followed him to Cape Town, moving to an informal settlement in Mfuleni called Burundi. It was in Burundi where he was first elected a community leader in 2005.

Participant 2: Ngcobo

Ngcobo is a 37-year-old female. Nqobo arrived in Cape Town in 2005 in search of a job and a better life. It seems that her social networks had given her insights into how better life was available in Cape Town. She already had kin-based social networks in Cape Town. When she initially arrived in Cape Town, she stayed with her brother and his family in a shack in UT Gardens, Khayelitsha. After two years she looked for a shack of her own in the same informal settlement. She had two children, both of whom live in the Eastern Cape. She was pregnant with her third child during the fieldwork. She resided in UT Gardens, an informal settlement established in 1985 and located in Site B Khayelitsha. At the time of the fieldwork she was preparing to move to Emsindweni informal settlement in Makhaza, Khayelitsha located East of Site B. This newly established informal settlement was a result of a land invasion by settlers from Khayelitsha in April 2018.

Ngcobo was born in the town of Stutterheim, located in the Amathole District of the Eastern Cape. According to Ngcobo, her family prohibited her from partaking in any community activities, let alone attend a community meeting. She attended her first community meeting when until she arrived in Cape Town and after she owned her shack. I did find it curious that on the surface, hers' was a background that was relatively sedate in respect of any early activism. However, she mentions that once the community elected her as a community leader, she also served as a committee member in the Ward Branch Executive Committee of the ANC, in Khayelitsha. Through her membership in the committee, she was seconded to the Khayelitsha youth development forum as a treasurer. However, she stopped being active because she had to attend a lot of activities without financial compensation for the work. Some other questions that remain unanswered relate to her status as a woman in her brother's home. Was her brother being strict on her and was he patriarchal? Is this the reason she did not participate actively in spaces of activism until she owned her shack? Could her brother's patriarchy have influenced her decision to move out, live alone, and be independent? It is also possible that she might attribute her independence to growing up in a household led by her mother, with her father absent during most of her childhood life.

Ngcobo reflected on the extent to which she had been affected by the conditions she found herself in as an informal settlement resident and as a community leader. She also reflected about the impact this had on how

she lives her day to day life, as well as its impact on her agency. In the excerpt below, she argued that staying away from her children gives her the ability to do her job as a community leader and respond to people's needs immediately.

> I have two boys, they both live in the Eastern Cape, and there is one on the way who will be born in July……I do not stay with my children because of the challenges related to my work. You see here in Cape Town if you stay with your children you would be in trouble. I feel children need to grow up in a warm, loving environment. There's a lot of crime here, and children must stay in Eastern Cape and be loved because here we are always moving up and down, once you are given the task of being a community leader, and you always have to be on the move. I wouldn't have the time for my children because I would always be moving up and down. For example, I would be at home, and a community member would knock on my door and say their shack has been flooded. I have to be quick and help them, that's why there is no way that as a community leader you can stay with your children (Ngcobo, Personal Communication, 21 April, 2018).

Ngcobo reflected on the conditions she lived in the informal settlement, highlighting that it is unsafe and not a suitable environment for her children's upbringing.

Participant 3: Davids

Davids is a 42-year-old woman who is in her second marriage. She is a mother to 10 children, four of her own from her previous marriage and six stepchildren from her current marriage. Davids lives in a housing development named Ruo Emoh with her husband and children. Ruo Emoh (Our Home spelt backwards) is a community housing development that was completed at the end of 2017 after a 20-year process of negotiation with the government for a township establish and allocation of the housing subsidy.

The origins of Ruo Emoh can be traced to 1997 when to the efforts of backyarders and tenants in Manenberg and Mitchells Plain. Strained by poor living conditions and feeling dissatisfied for waiting for government subsidised housing, they established the Ruo Emoh Housing Savings Scheme. The backyarders of Manenberg established the savings scheme under the South African Homeless People's Federation. In 1999, the Ruo Emoh group, supported by the South African Homeless People's Federation and uTshani Fund, purchased a piece of undeveloped land in Colorado Park (SA SDI Alliance, 2018). Davids refers to herself as being instrumental in building ISN, and this is possible because she has a successful story to tell about Ruo Emoh.

She was born in Cape Town in a community called Rylands and lived in that neighbourhood until the age of 19. By the age of 16, and throughout her regular visits to her mother in Manenberg, she had taken an interest in working with the youth. She used jazz music to attract the youth and keep them off the streets and during

these sessions also delivered motivational talks. Through this work, she developed an understanding of the systemic social problems in Manenberg including lack of proper homes, parental drug use, gangsterism, and lack of discipline for most of the youth she was working with.

When Davids was 19, she moved to Manenberg with her mother shortly before her mother's infirmity. Manenberg is characterised by two-bedroom multi-story housing units constructed in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Most of the residents rent the flats from the City of Cape Town, this having been the case. If families were unable to fit into the unit or wanted to earn rental income, the family built a backyard shack. These backyard shacks would not have adequate access to toilets, electricity or water. The persons residing in the backyard shack referred to backyarders or backyard dwellers, would rely heavily on the residents of the main flat for services (most of the time, the landlord abuses the relationship). This informal adaptation persists to the present day with backyard shacks representing an ongoing problem for the City.

Even though Davids regarded Manenberg as a gangster-ridden area, in her narrative, she also hoped that through education, her children could get a better future:

> Manenberg is a drug and gangster-infested community. Bringing up children in Manenberg is very difficult because I have three girls and one boy of my own. I send all of them to a school outside Manenberg so that they can get a better education. I could see already what Manenberg was looking like, not that there is a lot of negatives. There is a lot of positives in Manenberg because you get a lot of matriculants, a lot of lawyers, a lot of doctors, there are people who know how to handle themselves in a community of this nature. A lot of shooting has sometimes made me sad because a lot of times you fear for the life of your children, your neighbours and everybody else around you. Living in Manenberg is not that good, but it's also not that bad (Davids, Personal Communication, 21 April, 2018).

This excerpt shows that through her experience of her community - as well as through being mindful of the power of her agency as a member of that community - she can see the good and the bad and perhaps the possibilities for change. It seems that her impetus for continuing to participate in urban issues is based on some examples of successful progress she sees in her community.

4.3 THE EXPERIENCE OF CONFLICT, VIOLENCE AND LOCAL POWER

All three participants were born between 1975 and 1981. This was a period in South Africa that saw a surge in anti-apartheid uprisings and organising around the creation of local power and representation (South African History Online, 2013). In their teenage years, Mwrebi, Ngobo, and Davids witnessed and took part in different forms of organising linked to the creation of local power structures. This bearing witness to the creation of local

power can broadly be associated with events of violence and conflict either directly associated with events directly in the participant's locale or across South Africa in general. In the sections below, I briefly sketch out such events experienced by Mwrebi and Davids, which took place within the local contexts in which they grew up.

In Mwrebi's case, he spoke of experiences where he appeared to be actively involved in a variety of different organising groups. In the case of Ngcobo and Davids, who are incidentally both woman, they seemed to be observers in their respective communities during this period of protest. However, their involvement in their capacity as observers does not necessarily mean that they themselves were not active participants in the events. Benya (2015) recognizes the importance of gender roles in the South African political sphere, particularly where conflict is involved, such as during protest action. She notes that women may seem invisible within the frontline because of cultural values and beliefs. Thus, women may sometimes play a supportive role to protesters by assuming cultural gender roles and undertaking tasks associated with these such as cooking, washing, and taking care of the wounded.

Narratives about the Encounter with Violence in Qumbu, Manenberg and Stutterheim

Mwrebi grew up in an area called Qumbu/Tsolo in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. Qumbu/Tsolo were both located within the Transkei homeland during the year of apartheid. During the 1990's Qumbu and Tsolo were ravaged by violence related to livestock-theft. Anthony Minnaar (as Cited in Kohnert, 2003, p.10) characterizes the war in Qumbu between residents accusing each other of stocktheft as "South Africa's most underreported war zone" with the war claiming over a thousand lives. "Just for the period of 1994 -1997, the police reported 1,021 murders and 424 cases of attempted murder" (Kohnert, 2003, p. 14; Peires 2000).

The administration of General Holomisa (1988 to 1994) as Head of Government of the Transkei homeland saw a considerable weakening of the state's security organs accompanied by an upsurge in popular and democratic activity. Traditional leaders had already looked for informal structures of self-defence and developed a self-help attitude to justice. Amidst the growing insecurity traditional policing by "vigilante groups" called Mfelandawonye closely related to the traditional occult belief system and its secret cults of policing was revitalized (Kohnert, 2003, p. 15). Mwrebi alludes to the community's lack of trust in the authorities and the impacts that this had for community, in the excerpt below:

> I remember one day, there were digger loaders that were fixing the access roads in the neighbouring villages, and at night, after working in one of the villages, they moved towards our village. [Laughs softly] You will not believe that on that day most of the people in the village quickly ran to hide in the forests and they were scared to come out till morning. When everyone saw the big lights from the digger loaders, they all cried out saying, "there is the police coming, we are all going to die!" And

> everyone just ran to sleep in the forest. That incident showed me that most of the people in the village do not know what to believe in anymore they can no longer even recognize good things coming their way (Mrwebi, Personal Communication, 24 April, 2018).

From the perspective of villagers in the Transkei,[27] this incident suggests a transition from apartheid to post-apartheid state, the associated inclusion of the homelands, and the extension of modernity into these previously underserved areas.

Similarly, to Mrwebi, Ngcobo grew up in the Eastern Cape in a small town called Stutterheim, about 90 kilometres north of East London and 110 kilometres south of Queenstown created in the 1880s. The district is formerly the heartland of the Ngqika Xhosa chiefdom and one of the main sites of conflict in the nineteenth-century colonial border area. Stutterheim was one of the Cape Province districts that held African settlements under diverse administrative arrangements (Wotshela, 2009).

The areas where Mwrebi and Ngobo grew up shared the feature that they related to the legitimacy and power of one group versus another. The apartheid state in general, and its policing structures in the Transkei in particular, were not considered as legitimate by the local population. They were built on colonial forms of control and had been designed to guarantee the state monopoly of violence. These systems of control were often executed in close collaboration with traditional chiefs and did not deliver beneficial policing services to residents. As the post-apartheid state emerged, traditional leaders of Transkei districts had to face another, namely the new model of rural local government introduced in 1995 (Wotshela, 2009). The conflicts of legitimacy lived by Mwrebi and Ngobo were on the one hand connected to a long history of resistance and revolt and on the other, associated with and suggestive of, a new logic of activism associated with the advent of the post-apartheid state.

The context of Manenberg, the setting of Davids' origin story, is quite different from that of the Transkei from where Mwrebi and Ngobo hail. Manenberg is about 20km away from the city centre of Cape Town, and arguably far from economic opportunities. Certainly, when it was established in 1966 by the apartheid government under the Group Areas Act (Act No 41 of 1950),[28] the government sought to isolate its population from other groups in the city. The government declared Manenberg a coloured area. Jacobs (2010) observes that Manenberg was designed to put the residents at a disadvantage—away from work, public amenities, and other opportunities. In the early years of apartheid, gangsters had legitimacy in communities such as Manenberg

[27] Transkei, formally known as the Republic of Transkei. It was an independent state from South Africa (with its own constitution) between 1976 and 1994. It was later integrated into South Africa and in 1995 the new model of rural local government introduced (Wotshela, 2009).

[28] Group Areas Act is key piece of apartheid legislation associated with the physical separation of the races (Coloureds, Indians, Africans, and Whites) into different residential areas through forced removals.

due to their ability to provide for various families as well as keep order. However, this relationship eroded due to the increase of corrupt cops and violent activities linked to gangsters that were in prison (Taheri-Keramat, 2013).

Davids grew up seeing many gangs instigated incidents of violence, most notably those associated with the rise of drug distribution and 'drug pushing' on the streets of Manenberg. Davids saw the challenges such as gangsterism and drug abuse facing the youth in Manenberg and started organizing the youth around dance so that they could have something to do. In the 1980s, after the call of exiled ANC members called for anti-apartheid action, the nexus of political activists and gangsters made Manenberg ungovernable (Jacobs, 2010). This contributed to the government further steering away from places like Manenberg and labelling them as dangerous no-go zones. In 1985 the government declared a state of emergency in an attempt to buttress the state's powers on the ground and extend the utilization of the security forces in the townships (South African History Online, 2013; Robins, 2002).

My observation is that Ngcobo is quite different from the other two community mediators (Mwrebi and Davids) who I interviewed about their engagement with communities. In contrast, Ngobo's motivations for engaging in community-related matters motivated more by her newfound personal independence after moving from her brother's house into her shack rather than the experiences of collective action of Mwrebi and Davids.

In Mwrebi and Davids' cases, they had an interest in organizing the youth in their communities from an early age. Mwrebi recounted seeing how the youth in Qumbu/Tsolo were being used by the elders to perpetuate the civil war. He felt that because they had nothing else to do, they followed the command from the adults that were instigating the fighting. He used soccer to organize the youth, which resulted in the youth and adults from the different villages coming together to watch the matches. As a young adult, while working as an armed security guard specializing in cash in transit, Mwrebi became involved in the worker's union, the South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU). It was there that he became fully aware of the magnitude of violence that characterised his childhood and community. According to Mwrebi, being an armed security guard implied carrying a gun, something he was not particularly fond of because it reminded him of the violence in his youth. Unhappy about the memories his job evoked, he then became a shop steward for five years at SATAWU representing workers in disputes with their employers.

Davids reflected on her younger years, saying that when she was younger, she organized the youth under the Dullah Omar branch of the ANC Youth League. However, upon realizing that there was not much impact on youth lives through party politics, she then became more interested in organizing the youth in her community and backyard dwellers in Manenberg. Mwrebi joined the ANC Youth League (hereafter ANCYL) when he was

14 years old and still leaving in Colombane. At that age, he could not differentiate between the ANCYL and SANCO which he would encounter in great relief after moving to Cape Town.

In the cases of all three community mediators, their upbringing was influenced to a greater or lesser extent by community violence. The three though did grow up and operated in contextually distinct but similarly politically charged and violent settings but the extent to which these life experiences and settings have shaped the way they conduct themselves as mediators are unclear. When they moved to the city (Davids relocates from Rylands to Manenberg), they experienced economic disparity, mass unemployment and deprivation. Through their narratives, we also see that Davids and Mwrebi, in particular, transpose their experience of leadership and mobilisation the Eastern Cape and Manenberg in the context of political and civil society structures onto the context of Khayelitsha and into their current roles as mediators with ISN. The conduct(s) of the communities they lead is built from past experiences of successfully organising people. It is also shaped by what I have described as post-apartheid neoliberalism.

4.3 NAVIGATING ISSUES ABOUT LEGITIMACY ON THE GROUND

As much as we understand the emergence of the community mediator's agency, it is important to understand how it is that they have the legitimacy to operate in these communities in Khayelitsha. What are the implications, conflicts and contradictions of their activities on the day to day lives as they interact with communities, political representatives (ward councillors), political parties, other civil society organisations as well as the State? I particularly draw on how ordinary community members, particularly the poor interact with people that claim to be representing their interests. I am interested in how communities leverage these relationships in return for services. Similarly, at the crux of the thesis is how the selected community mediators were elected community leaders at some point and why. Although during the period of the fieldwork they were not acting as community leaders but continued to work in the capacity of representatives of informal settlement residents. I was interested in how they have to wear different caps at certain instances, shifting between roles as they navigate the context. Particularly about their associations to political parties in their private lives but are not when interacting with community members in the activities of ISN which aimed at capacitating residents to self-represent. Lastly, I wrap up the section by looking at the elements of accountability and transparency that may justify the credibility of these community mediators in such communities.

Legitimacy as Representatives of the Poor

Through the past experiences of these community mediators, I aim to draw attention to what may be the reality for many residents of Khayelitsha. Unlike Davids, who was born in of Cape Town, Ngcobo and Mwrebi came to the city in search of employment opportunities. They had neither an income nor a livelihood when they arrived in Cape Town and recounted living in squalid and unsavoury shack settlements. With no higher education qualifications, they prepared to gain employment in the low income, low skills sectors in the city.

Ngcobo studied a short petrol attendant and cashier course. Mwrebi built his resume by doing a course in security and risk management. However, even after having studied both Mwrebi and Ngcobo still encountered difficulties in accessing employment and only sometime after were able to find employment. This employment meant money for each of them. But the wages were so meagre that this did not necessarily make it possible for them to move out of the informal settlements. They earned just enough to get by and survive in the city.

Mrwebi recollects that even though he was eventually able to access a piece of 'free' land where he could build his shack, the people that called themselves community leaders at the time demanded a bribe from him. They also threatened to report him to the City authorities for settling without a formal agreement from the City if he did not comply. Mwrebi (Personal Communication, 24 April, 2018) says: "I told them that I do not have electricity. I don't have anything, I am just starting my life…" Here we see elements of bribery and corruption. Frequently, community leaders and church leaders are portrayed as ethical people who are only interested in making life better for everybody. We all know though that this isn't necessarily the case. One can imagine the pain and frustration of community leaders operating in this impoverished environment. The community mediators themselves were once elected community leaders, and thus they have an understanding of what this role entails and what the challenges are. Through their encounters with ISN, it seems the mediators subsequently gained access to tools that brought them closer to the state and which enabled them to eventually gain services for their settlements which had previously seemed less attainable. From Mwrebi's narrative, we can also assume the level of frustration of community members, engulfed in poverty without services. The pressure of an environment where patronage and corruption prevail is also evident.

Javier Auyero's work on Argentinian urban setting and Claire Bénit-Gbaffou's work with Johannesburg residents showcase how poor urban residents access services in exchange for political favours with political patrons (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2011; Auyero, 2000). Bénit-Gbaffou (2011) makes a distinction between bad and good clientelism based on the outcome of the interaction and its benefits to the participants. Good clientelistic behaviour refers to relationships that benefit the residents. Auyero focuses on the power dynamics between the political patron and the urban residents and notes that this power dynamic will determine the outcomes of the political exchange.

The SA SDI Alliance always says they discourage party politics . They expect their meetings to be politically neutral when negotiating with whoever is in power. The implication of this is that the mediators' political agency is inexorably linked to and potentially diminished by the positioning of the SA SDI Alliance partners concerning government. This does not mean though that ISN members cannot and do not participate in party politics at the branch level in their capacity. As a researcher, I requested to join meetings where the mediators engaged with the local political party branches. They were not enthusiastic about the prospects of my attending a party meeting with them because even though I was a researcher in their eyes I was still a staff member from the CORC. Their reluctance also stemmed from the fact that the SA SDI Alliance always maintained that they

discouraged party politics in their meetings, which then made it impossible to see how any of the three interviewed mediators engaged in such spaces.

This espoused detachment from party politics and the City's knowledge of this also manifested during a meeting with the Director of the Informal Settlements Department from the City of Cape Town held at the City's boardroom the agenda of which concerned access to services in informal settlements (Observation, 15 May, 2018). This meeting included representatives from various departments[29] at the City. Also present were several community leaders from various informal settlements[30]. After the introductions, the Director said, "I hope everyone has left their political jackets in the boot. We are only here as members of the community representing the challenges we face," before turning to the City officials to check if they were familiar with the informal settlements that the community leaders had mentioned (Observation, 15 May, 2018).

Similarly, in the dialogue held at Khayelitsha, TB section community hall (Observation 21 June 2018) there was a delegation made up of participants that had come from other provinces for a learning exchange in Cape Town. Amongst the delegates was an ISN member from Gauteng province, who wore a brown leather jacket on which was an ANC logo. Even though it was a very small logo on the jacket, it did not go unnoticed in the meeting. While chairing the meeting, Ngcobo commented on how all the community leaders in the room voted for a political party and were active in their constituencies. She went on to say that upon coming to ISN meetings members were discouraged from wearing party-branded clothing on the basis that it may disrupt people from talking about the challenges in the communities and devolve into party political conflict. She then asked the man not to wear his jacket the next time he came to ISN meetings.

Ngcobo said even though she joined the ISN, she was initially sceptical, especially since it appeared as if the CORC[31], had a very close relationship with the City of Cape Town. Ngcobo said:

> Remember that the City of Cape Town is under the DA. There was this challenge that Khayelitsha was under a different political party… So I started searching and sometimes having a feeling that these people are the opposition party. Still, when I looked at the national structure of the SA SDI Alliance, I saw that everyone was close to the government. Still, the difference was here in the Western Cape because the government was DA (Ngcobo, Personal Communication, 21 April, 2018).

From my assessment, it seems party politics are hard to escape from in any given setting. Perhaps this is especially true of these underserved neighbourhoods/townships where survival is the order of the day and the

[29] The Informal Settlements Department and officials from other City departments including Water and Sanitation, Electricity, Waste Collection, Transport Development Authority (TDA), Planning and Law Enforcement
[30] Eleven Informal settlements across Khayelitsha, which were also part of the regional meetings
[31] ISN has an MOU with the City of Cape town, however, the MOU was initiated through the technical support of CORC

persistent negative legacies of the country's past, the haves and the have-not is still coloured by the intersection of race and party politics. The community mediators are very much aware of this. They do their best to navigate these politically charged settings. Still, it is not easy because they too are subjective and thus support certain parties and have negative notions of some other political parties. Yet, they compromise some of these beliefs to get the job of mobilising the urban poor done.

An assumption I have made in attempting to understand where the community mediators draw their legitimacy from is that in part it likely stems from their demonstrable ability, as ordinary people, to access services that benefit the urban poor. They might have power as community mediators, but they might not have the power to effect change in their neighbourhoods or amongst their constituencies unless and until they liaise with ward councillors so that the issues are escalated in council meetings. This can be seen as an example of Foucauldian notion of power as something that is pervasive, ubiquitous and fluid and something that is in a continuous state of flux between different actors.

After all, what's wrong with capacitating people to become responsible citizens who are able to get results through non-confrontational engagements with the state? What makes this depoliticising? How does this kind of 'politics', for instance, change the structure of people's demands or shift the risks of social reproduction back onto the poor? The ordinary nature of the community mediator's characters and the familiar burdens they carry as ordinary people is laid out bare in front of community members they mobilise. Women such as Ngcobo and Davids, for instance, have time to devote to community development projects but as females have multiple burdens such as childbearing and income-earning commitments. Davids recalled that she used to bring her youngest son to meetings. And, when he fell asleep, she would find a safe corner to put him to sleep safely. Davids lamented that she sometimes would get home at 02h00 after long community meetings. Both women experience conflict in priorities have to deal with their socially defined day to day activities such as child-rearing while at the same time participating in their broader community work. Nevertheless, Ngobo and Davids present recognisable reflections for fellow women and mothers present in community meetings. They show that being members of ISN may be something quite challenging yet simultaneously demonstrate that being a woman and a mother does not present an insurmountable barrier inhibiting from being productive participants in effecting change.

Equally important is how community mediators can adapt and change roles. The three community mediators I followed dressed casually in meetings involving community members and wore formal wear when meeting with government officials, particularly when meeting with more senior of the officials. In meetings, they carried notebooks and pens to take notes and brought attendance registers which they passed around during the meetings. These also formed part of the accountability required by CORC to report on the use of funds upwards

to their donors. All three used smartphones [32] mainly to access their emails and social media platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp.

Other community leaders in the network copy this behaviour. In the meeting with the Director of the Informal Settlements Department (Observation, 15 May, 2018), the community members who had been selected to do the presentation were smartly dressed with one even wearing a tie. The leaders began by speaking in IsiXhosa, but at a certain point one particularly sharply dressed ISN leader who chose to speak in English paused in the middle of a sentence while struggling to find his words. The other leaders stopped him and asked him to use isiXhosa so that he could properly articulate the challenges faced by the community. A staff member from CORC then had to translate the conversation even though the translation was mostly during the presentations. The community would nod when the director of the Informal Settlements Department spoke in English as a sign to show that they understood. Some community members had notebooks; during the presentation, they used the map to tell their story. To an extent, the City officials also got up to use the map as an interactive tool to show where the technical challenges were or where the community would have to open access roads to allow for services.

Therefore, in my assessment, it seems the community mediator's source of power and legitimacy in Khayelitsha stems from the ability to showcase that any ordinary individual can develop skills and the capabilities to address their challenges. Assets, such as the ability to (either directly or with the assistance of the CORC professionals) wield technical language, and to be comfortable wearing formal codes ease communicative planning with city officials. Where usually these technical lexicons and codes of dress associated with the spaces inhabited by city officials pose as intimidating obstacles for community members, ISN members have been able to surmount this. However, there are aspects of the community mediators socio-economic lives that were contradictory [33] to being labelled as 'poor'. For example, Davids and Mwrebi had what would be considered cars for the wealthy - BMWs - and Davids drove a gold one series gold whilst Mwrebi drove a silver 330i BMW. Ngcobo was still using public transport but would get a lift from them whenever she requested.

[32] The use of smart phones cannot be associated with an increase in income rather as commonly used devices in even poor communities. Particularly due to accessibility to information. In this case I highlight the use of smart phones as devices used to keep up to date and be in contact with stakeholders. As part of facilitating their engagements CORC gives the mediators weekly airtime vouchers.

[33] The community mediators receive a monthly stipend as part of facilitating their ability to move across the city for various meetings. My assessment is that even though they still reside in informal settlements they regard the ability to move around important. Although I cannot explain the particular choice of car brands, I presume it has to do with reliability of the transportation means. Davids, narrated a story where she got a tyre puncture at night out of Khayelitsha at night and how scared she became due to the crime rates.

Credible Representatives of the Urban Poor?

In attempting to understand the extent to which ISN (through the conduct of the community mediators) is perceived as credible in the eyes of local politicians and communities, I looked for signals from these two groups that may indicate this. For communities, the engagement with political structures and bureaucratic process at both the city and also ward level is challenging. Access to spaces where actual decisions about the development of informal settlements are made by elected ward councillors such as council chambers is more challenging still. How do ISN members balance these relationships, maintaining credibility with the community on the one hand and sustaining and developing cooperative relationships with the city (which often is sub-optimal is their responsiveness to community need) on the other? Also, how are relationships maintained at the level of local political representation such that councillors will support budget allocations enabling ISN supported projects to be voted on at the council level?

> Our strategy is to do our groundwork very well. We will engage with the councillors in our wards so that when we go to the sub-council meetings, the councillors do not feel challenged, but see us be working towards the same goal (Mwrebi, Personal Communication, 24 April, 2018).

The idea is to keep the councillor informed and recognise that the councillor represents the formal structure of participation. This acknowledgement also helps in getting political championing for projects and for enabling resolutions to be voted in at the sub-council or council level. The main diagnosis identified for councillor's inability to respond to community challenges is that they are too detached from their constituencies (Ramjee & Van Donk, 2011). For instance, Mwrebi related there was a general belief held by communities that once some party members were elected as councillors, they would start earning more money which would afford them a decent home. They would then move out of the informal settlements and lose touch and sight of the issues faced by residents. At the same time, councillors are known to be equally frustrated by the slow pace of change and inability to influence change in the communities they represent (Ramjee & Van Donk, 2011).

It seems that as a network that represents the interest of the urban poor ISN had to build their credibility through acknowledgement of, and even loose coalition with, existing structures representing this constituency – SANCO being one of them. SANCO has a long history of mobilising and representing the interest of the marginalised in the townships such as Khayelitsha. Davids (Personal Communication, 21 April, 2018) recalled that during the mobilization of settlements in Khayelitsha, she and Mwrebi had to go through SANCO before talking to the community leaders. As part of the mobilization processes, ISN member initiates meetings with

community leaders of informal settlements convincing them to join ISN. Ngcobo recalled that when she was elected a community leader, she had to start attending SANCO meetings[34].

Although, it seems both civic organisations have different views around their association with political parties. SANCO and ISN are natural coalition partners in a loose sense. Both are ultimately concerned with a similar subset of issues (SANCO have their objectives and ISN have theirs, but they share enough to be noteworthy). There is an overall perception that SANCO is affiliated with the ANC. Therefore, it makes it hard to work with them beyond certain issues. This view amongst others is also based on SANCO's roles during the 1995 and 2000 local government elections, where the ANC sought SANCO's support for door-to-door community campaigns in return for greater acknowledgement of SANCO's role as an alliance partner (Zuern, 2004).

The ISN community mediators acknowledge the need to penetrate a community based on the ability to navigate the tensions on the ground.

> First, you make an appointment with the community leaders. Remember the settlements in Khayelitsha will say go to SANCO – they don't talk to you they will send you to SANCO, and that's what we had to do. We first had to go to the structures before we could even have an engagement with the community and the leaders (Davids, Personal Communication, 21 April 2018).

However, this relationship (ISN and SANCO) too is dynamic, and highly variable. One day they are a coalition, competitors the next. Ngcobo (Personal Communication, 21 April, 2018) recalls that it was in the SANCO meetings that ISN had come to present, and she became interested in being part of the ISN. She did though point out that her interest in the ISN sparked a lot of conflict within SANCO. This was because it was close to the 2014 national elections. Also, around this time SANCO saw non-ANC organisations threatening to their hegemony because of the rise of the student movements (#RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall movements) and The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) in 2013 (Stewart, 2019).

Davids (Personal Communication, 21 April 2018) recalled an incident that involved her being called again to present about the dynamics and workings of the ISN in a SANCO meeting in Khayelitsha in the year 2013/14. This ended in being held hostage overnight by SANCO leaders in a community hall because the SANCO member mistook her presentation for a presentation by a political party representative. In an interview excerpt below, Davids recalled her unpleasant ordeal at the hands of SANCO representatives in Khayelitsha:

[34] Most Communities in Khayelitsha still recognise SANCO as the mouth piece of their challenges and community leader's network with SANCO with the hope to gain access to services.

> When we first had our engagement with SANCO, that's when I first asked myself what was I doing here? … the only thing that they were telling us is that we are liars, we are full of politics, then the SANCO members locked the doors, and we couldn't go home. The SANCO members lost me in translation somehow. After they released us, I remember I told myself that I wasn't going to go back to Khayelitsha (Davids, Personal Communication, 21 April 2018).

Given their knowledge of the context, once they (community mediators) have access to the community, they also seek to work with legitimate and credible people. An example of this would be a community leader who has legitimacy in the eyes of the community but who also will not jeopardise the name of ISN through actions such as corruption or bribery.

4.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has given insights into the lived experiences of ISN members on the ground. Throughout the chapter, we can see that the community mediators have fundamentally different life trajectories and influence on civic participation. These life stories are influenced by multiple factors, intersecting courses, and historical and recent lived experiences. These factors and experiences include family values and socio-economic conditions, the living conditions in the neighbourhoods they grew up in, as well as those encountered later in their lives, and experiences of post-apartheid governance structures. Through descriptive accounts of the community mediators, we see conflicting ideas about their role as agents of participation, which relate to their credibility and legitimacy to them as individuals and ISN as a collective.

The context in which these relationships occur means that on the ground reality for community mediators necessitates them being one person encompassing multiple and fluid roles, constantly adapting to varying and dynamic contexts. I have argued that in this challenging context, ISN mediators present themselves as ordrinary individuals who can improve their living conditions through hard work. This presentation becomes a source of their legitimacy. Furthermore the mediators recognize that the community and context they inhabit is ever-changing and fluid. Against this backdrop, they engage with existing recognized structures to facilitate their work, build accountability and credibility in the eyes of community members they serve.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The concluding remarks highlight the main arguments of this thesis which pertain to the challenges of participation within neoliberalism. My research is situated the context of a post-apartheid South Africa where neoliberal governmental policy overlays a rights-based approach seeking redress for persistent socio-economic inequalities. My research revolved around the problem of facilitating citizen participation by ISN. My analysis drew on literature associated with the operation of a sovereign neo-liberal state, founded particularly on Foucault's concept of governmentality and its associated notion of "conduct of conduct" (Brown, 2015, p. 117). I sought to observe and develop insights into the nature of citizen participation within the bounds of governmentality and understand the utility or value of certain types of conduct to individuals, communities, and the state.

ISN is part of the SDI SA Alliance, an alliance of community-based organisations (ISN, FEDUP) and a professional support NGO (CORC) concerned with issues of human settlement in the urban informal space. I argue that ISN, particularly the conduct its leaders embody and promote, is itself an indirect product of neoliberal policy, resultant devolution of state functions, and responsibilization of citizens. There are three main research questions which the research sought to provide answers to: Firstly, I sought to understand the form of participation employed by ISN in creating responsible citizens. Linked to this, I wanted to understand the type of citizen created through these forms of participation. I also wanted to understand the interplay between ISN's formation of communities as groups of governable subjects and the associated moral burdening of ISN mediators who seek to balance complexities of local and city politics, community activism, and personal interest. Ultimately the thesis sought to describe and analyse ISN's participatory practices and the ways in which these shaped community members as responsible citizens.

The form that the ISNs work about participation takes is broad and both hierarchically and horizontally networked. In the first case, the ISN has been able to take a consistent position as a key interlocutor between communities of informal settlement dwellers and various spheres of government. As such ISN, with assistance from CORC, maintains influential networks with various levels of government as well as relevant departments and directorates associated with settlement upgrading. Linking back to neoliberal themes of efficiency and information, CORC equips ISN with technical skills and language that is required to understand their communities better as well as communicate with city officials to bridge the participation process in urban development. CORC then packages this evidence that is generated by ISN in reports to lobby the government to formulate policies that are responsive to the challenges on the ground. Themes that require further exploration include the role of NGOs and their relationships to civic organisations such as ISN, including the blurring of identities between these structures, their nature and, the sources of their ideological and political approaches.

At settlement level, horizontal peer networks of community members and leaders engaged in group savings and participating in community and network meetings afford ISN legitimacy and credibility. The outcomes of the savings groups, for instance, are clear: they are about empowering the individual to engage in governance structures that are accountable and transparent as well as having access to finances to solve households and community challenges. ISN provides a conduit of formal and informal participation, reaching from informal settlement households to key areas of influence and power.

ISN's participatory forms are broad-based at the grassroots and community-led. The organisation draws credibility and legitimacy from its commitment to being a people's organisation led by people recognisable as being from the same constituency as those people they represent. I interviewed three Cape Town-based ISN leaders, all three of whose formative years took place in a transitionary period in South Africa's history. Notably, this period saw the democratic, equal under law inclusion of racially segregated areas into the wider South Africa, and resultant increase of rural to urban migration as citizens sought greater wellbeing. A common theme among the three mediators uncovered by the research was that each had in one way or another rejected forms of confrontational and disorderly protest which all had experienced or been involved in. In all three cases, there was evidence of political activism and even leadership at some point in their history. All three though expressed that the apolitical, non-violent, and collaborative, participatory form of ISN had taken precedence over formal political structures due to its perceived ability to transcend issues deemed not to be immediately beneficial to them. The characteristics of the mediators show that participation requires sophisticated and complex skills to mediate between the state and urban poor. We have seen that the community mediators have and exact agency and they couple this with technical knowledge, and charismatic leadership and communicative skills.

The observations and analysis provided by the thesis show that the community mediators are not morally burdened by the formation of communities as active, responsible, governable subjects. Rather they are burdened by the context in which they operate. I have described various kinds of social, political, and economic tensions and contradictions associated with mediating between the urban poor and the formal city. I have also suggested that the initial entry point into a community is ultimately sometimes based on pre-existing structures such as SANCO sometimes viewed as a competitor and sometimes as a coalition partner. Even though ISN is apolitical, the mediators understand the role of politics in participation and have to navigate the relationship with councillors. Sometimes they have to inform the councillors in their wards about their activities to get what they want. The relationship with the community is a challenge, too, especially if they know that some of the things they advocate for are not achievable. They have to manage their relationship with the community whilst keeping the community disciplined and motivated to continue to push. With all that said, the ISNs ultimate goal is being able to navigate the power relationships on the ground to be legitimate and credible in the eyes of the city to

benefit from the participation process. Through insights drawn from interviews with the three community mediators, I suggest that as individuals they have transformed their participatory methods from the confrontation for the reason that the ISN form of participation gave them a better chance to access services. For instance, one of the mediators Davids recently accessed a house through her work with ISN. Each of the transition of the three mediators away from more conventional modes of activism, the growth and success of ISN itself, and even their acceptance as key enablers of informal settlement upgrading plans by the city, can be viewed through the lens of utility maximisation. It may be that the perception and experience of ISN's participatory forms enable, or are perceived to enable, enough sufficient actual or potential positive change for individual citizens, groups, and the government itself to choose to participate in and with its structures and processes actively. Consequently, this provides ISN with a large degree of credibility and legitimacy, enabling it to maintain important relationships and maintain its constituency.

ISN is wary of creating negative impressions about themselves which might negatively affect their relationship with the formal structures of city government. This insight itself is perhaps the most telling to arise from the research when attempting to understand the extent to which the participatory practices of ISN are involved in the shaping of community members as responsible citizens. To suggest the point more clearly, in observing the ISN mediators' unwillingness to risk conducting themselves contrary to the perceived wishes of the government, we notice a limitation to the scope of options they can choose. Although they have agency as individuals within their community, the bounds of this agency become more restricted when performing their roles as ISN mediators. This is regardless of whether they are engaging government formally in a Director's office or at a network meeting. ISN's measure of utility is defined by the services and concessions they can leverage to the benefit of informal settlements dwellers. Yet the extension of these concessions or provisions of these concessions is managed and controlled by the government and contingent on citizen conduct resulting inefficient resource allocation by the state. The thesis argues ISN is engaged in the responsibilization of citizens living in informal settlements within a context where a neo-liberal state seeks to provide improvements to all its people.

To a large extent, the reason for ISN existence is to be a mediating interface between South Africa's post-apartheid pro-poor policies and the poor themselves. ISN also provides a legitimate, credible, apolitical interface between the government and that constituency. As a result of their practices, they are potentially one of the most influential civil society groups because of their success in having crafted working relationships with government. Through the MOU to collaborate in informal settlement upgrading projects the City also knows that by collaborating with ISN they have a better chance to work with people/ communities that conduct themselves in a behaved way for the city to provide them with services efficiently. ISN's participatory practices are largely involved in the shaping of community members as responsible, active citizens.

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