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On REIPPPP: Exploring the potential of intermediaries to support the implementation of the programme's socio-economic development obligations in low-income communities

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Abstract

This research explores the potential role of intermediaries in the implementation of socio-economic development (SED) benefits through the Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Programme (REIPPPP) in low-income communities. SED benefits are a procurement requirement that forms part of REIPPPP's Economic Development scorecard and are required to be implemented in identified beneficiary communities, with the aim of improving livelihoods in such communities. Literature points to the fact that, community development is not a function of the private sector and that intermediaries can have success in partnering with communities in their quest for development.

This research is approached through a qualitative inductive study of a case study. The case study is Project90by2030, a not-for-profit organisation (NPO) and public benefit organisation (PBO) that is focused on the mobilisation of and advocacy for clean energy in energy poor low-income communities. The research pays attention to the organisation's community development approach and what possible learning benefits there could be for the REIPPPP. Interviews were held with community participants and facilitators of the Community Partnership Programme of the organisation.

The research finds that low-income communities experience exclusion and inequality and identifies the agents of the said exclusion and inequality.

This thesis argues that intermediaries can play an important role to bridge inequality of agency and other power dynamics that work to the detriment of the empowerment of low-income communities. It concludes that socio-economic community development is a contribution to society that business should pursue, with the support of intermediaries and with local government as a key strategic partner.

Key words

Renewable Energy, REIPPPP, socio-economic development benefits, SED, intermediaries, low-income communities, LED.

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ACRONYMS

SDG	-	Sustainable Development Goals
NDP	-	National Development Plan
REIPPPP	-	Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme
IPP	-	Independent Power Producer
SED	-	Socio-economic development
ED	-	Economic development
DTI	-	Department of Trade & Industry
DoE	-	Department of Energy

Key terms

The key terms below apply to the study

Renewable Energy

A definition of renewable energy provided by the leading world information repository on renewable energy, the Energy Information Administration (EIA) describes renewable energy as *"energy that can be harnessed from a number of naturally occurring energy sources, which are exhaustive and abundant, such as the sun (solar), hydro, wind, geothermal and biomass"* (Streeter & de Jongh, 2013, p. 84).

Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Programme (REIPPPP)

In August 2011, the South African government launched a renewable energy programme, termed Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Programme (REIPPPP) (Eberhard & Naude, 2016).

IPP Office

The Department of Energy is the political government department charged with policymaking regarding the energy sector in South Africa and they set up a special administration centre for the REIPPP, namely the IPP Office.

IPPs

The other role player in REIPPPP are the independent power producers (IPPs), the private companies contracted to product power, which the state will purchase as outlined in the power purchase agreement (Arsenova & Wlokas, 2019; WWF South Africa, 2015). The companies are expected to deliver on the economic development scorecard, which is a procurement condition for REIPPPP (Mthembi, 2016).

Low-income communities

"Low income communities as [are] those households that are based in formal urban township settlements, which include poor and low-income range bands" (Streeter & de Jongh, 2013, p. 81).

Socio-economic development (SED) benefits

The amended Codes of Good Practice for Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment of the DTI describes socio-economic development contributions as "*Monetary and non-monetary contributions implemented for the benefit of Black natural persons; communities and groups of natural persons where at least 75% of the beneficiaries are Black people. The objective of the contributions is for the promotion of sustainable access for the beneficiaries to the economy in the form of income generating activities."* (DTI, 2018).

Furthermore, the DTI defines Black people in the following way:

"Black People is a generic term which means African, Coloureds and Indians

(a) Who are citizens of the Republic of South Africa by birth or descent; or

(b) Who became citizens of the Republic of South Africa by naturalisation;

a. Before 27 April 1994

b. On or after 27 April 1994 who would have been entitled to acquire citizenship by naturalisation prior to that date.

c. Chinese were declared as part of the definition of Black by a court ruling and are included under the category Coloured" (DTI, 2018).

REIPPPP SED benefits

"The REIPPPP provides people and organisations involved with the contractual obligation to contribute to local economic development around IPP projects for the 20-year duration of the Power Purchase Agreements (PPA) between IPPs and Eskom" (WWF, 2015, p. 15). The benefits are meant to support the development goals of the country as outlined in the National Development Plan (NDP, 2012) and where possible, those of the local host municipality (Tait, Wlokas, & Garside, 2013). The majority of South Africans are languishing in poverty due to discriminatory Apartheid policies that denied them the opportunity to participate in the country's economy (Moleko, 2018). REIPPPP's SED benefits are geared at supporting mainly health and education programmes in the host communities.

Inclusive Social Innovation

Mulgan (2006) provides a more conclusive definition of inclusive social innovations, as follows:

> *social innovation refers to innovative activities and services that are motivated by the goal of meeting a social need and that are predominantly diffused through organizations whose primary purposes are social* (146).

This interpretation differs markedly from that of commercial enterprises, who state that *"business innovation is generally motivated by profit maximization and diffused through organizations that are primarily motivated by profit maximization"* (Mulgan, 2006, p. 146). However, it is crucial for innovators to pay attention to cultural contexts, so as to aid the ease of adoption (Hostettler, 2018).

Local Economic Development (LED)

The Local Economic Development (LED) is one of the mechanisms introduced in South Africa after the country democratised (Nel, 2001). The LED represents the combined efforts of key stakeholders in a locality with the aim of enhancing economic opportunities for residents and businesses (Meyer-Stamer, 2016) by working with all key stakeholders. The role of the state, which often leads and convenes through a local municipality, is a facilitative role to support the competitiveness of local businesses and to ensure benefits accrue to citizens (Meyer-Stamer, 2016). A welcome development is the attention paid to civil society, with the aim of enabling it through various mechanisms that give recognition to its role in the local economy, especially through the support it gives to poor residents (Nel, 2001).

Intermediaries

"An intermediary is an actor; that is, an individual, a group of individuals, an organization, or a meta-organization, that belongs to a specific area in society (e.g., a specific industry, a specific organizational field, and/or a specific sector) and whose primary function or mission is to mediate; that is, to represent an organization and/or a specific stakeholder group, and/or to intervene in the relationship between them either by furthering or impeding the interests and activities of the organization in question; and/or its stakeholders in a specific situation or over time" (Frandsen & Johansen, 2015, p. 257).

Chapter 1 Introduction to Research Problem

1.1 The Research area

Renewable energy was long discussed as an alternative to fossil-fuel based electricity (Krupa & Burch, 2011; Prasad & Visagie, 1997; Winkler, 2007) before it found its way into policy-making. After the hosting the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002, the South African Government published a White Paper on renewable energy and its potential role in the transition to the green economy for the country (Kaggwa, Savious, & Nhamo, 2013).

The country continued to experience an energy crisis partly due to the grid expansion, which was not matched with investment in infrastructure. The democratic era saw a roll-out to communities who were previously excluded from energy access by the apartheid government. This paved a way for a shift from the historically cheap coal supply that powered industry during apartheid, amongst other challenges (Howells & Laitner, 2005; McEwan, 2017).

Furthermore, with multiple economic crises and natural disasters that have gripped the country, sustainable development through an energy transition to cleaner sources of fuel, is viewed as a step in the right direction (Davies, Swilling, & Wlokas, 2018a). South Africa's abundance of renewable energy sources, has been helpful in enabling the transition to clean energy (Ryan & Montmasson-Clair, 2014). Informed by this context, in August 2011, the South African government initiated an ambitious programme to attract private investment in grid-based renewable energy generation (Leigland & Eberhard, 2017). The programme was termed the Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme (REIPPPP) (Eberhard & Naude, 2016).

After four rounds of bidding over a four-year period, the REIPPPP launched with "*contracted 92 utility-scale (5 MW and above) Independent Power Projects (IPPs) totaling 6 328 MW and R193 billion (US$20.5 billion), using technologies like wind, solar PV, and concentrated solar, as well as smaller amounts of hydro, landfill gas, biogas, and biomass energy*" (Leigland & Eberhard, 2017, p. 569). As a procurement condition, all projects have to comply with a programme of requirements for economic development for project host communities. The REIPPPP represents a huge financial investment in the South African economy and it is also expected to achieve socio-economic outcomes for the country, in line with the country's development agenda (Mthembi, 2016).

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To this end, the economic development scorecard programme includes ownership, socio-economic development (SED) measures, enterprise development for local businesses and employment creation. This benefits communities who are located within a 50km radius of the project site radius, for the first to the third bid window (Tait et al., 2013). However, beneficiary communities were eventually expanded to include all communities within the municipal boundaries of the project site (Davies, Swilling, & Wlokas, 2018b).

Ultimately, the SED benefits are meant to address socio-economic challenges in beneficiary communities. To date, they have included infrastructure and other support for healthcare facilities and schools (IPPP Overview, 2016b). Most of the project sites are located in rural areas, where there is minimal economic activity, thus the REIPPPP was designed to help address some of the economic development challenges in these communities (Tait et al., 2013). For example, job creation is listed as one element of the economic development scorecard, with a requirement that a minimum of 12 percent to a maximum of 20 percent of jobs generated by IPP projects are created for the local host communities. However, the Northern Cape, the province where the majority of the IPPs are located, accounted for only two percent of South Africa's GDP in 2017 (StatsSA, 2018). South Africa has a very high unemployment rate, which was recorded at 27 percent during the last quarter of 2018 (StatsSA, 2018). Worryingly, reports from Statistics South Africa paint a gloomy picture of youth unemployment, revealing that 31.1 percent of those aged 15-24, are not in employment, education or training (StatsSA, 2018). Statistics is higher for women in the same age group and increases to 40 percent (StatsSA, 2018). An additional consideration is the fact that many South Africans do not have access to jobs in the formal sector due to historic apartheid racial discriminatory policies (Moleko, 2018).

The unemployed, who reside in rural areas, have a significantly higher chance of remaining unemployed than their peers who are based in cities (StatsSA, 2018). Some of the causal factors are deemed to be the social security and economic support that is extended to the rural unemployed by their families, which reduces prospects of migrating for job-seeking purposes. While the support benefits the unemployed, it exacerbates the dire economic struggles of the said families (Klasen & Woolard, 2009). This could be interpreted as the dilemma faced by those living in rural settings, where there are limited employment opportunities, who eventually choose to move to cities. While migrating to urban centres where prospects are better could improve chances of securing employment, leaving their rural homes could potentially lead to a loss of social support from next of kin back home.

A similar trend is observed in other provinces where REIPPPP has been rolled out, namely the Eastern Cape and Western Cape Provinces, which have their share of socio-economic challenges too. For example in 2017, both provinces recorded figures of 36,2% and 30,8% respectively for youth in the 15-24 year age bracket, who are not in education or employment (Children's Institute, 2018). Some of the contributing factors to this status are poor education and lack of appropriate skills for employment (Children's Institute, 2018). In spite of this somewhat dire picture, reports indicate that REIPPPP helped to create employment opportunities for over 13, 000 young people (IPPP Overview, 2016b) with over R90m spent on education and skills upliftment programmes during the same period. The disadvantaged in the employment market have been women and the disabled, who have had access to only 8% and 0.5% percent of employment opportunities on the programme to date (IPPP Overview, 2016b). The opportunities created to date, specifically point to the urgent need for skills programmes for these marginalised groups, if one takes into account the bigger picture of the cumulative effect of chronic deprivation (Acey & Culhane, 2013; Chambers, 1995).

The REIPPPP was designed to achieve the goals expressed in South Africa's blueprint for development, namely the National Development Plan (NDP). This is intended to be realised by 2030. According to the NDP, 10, 0000 MW of additional power would need to be added to the grid and the NDP views renewable energy as the source of the additional capacity (NDP, 2012). Additionally, the Integrated Resource Plan (IRP) (2010) envisages an energy mix for the country, which would combine both fossil-fuel generated power and energy from clean sources. They project a two decade transition to achieve this mix (IPPP Overview, 2016b).

The view that clean energy is the fuel for socio-economic development on the African continent is also echoed by the African Power Panel. This think-tank views energy as a connector between global poverty and the agenda that seeks to respond to climate change. It frames the coal-generated energy regime as outdated due to its negative impact on the earth's ecology (Panel, 2015). Furthermore, it posits that energy access on the continent continues to be random, costly, steeped in inequality and undermining both economic development strategies and efforts to fight poverty. To date over 600m Africans do not have access to electricity (Africa Progress Panel, 2015).

The abundance of solar energy makes it a striking option for the continent and increases prospects of mobilising finance from various sources for the roll-out, with scalability and the

consistent downward trend in costs being some of its favourable aspects (Deichmann, Meisner, Murray, & Wheeler, 2011). Researchers have warned that since the norm is for energy infrastructure to be financed by private developers in the developed world; if Sub-Saharan Africa hopes to follow this route, the region would do well to mitigate risks to attract such investment by improving governance and regulation (Schwerhoff & Sy, 2017). Certainly domestic earnings are too low to carry the cost of such an expenditure on infrastructure (Bugaje, 2006). It seems clear that Africa's solution to a host of its enduring energy-related problems lies in the rapid adoption of decentralised energy systems, which include rolling out renewable energy (Szabó, Bódis, Huld, & Moner-Girona, 2013). Realizing this achievement will require the investment of considerable financial resources (Brew-Hammond, 2010). However, development is still expected to be tailored to respond to local contexts. In agreement with this view, the United Nation's Human Development Indices and Indicators for 2018 calls for solutions to development challenges that address and respond to local contexts while recognizing the connectivity of the global marketplace (UNDP, 2018). Predictably, the five countries at the bottom of the list of 189 countries are African. The indices and indicators analyse, reflect and measures people's freedoms and access to opportunity across the world, from which they draw conclusions on their development prospects. The UNDP report also reveals that the higher the per capita income in a country, the better the chances are for human development in those countries (UNDP, 2018). Surprisingly, South Africa, in spite of its high levels of inequality, scores a mid-table rating of 113, with $11923 per capita income, while at the bottom of the list is Niger with a $906 per capita income. These differences stem from the varied distribution of access to key indicators such as education, health and income inequality (UNDP, 2018). South Africa is one of the world's most unequal societies and inequalities are on the increase with the economic gap between racial groups steadily increasing (Bhorat, Tseng, & Stanwix, 2014). Research states that even when South Africa's economy was experiencing relatively good economic growth, it did not benefit many of the country's citizens and the country's skewed income distribution could be a contributing factor, as the growth favoured those who were already enjoying relatively higher incomes due to their favourable position on the country's income strata (Bhorat & Van Der Westhuizen, 2012).

Research has also observed that race and gender are the two determinants of poverty in South Africa, with Black and female-headed households being those that are adversely impacted (Bhorat & Van Der Westhuizen, 2012). This means that the majority of South Africans are poor, even those who are employed, and could therefore be included when one defines potential

beneficiaries of SED programmes. This findings could be partly attributed to the racial wage gap, a phenomenon that persists in South Africa, having not ended with the demise of apartheid (Allanson, Atkins, & Hinks, 2002). The burden of transport costs borne by poorly paid South Africans puts further pressure on their meagre incomes.

The factors highlighted above puts a spotlight on the REIPPPP's socio-economic development agenda while also illustrating the shape and form it will need to take in order to bring about meaningful change.

1.2 The Research Problem

A backdrop for REIPPPP, with its ambitious socio-economic agenda, is the United Nations'17 Sustainable Development Goals. This is a collective global pact for development globally, wherein the goals are integrated and indivisible. They are further underpinned by a cornerstone pledge to ensure that no one will be left behind in development (Clark, 2017). The Africa Progress Panel, one of the leading think tanks previously headed by former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, has published a detailed report on energy access on the continent entitled *Lights, Power Action: Electrifying Africa*. The report asserts that energy connects at least 11 of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). Particularly the SDGs focused on good health and well-being; decent work and economic growth; reducing inequalities; creating sustainable cities and communities; climate action; life on land and partnerships for the goals. However, all 17 SDGs are indivisible and integrated (Clark, 2017). This becomes crucial as the continent's population is expected to increase to 2.5 billion people by 2050, at which time half of the continent's population will reside in cities (Africa Progress Panel, 2015). This astronomical population growth will bring to bear incredible pressure on systems and infrastructure.

This thesis has already highlighted the high levels of inequality in South Africa (Bhorat et al., 2014). One could further argue that South Africa is not inclusive as many citizens continue to be excluded from any economic trajectory that the country is making, partly due to the skewed income distribution, which entrenches race as the key determinant ascribed for work performed (Allanson et al., 2002).

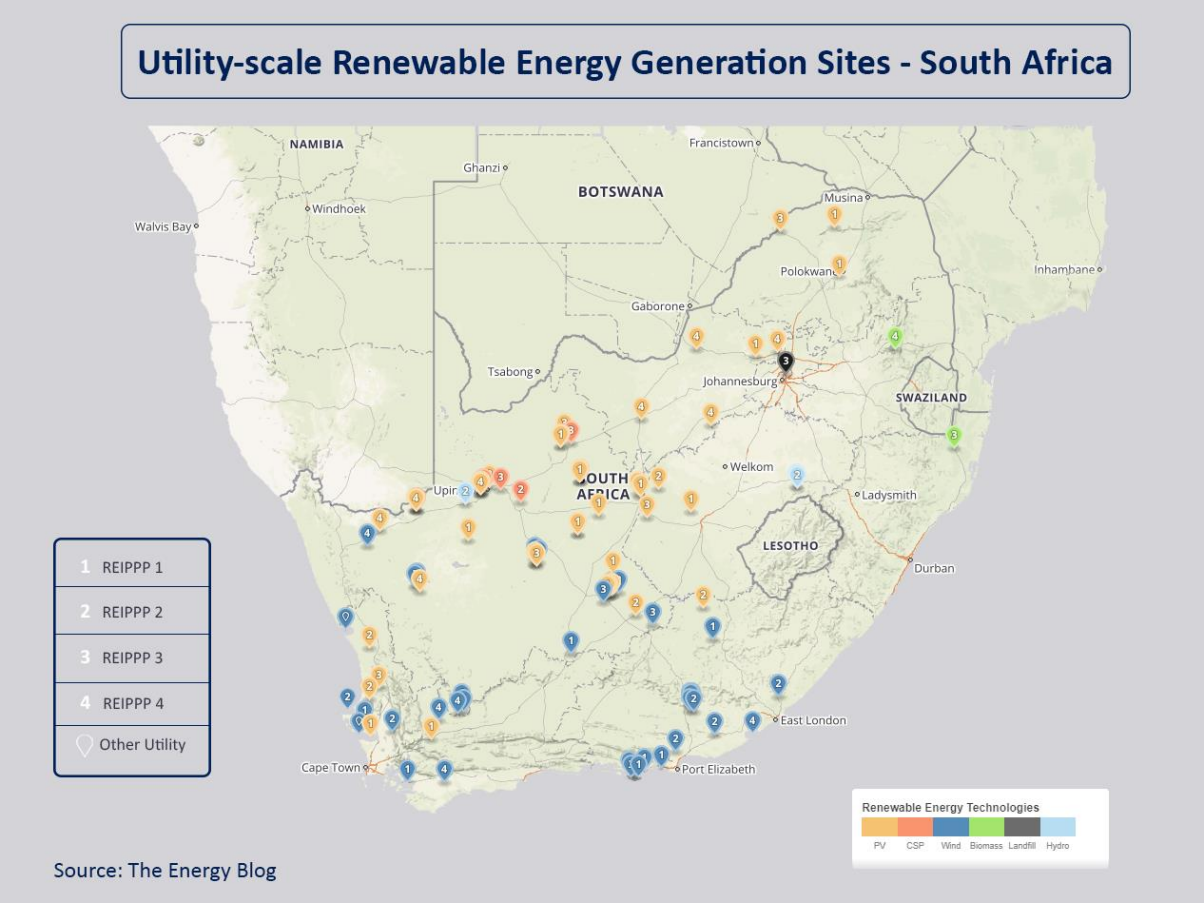
This thesis argues that it is in the interest of South Africa that this massive investment benefits the majority of its citizens and achieves the development agenda that has been framed around it. The current status quo is that the inequality and its inherent power dynamics has also become evident in the relations between Independent Power Producers

(IPP) and beneficiary communities, with the communities being perceived to have a very limited voice in shaping the context and content of these programmes (McDaid, Manqele, & Moran, 2016b; Morar, 2019; Project90by2030, 2018). Another example is that of the poor communication of the REIPPPPP economic development score-card to beneficiary communities, especially by the South African government: the programme's guaranteed customer. One researcher cited an example whereby a community believed a company was being generous when it made a donation, as the community was unaware of the community's own shareholding and other benefits that are meant to accrue to them as a procurement condition for the REIPPPP (McDaid et al., 2016b). Another outcome of poor communication is the occurrence of protests at project sites by local communities (Mthembi, 2016). The NDP views community protests as an expression of dissatisfaction by communities, which is often a result of poor communication between the state and communities (NDP, 2012).

An important lens, through which one can view the REIPPPP and its SED agenda in South Africa, is the country's National Development Plan (NDP), which challenges leadership in both the public and private sectors. Their purpose is to ensure that dividends of development and economic activity benefit the marginalised (NDP, 2012). Pertinently the National Development Plan calls for incentivised participation of citizens in all matters concerning their development (NDP, 2012).

Map of REIPPP sites in South Africa

Source: Energyblog, 2019



For the first to the third bid windows of the programme, beneficiary communities are defined as those communities who reside within a 50km radius of a project site. Due to the location of the projects, there are overlapping beneficiary communities (WWF, 2015). The IPPPP Overview report of 2016 cites this as an area of concern that requires attention (IPPP Overview, 2016b).

At this time the network of beneficiary communities was already expanded for the fourth round of the bidding for IPP projects to include those residing along the municipal boundaries of the area where the project site is located (Davies et al., 2018b). REIPPPP requires that between 1-1.5% of project revenues be spent on socio-economic development programmes (WWF South Africa, 2015). Other benefits include enterprise development and community shareholding in the IPPs (WWF, 2015). The specific focus of this research is on SED.

However, a number of weaknesses in the programme have been detected, These include a lack of clear guidelines with regard to the implementations of socio-economic benefits from the procuring office in the national government; the Independent Power Producers (IPP) Office

(WWF, 2015). Scholars have observed that the South African government, through its design of the REIPPPP, seems to be signalling that 'for-profit' businesses should solve complex socio-economic challenges, with some suggesting the state is transferring responsibility for development to the private sector (McDaid et al., 2016b; Wlokas, Westoby, & Soal, 2017). Research has shown that when the private sector leads community development initiatives, a business approach is adopted, with companies choosing projects where they stand to benefit, for example targeting communities where some of their products have a market (McEwan, Mawdsley, Banks, & Scheyvens, 2017). Researchers also note that businesses tend to focus on superficial quick-fix approaches to enduring and multi-layered problems, rather than investing the necessary time and resources to yield sustainable solutions (Morar, 2019).

However, it should be noted that there are a combination of factors that are responsible for the stalled implementation of SED projects in beneficiary communities. These have been cited as the following:

1. Saving funds in order to launch and implement larger SED projects
2. Difficulty experienced in identifying suitable projects
3. The lack of punitive measures for non-expenditure of funds (IPPP Overview, 2019).

Some researchers have suggested that within local municipalities specifically, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) should guide or inform the implementation of SED benefits; while others have suggested integration and cooperation between IPPs and local municipalities (McDaid et al., 2016b); (IPPP Overview, 2019).

The view is that socio-economic development is a function that should be performed by local government (McDaid et al., 2016b), in line with the assertions of the White Paper on Local Government, which was published in 1998. Should this suggestion be adopted, it would translate into IPPs implementing developments already identified by the local community and which are reflected in the IDP. This would solve the problem of IPPs' lack of project expenditure due to their inability to identify projects to initiate and support.

Seeded in the White Paper on Local Government the IDP is a strategic plan drawn up by a municipality after a consultative process with citizens; which details its socio-economic agenda over a five-year term of office (Makoetje, 2017; Mchunu & Theron, 2014). However, even this suggested solution could potentially present with problems. For example, the Auditor General of South Africa's audit outcomes report on local government for the 2017/18 financial year paints a bleak picture of the state of municipalities in South Africa.

The report states that a total of 41 percent of municipalities have not planned to maintain their road infrastructure and have not assessed the state of the said infrastructure during the period under review (AGSA, 2018). Furthermore, 31 percent of municipalities had no knowledge of the state of their sanitation infrastructure and 48 percent did not have a policy with regard to maintenance of the water infrastructure (AGSA, 2018). In addition, municipalities are under-performing in collecting billed revenue from residents and other consumers of their services (Mazibuko & Fourie, 2013) and this constrains their ability to deliver services. If IPPs were to work with municipalities to deliver on SED benefits, a governance mechanism would be required for the management and delivery of such benefits, given the mandate of local government and the different legislative frameworks for private and public sector entities. Ideally, this could be undertaken by Local Economic Development (LED), which is a body that comprises municipal officials, business people and citizen representatives, whose mandate is to maximise development opportunities for specific local municipal districts (Abrahams, 2003).

This state of local government could be the fuel behind regular service delivery protests in South Africa, as the typical protester in South Africa is afflicted by two scourges of poverty, namely unemployment and living in communities that experience low levels of basic service delivery by local government (Nleya, 2011).

Because residents bear the brunt of the consequences of poor financial management and governance in local government, this possibly explains calls for increased levels of accountability by residents and civil society, with both stakeholder groups lamenting the current accountability mechanisms as inadequate (Walker, 2009).

Another manifestation of their dissatisfaction with the state of affairs at local government level is the demand from citizens for remedial action when the state has failed its end of the social contract with them (Walker, 2009). One could argue that citizens are demanding to hold regular performance appraisals, including exercising the right to hire and fire public representatives.

Businesses and governments have relied on intermediaries in the facilitation and mobilisation of community support and engagement (Bird & Barnes, 2014). Presently, there is limited literature available on the role of intermediaries in the implementation of REIPPPP's SED benefits in low-income beneficiary communities in an LED context. This research aims to investigate and also contribute to closing this gap in scholarship knowledge.

1.3 The Research Question

What is the potential role and contribution of intermediaries in the implementation of REIPPPP's socio-economic benefits in low-income communities?

The research question provides a frame for the research as well as providing direction to the literature that will be reviewed, as well as the research methods that will be employed for the investigation (Bryman, 2007).

Reviewed literature suggests that the implementation of SED benefits has presented challenges for REIPPPP stakeholders (Tait et al., 2013). With the implementation of REIPPPP, South Africa's energy transition to clean energy has begun. Scholars' view the REIPPPP as a huge investment in energy infrastructure programmes in South Africa. Certainly its impact extends beyond the energy sector, as highlighted by Davies et al who state: "*this spatial transformation in the structuring of energy infrastructure has far reaching impacts when we are reminded of how energy is the material basis of economic and political systems*" (Davies et al., 2018a, p. 62).

Given that the REIPPPP was designed not only to support the country's energy security but also to stimulate economic development especially in communities marginalised during apartheid (Tait et al., 2013), beneficiary communities have become the focal point for those studying and measuring the programme's success.

The focus of the author's investigation is to understand the community engagement practice within a chosen case study of a Non-Profit Organisation (NPO) and to question how lessons learnt could be translated into the implementation of SED benefits for the REIPPPP. Streeter and de Jongh have succinctly described low-income communities as being *"based in formal, urban township settlements, which include the combined poor and low-income range bands*" (Streeter & de Jongh, 2013, p. 81).

An inclusive innovation in the context of this study is the Community Partnership Programme of Project90by2030. Through this initiative the NPO engages low-income communities by means of convening, mobilising and advocacy to impart low-carbon education in such communities. These communities would normally be excluded from discussions and deliberations about programmes, even those that directly affect them, by various decision makers in both the private and public sector. The core of the programme is that change is a bottom-up process, which has to be driven by communities. To this end the NPO facilitates skills training and capacity building to community leaders residing in low-income communities

(Project90by2030, 2019). The case study tackles an enduring socio-economic problem of energy poverty in low-income communities and has paired this with educating citizens about the instruments of democracy, such as the IDP and the co-operative governance system in South Africa (Project90by2030, 2017). This is important as during apartheid in South Africa, over 90% of the population did not enjoy rights as citizens. With a democratic order being installed only 25 years ago, citizenship, the meaning of citizenship and the participatory nature of South Africa's democracy, may not be widely understood or deemed attractive to those who were previously excluded from it. Already, this thesis has revealed the poor levels of communication between the state and citizens of this country (McDaid et al., 2016b; Mthembi, 2016; NDP, 2012). Pertinently, energy access for all South African citizens has only gained focus in South Africa in recent years. This is reflected in the fact that at least a third of the operating budget of South African municipalities is reserved for operating the power system and related matters (Jaglin, 2014). Though, community-based practices could also be considered applicable for enhancing access and participation in energy affairs of localities.

It is important to note that the organisation qualifies as an inclusive innovation as it aims to support neglected and socially-excluded communities that are plagued by energy poverty, specifically to change energy consumption behaviour with the belief that this change, with appropriate capacity is possible (Mulgan, 2006; Saul, 2013). In recent history inclusive innovations, sometimes termed as *social innovations*, have become a regular feature in literature.

One of the definitions advanced by Mulgan (2006) is that "*social innovation refers to innovative activities and services that are motivated by the goal of meeting a social need and that are predominantly diffused through organizations whose primary purposes are social*" (146).

Often, to give effect to social innovations, entrepreneurs tend to set up social enterprises. It has been found that the process of starting such an enterprise, which is geared at solving social problems and may and may not make a profit, requires support from varied stakeholders (Phillips, Alexander, & Lee, 2017). The ongoing learning and exposure to complex environments requires that such organisations be open to learning and adapting as they gain new insights in the course of their work (Phillips et al., 2017). This is the case with the case study that is the focus of this research. According to research respondents the initial learning programme, which focused on energy poverty and low-tech green energy solutions has evolved to become a learning programme that is focused on instruments of democracy and the cooperative government system.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

The **socio-economic development** agenda that emerged in South Africa in the early 2000s framed human development, economic and sustainable development as an inseparable and indivisible pact (Davidson et al., 2003). The rationale of including social goals in an economic development domain is the recognition that the well-being of people is key for economic development (Triegaardt, 2009). The period also coincided with numerous energy crises that were experienced in the country. This included a burdened infrastructure, which further catalysed the inevitability of a path to renewable energy (Spalding-Fecher, 2003). To this end in August 2011 the South African government initiated an ambitious programme to attract private investment in grid-based renewable energy generation (Leigland & Eberhard, 2017), which was termed the **Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme (REIPPPP)** (Eberhard, Kolker, & Leigland, 2014). As a procurement condition, the REIPPPP included a scorecard for economic development (Mthembi, 2016). The key component of the political governance system in South Africa is **local or municipal government** as this level of government is closer to the delivery of state services to citizens. To this end the **Local Economic Development (LED)** is one of the mechanisms that was introduced in South Africa after the country democratised (Nel, 2001).

The LED represents the combined efforts of key stakeholders within specific municipal boundaries with the aim of enhancing economic opportunities for residents and businesses (Meyer-Stamer, 2016) by working with all key stakeholders. A welcome development is the attention paid to **intermediaries** such civil society (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005) with the aim of enabling civil society through various mechanisms. This is in recognition of its role in the local economy, especially in terms of the support it gives to residents from low-income communities (Nel, 2001).

1.5 Social Intermediation Theory

There is an abundance of literature on intermediaries and their role in different economic sectors; as well as the public and development sectors. "*An intermediary is an actor; that is, an individual, a group of individuals, an organization, or a meta-organization, that belongs to a specific area in society (e.g., a specific industry, a specific organizational field, and/or a specific sector), and whose primary function or mission is to mediate; that is, to represent an organization and/or a specific stakeholder group, and/or to intervene in the relationship*

between them either by furthering or by impeding the interests and activities of the organization in question and/or its stakeholders in a specific situation or over time" (Frandsen & Johansen, 2015, p. 257).

This thesis explores intermediaries who are engaged by organisations to mediate with identified stakeholders on behalf of the said organisation. The theory that has evolved apropos organisation's is that of "the relationship between an organisation and its environment" (Frandsen & Johansen, 2015, p. 260). Literature has commented on the resourcing of intermediaries, which is dependent on the actors on whose behalf there are mediating as well as the implications this could have on such organisations (Sanyal, 2006). The literature on the market entry in Bottom-of-the-Pyramid and its understanding of intermediation in this market segment, has found that where intermediation is provided by a for-profit entity on behalf of another for-profit entity, the rules of a market dictate that the intermediation should lower the cost of the transaction (Kistruck, Beamish, Qureshi, & Sutter, 2013). Furthermore, the literature posits that in the practice of intermediation, depending on contexts, relational aspects trump financial considerations, which points to the limits of intermediation theory (Kistruck et al., 2013). Upon this realisation, an exploratory study undertaken by Kistruck et al., 2013, found a branch of the theory, which was termed social intermediation. This focuses on socio-economic and other structural factors that require attention.

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Chapter 2, Literature Review

2.1 Chapter Introduction

The chapter below presents a comprehensive review of literature on the REIPPPP, Socio-economic development and intermediaries, with the intention to understand the potential that intermediaries could play in REIPPPP, notably in the implementation of SED benefits. Literature that is reviewed interrogates the suitability of private companies to drive the socio-economic agenda in South Africa. It unpacks weaknesses in the implementation of the REIPPPP and concludes by identifying gaps in the current literature.

2.2 The REIPPPP SED Agenda

The pace at which the South African government moved to implement its renewable energy adoption programme is viewed as demonstrating its commitment to the energy transition. As such this has been applauded (Leigland & Eberhard, 2017). Furthermore, the South African government has committed to renewable energy making up to 40 percent of the energy mix in the country (McEwan, 2017). While the REIPPPP's unique ED scorecard has led to great achievements, the programme is also grappling with challenges associated with it, some of which are discussed in the following sections.

2.2.1 Introduction to the REIPPPP Economic Development Agenda, including SED as one of the elements

The info-graph below unpacks the REIPPPP Economic Development Scorecard as well as the compliance measures introduced by the IPP Office (Mthembi, 2016). It details requirements and also the evidence of activity that needs to be reflected from the side of IPPs (Mthembi, 2016).

Figure1: Economic Development summary table, Mthembi, 2016: 87 (below)

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THE RENEWABLE ENERGY INDEPENDENT POWER PRODUCERS PROCUREMENT PROGRAMME (REIPPP)

Initial investment in August 2011 - "contracted 92 utility-scale (5 MW and above) Independent Power Projects (IPPs) totaling 6 328 MW and R193 billion (US$20.5 billion), using technologies like wind, solar PV, and concentrated solar, as well as smaller amounts of hydro, landfill gas, biogas, and biomass energy" (Leigland & Eberhard, 2017, p. 569).

Below is a table that Summarises the Economic Development Element of REIPPP

Economic Development Element	Minimum Threshold	Maximum Threshold	Evidence of activity
Job Creation		Construction and 20-year operation South	
South African citizens	Per cent of employees who are South African citizens relative to total employees measured in terms of time worked		• Letter of appointment • ID • Time sheet • Salary advice
Black citizens	Per cent of black citizens relative to total employees measured in terms of time worked		
Skilled Black Citizens	Per cent of skilled black citizens relative to total skilled employees measured in terms of time worked		
Local Community	Per cent of employees from within 50km of project site measured in terms of time worked		
Jobs per megawatt	Total time worked by total workforce divided by the total megawatts of a power plant		
2. Local Content	Per cent of construction costs spent on South African goods and services	Construction	• Invoice • Proof of payment Local content declaration
3. Preferential Procurement	Total expenditure on South African goods and services	Construction and 20-year operation period	• Invoice • Proof of payment • BBBEE certificate of supplier
BBBEE	Per cent of procurement of goods or services from enterprises that do not qualify as QSE or EME, measured in terms of the total Rand value relative to total procurement spend		
QSE	Sum of expenditure on QSEs and EMEs Per cent of procurement from qualifying Small Enterprises (enterprises that generate less than R5 million in annual revenue)		
Women-owned vendor	Per cent of procurement of goods or services from enterprises that are owned by women (51 per cent or more), measured in terms of the total Rand value relative to total procurement spend		

4. Top Management		Construction and 20-year operation period	
Black top management			
5. Ownership	Percent of Black South Africans who constitute top management		• Letter of appointment • ID Time sheet • Salary advice
Black ownership in the seller	Per cent of Black ownership in the Independent Power Producer. Benefit realised through IPP dividends, if and when declared.	Construction and 20-year operation period Local	
Local community ownership in the seller Black	Per cent of local community ownership in the Independent Power Producer, held through a community trust for the benefit of the community within a 50km radius of the power plant. Benefit realised through IPP dividends, if and when declared.	Construction and 20-year operation period.	Community Trust Deed
Black ownership in the seller	Per cent of Black ownership in the Independent Power Producer. Benefit realised through IPP dividends, if and when declared.	Construction and 20-year operation period Local	Construction and 20-year operation period Local
Black ownership in the construction contractor	Per cent of Black ownership in the company appointed to construct the power plant. Benefit realised through IPP dividends, if and when declared.	Construction	• IDs of black owners • Shareholder agreements
Black ownership in the operations contractor	Per cent of Black ownership in the company appointed to operate the power plant over its 20-year life. Benefit realised through IPP dividends, if and when declared.	Operations	• IDs of black owners • Shareholder agreements
6. Enterprise Development	Per cent of annual revenue spent on the development of enterprises. The same expenditure is recognised differently depending on where recipients of the support are from, with the highest reward being for investing in the local community (defined as being within a 50km radius of the power plant) and the lowest for investments outside South Africa.	Operations	• Proof of funds disbursement • Identifying documents for fund recipients • Evidence of purpose of funds disbursement
7. Socio-economic development	SED investments enhance the economic participation of previously excluded groups. The same expenditure is recognised differently depending on where recipients of support are from, with highest reward being for investing in local community (defined as being within a 50km radius of power plant) and lowest for investments outside SA	Operations	• Proof of funds disbursement • Identifying documents for fund recipients • Evidence of purpose of funds disbursement

The programme has been able to mobilise support from a range of stakeholders, including organised religion and civil stakeholders and this has been significant to its success in South Africa (Rennkamp, Haunss, Wongsa, Ortega, & Casamadrid, 2017). These gains have been possible in spite of opposition by those who feel threatened by the transition to clean energy (Rennkamp et al., 2017). However, the support has not stalled the debate on the future energy mix for South Africa. The debate and uncertainty are fuelled by the continued availability of fossil-fuel. Generated power delays the adoption of clean energy solutions (Mytelka, 2016). According to Mytelka (2016) part of the frustration is the lag between policy promulgation and implementation, which has been experienced in other transitions too, such as the move to clean fuel in the transport sector. A possible remedy, derived from experience gained during the period the country hosted the FIFA World Cup in 2010, would be decentralisation of functions. Back then the delegation of the implementation mandate from national government to local and provincial government, ensured the on-time delivery of the Rapid Transit System in South Africa (Mytelka, 2016). This proved to be an invaluable solution.

2.2.2 Documented policy weaknesses and governance weaknesses relating to the REIPPPPP

Several policy weaknesses have been observed in REIPPPP. Perhaps the most glaring, is the deviation from the BEE Act: a key piece of legislation meant to facilitate the inclusion of Black South Africans into the country's economy (Leigland & Eberhard, 2017). Given that the stated vision of the South African government, as outlined on the website of the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), is the facilitation of an economy that is inclusive, equitable and transformed (DTI, 2018); no reasonable explanation has been provided for the abandonment of this vision by the state. An observer could summarise it as a government talking left and walking right, in contemporary language. Policy uncertainty or ad hoc deviations could ultimately prove confusing for investors and those expected to comply with Government policies.

The second conspicuous policy weakness is that REIPPPP opted for an amorphous definition of 'socio-economic development' and opted not use the definition crafted by the DTI when it amended the BBBEE Codes of Good Practice in 2015, although this was eventually adopted in 2019 (DTI, 2018). The Codes are crystal-clear in their definition of SED. Ultimately, SED is meant to provide entry and participation into the South African economy to those excluded from it.

The DTI is the government department with an overall responsibility for economic activity in South Africa, (DTI, 2018) whereas the energy sector is but one sector of the South African economy. Given that time and other resources had already been spent on what is defined as 'socio-economic development' and what it is meant to achieve in the South African context, it is inconceivable how a government would not move to harmonise its development agenda across functions in order for maximum benefit to accrue to its intended beneficiaries. Once again, the inconsistent interpretation of SED and its intended outcomes points to disjointed policy. In the end it could make objective measure of the success or failure of the policy cumbersome as while the programme is commended in some quarters, others have expressed concerns. Pertinently a study that was undertaken for the purpose of investigating the community benefit requirements under REIPPPP, found that the process was complex and there was little or no guidance from the government to aid project developers in interpreting the socio-economic and enterprise development components (WWF, 2015). This is ironic, given that South Africa has branded itself as a developmental state in its NDP (NDP, 2012). Given its stated objectives for development in South Africa, the expectation would be a solid state machinery to guide development and to coordinate different role-players in economic development in order to enable the realisation of its economic objectives. This support is expected to include providing a shield from undue pressure, where necessary (Swilling, Musango, & Wakeford, 2016).

IPPs are required to submit their community development plans as part of their bid and the demanding timelines for bid preparation does not allow for adequate and meaningful consultation with the host communities ahead of submission of bid documents (Tait et al., 2013). Consequently, the top-down approach to preparing SED plans and making decisions about community development investments during bid preparation fails to consider local contexts and complexity, for example the fractured nature of community as well as social dynamics, contestation and lack of cohesion on the ground (Tait et al., 2013). This is exacerbated by a lack of clear guidelines from the IPP Office about the SED benefits (WWF, 2015). This approach goes against the grain as the reality is that community development and sustainability requires on a bottom-up approach (Wlokas et al., 2017). Research has already established that when business is expected to deliver on a socio-economic pact, vague wording of requirements and guidelines increase the risk of non-compliance and deferral of responsibility (Hamann, 2019b). The IPPPP Overview report of 2016 states that socio-

economic development benefits are aligned to at least two outcomes of the NDP, namely improved public facilities such as schools and clinics, as well as infrastructure programmes. The latter includes road construction, powering homes and ensuring improved living standards at household level (IPPP Overview, 2016b). However, there are already government departments and other state actors engaged in the delivery of these services in South Africa and there is no system on how REIPPPP SED programmes are meant to integrate and coordinate with them. Conversely, it is worth noting that the focus on households echoes the findings of a study on livelihoods and the transition to a green economy in Kenya, Nigeria and Egypt (Acey & Culhane, 2013). The study found that to make the most impact in under-privileged communities one needs to pay attention to the home. The study also warned about the complexity of households and how they often do not fit into neat boxes (Acey & Culhane, 2013). This view of household complexity is shared by other scholars, as societal changes mean that there might be lack of congruence in the livelihood strategies of different members of the household. Furthermore, they caution against the view that limits livelihoods to physical assets such as property, advising instead to consider other forms of support including social networks (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005).

Another policy weakness is the lack of coordination and integration within local government in the respective municipal districts where the projects are located. Such coordination would alleviate the need to identify SED programmes to initiate and support, given that each municipality is required to draw up and deliver an IDP during its term of office (Makoetje, 2017; McDaid et al., 2016b; Mchunu & Theron, 2014). The view is that it is the IDP that should guide the SED planning and prioritisation for REIPPPP (McDaid et al., 2016b). Furthermore, IPPs have been flagged for insufficient communication with host communities (Mthembi, 2016). Given that the infrastructure programme is meant to achieve various national goals for South Africa, the absence of local government from the programme is a missed opportunity to align a national government project with service delivery at local level.

Already this thesis has highlighted the despairing state of local government in South Africa as revealed by the Auditor General (AGSA, 2019a). Another area in which local government, especially in rural areas, has been found wanting is the communication with stakeholders. A study conducted to investigate the effectiveness of communication strategies employed by local government when liaising with citizens in rural areas, found them woefully inadequate (Rasila

& Mudau, 2013). While the system of local government has many problems, it remains the best possible partner for REIPPPP with regard to the economic development scorecard. Already local municipalities are expected to have published their IDPs and therefore have a record of the needs and wishes of residents (Makoetje, 2017; McDaid et al., 2016b; Mchunu & Theron, 2014). IPPs should not reinvent the wheel in this regard.

The Local Government White Paper that was published in 1998 encourages municipalities to lead local economic development (LED) both in the formal and informal sector, working in conjunction with local business and civil society (Nel, 2001). The LED has also gained prominence with the realisation that it would be impossible for national government to meet all local needs and that this function is best performed by those close to local communities (Abrahams, 2003). A practical example of how local government can support local businesses is ensuring that it procures goods and services from local businesses (Nel, 2001). A programme such as REIPPPP is likely to change and shift a local economy by reorganising existing players and introducing new ones. This has consequences for the economy's competitiveness (Meyer-Stamer, 2016). Infrastructure programmes are expected to improve both the local economy and socio-economic conditions of surrounding communities. This requires that programme designers be fully aware of local problems to be solved (Meyer-Stamer, 2016). In fact the success of the LED function depends on the smart coordination between private and public sectors as well as civil society to boost the local economy (Meyer-Stamer, 2016; Nel, 2001). Key to this function is formulating an approved agenda to address agreed priorities, which should guide resource allocation in the locale. In the absence of such consensus success will hard to achieve (Meyer-Stamer, 2016). A key challenge for local government in South Africa is the enduring legacy of apartheid era spatial development, where some areas were developed and others completely neglected (Nel, 2001).

The state of South African municipalities is characterised as either having cordial relations between different stakeholders where there is agreement on the envisaged future, or those where there is none. Political and ideological differences dominate and are often the root cause of the inertia (Meyer-Stamer, 2016). When there is no shared understanding of problems, it makes it difficult for people to craft solutions to such problems (Skinner, 2018). This is due to the fact that there are varied interpretations of the LED role and function. Some believe that LED should take a pro-poor approach, while others believe LED needs to business-friendly (Abrahams, 2003). Given the current status, South Africa (Abrahams, 2003) has proclaimed

itself a developmental state (NDP, 2012; Swilling et al., 2016). This could be due to the developed world origins of LED, where there is a pro-market focus (Rogerson, 2010). Another strategic partner for the LED in some instances has been the Department of Trade & Industry (DTI).

The DTI becomes a key interested party in local government in terms of stimulating economic activity, driving for competitiveness and mobilising support to optimising strategic industrial and commercial opportunities (Rogerson, 2010). Whichever approach is taken by an LED, it is expected to play a crucial role in socio-economic development in its area through the efficient deployment of human and capital resources (Abrahams, 2003; Rogerson, 2010).

Community Trusts have emerged as the preferred governance structure for the management and decision-making on the disbursement of the SED benefits, as well as other matters relating to the community's share ownership in local plants (Tait et al., 2013; WWF, 2015). The main function of a governance structure is to hold management to account and ensure there is no mission drift, undue scope expansion for the organisation as well as mitigation of risk (Ebrahim, Battilana, & Mair, 2014). Already questions have been raised about the administration and governance practice of the Community Trusts (McDaid et al., 2016b) with concerns that the structures could be influenced by those with political motives (Mthembi, 2016). Researchers have also investigated the intragroup relations within the Community Trusts and the inherent power relations in the governance structure (Mncube, 2009). One researcher found that a community member who is also a Trustee had been awarded a contract by a Trust, which then raises an alarm about governance, fairness and openness of processes (McDaid et al., 2016b). Concern has also been raised that IPPs deem the Trust to be BBBEE partners, which they are not (Project90by2030, 2018). Inequitable representation of all stakeholder groups has been cited, with notable absence of low-income communities in the structures (Tait et al., 2013). All examples cited are contrary to stipulations on responsible governance as outlined in the King IV Corporate Governance Report, which is widely held as the standard for governance (IoDSA, 2016).

A possible remedy on representation for marginalised communities is a specific focus on their participation, including a nominal fee to compensate them for their participation, where applicable (Adhikari, Kingi, & Ganesh, 2014). These measures could include compensation

for attendance in lieu of time that could have been spent on job-seeking activities or exploring other income-generating opportunities, as this could assist those from deprived households (Adhikari et al., 2014). The net income from the Community Trusts that have been formed between the initial three bidding rounds and operations between 2013 and the final date of operations, which is 2037, is estimated at R12.2bn. The benefits accrued will accumulate over the 20 year operation period of the plants (IPPP Overview, 2016b).

There is consensus in the literature that the Economic Development scorecard of REIPPPP, which includes SED benefits, requires more rigorous monitoring from the IPP Office (Montmasson-Clair & Ryan, 2014; Mthembi, 2016). Mthembi (2016) further suggested that given the state of economic distress in beneficiary communities, the activation of the Economic Development should happen almost immediately when construction commences. The research states that given that the projects, like all businesses that are participating in the programme, carry a certain level of risk; the same thinking and reasoning should inform the approach to the benefits meant to accrue to local communities (Mthembi, 2016).

Trusts are an option, but they also have the burden of managing perceptions and given that their key currency is transparency in the governance and management of their operations, due care and attention is needed to ensure both real and perceived inclusivity (Moore & McKee, 2012). Forms of exclusion that have been noted include hoarding of information and other resources to maximise the benefit for some, while closing access for others (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005). This is particularly important in South Africa where there is a skewed distribution of skills and economic opportunities (Bhorat et al., 2014), limited social capital for some (Esau, 2008) and the historic racial power relations in the country (Moleko, 2018). The need to quell suspicion of political influence by those with vested interests, adds further emphasis to the importance of sound governance (Moore & McKee, 2012).

This thesis has already shown that the REIPPPP is being rolled out in mainly rural towns and the Community Trusts could be real drivers of meaningful change that benefits residents in these areas, in much the same way that they have in countries like the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom they have proven instrumental in ensuring the rights of locals in rural areas to own land in their localities, given the potential of the often better resourced urban dwellers to out-muscle them in the housing and land marketplace (Moore & McKee, 2012). Access to such networks maximises the prospect to fully benefit rural communities due to proximity to

decision makers (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005), which again reinforces the need for transparency of governance and fairness in administration and processes (McDaid et al., 2016b). Disappointingly, the same IPPPP Overview report laments the inefficient expenditure of SED funds, especially in overlapping beneficiary communities (IPPP Overview, 2019). Scholars have already suggested that there is scope to investigate whether IPPs could collaborate horizontally on SED planning to maximise benefits for communities and avoid a silo approach to development (WWF, 2015).

It is the norm for competitors to adopt a cooperative approach to socio-economic development, such as the example of a Mining Charter, which compels competitors in the mining industry to cooperate and coordinate their development agenda to maximise investment in local communities, amongst its requirements (Cronjé & Chenga, 2009). While commending this move, research has flagged the weak monitoring mechanism of the state in ensuring that this actually happens (Cronjé & Chenga, 2009). Mthembi (2016), cautions that the lack of tangible socio-economic development benefits to beneficiary communities poses a social risk to these projects.

While there are diverse views from policymakers, business and trade unions about REIPPPPP, it is important to note that there is no disagreement on the technology. Where disagreement exists, this concerns the economic impact and other social goals. Pertinently, very little to none of the contestation has been about the environmental gains that would result from clean energy (Rennkamp et al., 2017).

2.2.3 Emerging evidence of roles and relationships in the implementation of REIPPPP SED requirements

Literature on the REIPPPP almost immediately flagged the drawing up on SED (Tait et al., 2013; WWF South Africa, 2015) plans without input of the said beneficiary communities. Plans that are meant to benefit them, points to a lack of harmony in the government policy environment in South Africa as the NDP places emphasis on an active citizenry and the participation of citizens in their own development (NDP, 2012). This resonates with the viewpoint that cautions the engagement of socio-economic development that is defined and shaped from the perspective of developers. These cautions allude to the fact that developers often frame community needs very differently to how communities themselves do (Davids et al., 2005 as cited in Kgadima, 2009). This thesis concludes with Kgadima (2009) while at the same time not admonishing community

developers, as the study recognises that they possess know-how and toolkits to address some of the enduring problems plaguing communities. However, this thesis advocates for a partnership approach between community developers and communities. A pertinent question that need to be asked is how effective the plans are, given that any development policy or agenda has to define the cause of a phenomenon before an appropriate intervention is designed, in order for its impact to be effectively measured (Deaton, 2010).

Scholars have observed that specifically in reference to the SED element, which is a speciality area, the state may be perceived as transferring responsibility for development to for-profit private companies (McEwan et al., 2017; WWF, 2015). Already emerging literature points to the limited sustainability of SED-related gains by beneficiary communities (McDaid et al., 2016b; Pahle, Pachauri, & Steinbacher, 2016).

Concerns have also been raised about the political volatility in South Africa, including frequent protests by the beneficiary communities (Jain & Jain, 2017; Mthembi, 2016). One could argue that the organised protests are also indicative of the communication vacuum between beneficiary communities and IPPs. Studies have shown the narratives play a role in decision-making (Winterbottom, Bekker, Conner, & Mooney, 2008). An observation of those concerned with the REIPPPP in government quarters, industry and community stakeholders have expressed their disappointment that the rich history of community development practice in South Africa, was not factored in the design of the programme (Wlokas et al., 2017), which would benefit from the tested methodologies for effective community engagement.

Due to the design of the programme, one could argue that in the South African context the REIPPPP's notion of community development is private sector led. McEwan, Mawdsley, Banks et al. (2017) argue that private companies are already involved in a host of community development initiatives, either due to legal requirements prescribed in contracts, agreements or as part of donations aligned to corporate social responsibility. While the community development literature has so far not been able to provide a singular definition of community development, scholars have opined on what this involves. There is also a belief that community development should form part of citizen empowerment (McEwan, 2003), given that this is not the role that a profit-driven entity would be familiar with at implementation level. However, this does mean there is a vacuum for those who mediate between business and communities. An observation is that when development is private sector-led, it adopts a business approach. This

model often includes the insistence of business norms such profit-making and exploitation of resources such as land. On the other hand support for social issues and causes is not neutral and tends to ideologically driven (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005).

McDaid et al., (2016) assertion that local government should take responsibility for the SED programmes, echoes this view. This view is however, contradicted by Hahn et al., (2015) who believes that "*organizational ambidexterity is an important determinant of CSP, because it enables firms to simultaneously pursue both instrumental and moral social initiatives – despite the tensions and contradictions that exist between them*" (214).

The research cites the example of corporates who were impacted by deaths of employees at the height of the Aids epidemic and how, due to the impact of staff mortality on business, some corporates opted to roll-out anti-retroviral treatment to staff and their next of kin (Hahn, Figge, Pinkse, & Preuss, 2015). The research is firm in its view that companies are able to combine both business and social objectives, without each nullifying the other (Hahn et al., 2015). How the scale will tilt between these two depends on two key factors, "stakeholder uncertainty and stakeholder scrutiny" (Hahn et al., 2015, p. 222). A highly dynamic stakeholder environment induces uncertainty in the business environment as businesses vie for policies that are in tune with their social environment (Hahn et al., 2015), in their quest for a social licence to operate (Arsenova & Wlokas, 2019). A social license is a social contract between a business and a local community, where the community gives its full support to an entity and has positive views about its presence in their community (Arsenova & Wlokas, 2019).

Stakeholder scrutiny happens when the social agenda of a firm is subject to intense and persistent attention, sometimes invasive attention, from varied interest groups. Firms typically respond to this, often unwelcome, attention by maximising concentration and focus on delivering on the specific social issue under the spotlight (Hahn et al., 2015). The other way to interpret this and specifically with regard to the REIPPPP SED element; beneficiary communities can influence the content and prioritisation of specific SED benefits. To achieve this, the various stakeholders in the communities would have to unite as it is unlikely that a single group would affect any envisaged change (Olsson, 2008). Stakeholders themselves also have to be alert and responsive to the dynamism of their environment (Olsson, 2008).

2.2.4 REIPPPP's lack of inclusion

Morar (2019) has drawn attention to power relations between beneficiary communities and the IPPs, which have also come into focus, especially given the history of exploitative practices in race-based relations in South Africa. Given that communities are structures that come into existence as a consequence of various actions and power relations, both inside and outside the community one would have expected that more careful attention would be given to this by the South African government (DeFilippis, 2001). This design of community influences how the community functions, its dysfunction and the lived experienced of those who make up the community (DeFilippis, 2001). The complex nature and embeddedness of the relationships that produce communities also means that communities are not homogenous, but a mixture of various groupings, interests and networks (DeFilippis, 2001).

Given the demographics of the South Africa, the majority of residents in any town or region are from the groups that were discriminated during apartheid. While beneficiary communities might include a varied group of affluent, middle-class and low-income communities, this research is interested in understanding the latter group. This is due to the fact that many of the redress measures are geared at ensuring their inclusion in the economy of the country after years of systemic exclusion that have resulted in poverty, limited access to economic opportunities and high levels of unemployment (Bhorat et al., 2014; Bhorat & Van Der Westhuizen, 2012; Moleko, 2018). Furthermore, the National Development Programme (NDP) is emphatic about how the fruits of any development programme must benefit this group (NDP, 2012).

Another example is that of an IPP project team that refused to meet with the beneficiary community in the absence of government officials (Morar, 2019). Such behaviour is both bizarre and ironic, given that the community, as part owners of the said project, and therefore part employers of the IPP staff. The refusal to meet amounted to insubordination. This area requires attention given that as a developmental state, South Africa is deemed to have the ability to coordinate different actors to work in environments with virtually no hierarchies, with an emphasis placed on collaboration to achieve outcomes (Swilling et al., 2016). Voices of marginalised communities have been muted for too long in South Africa. Given all the factors already highlighted in this thesis, this mutation is no longer sustainable.

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While advocating for inclusion of marginalised communities, literature concedes that inclusion has its drawbacks. This is because when inclusion happens, it matters who determines the terms for it (Ahmed, 2012). When it takes place in set-ups that are already in motion, a two tier system could emerge with the arrival of the newly-included being in the spotlight, which ironically reinforces their exclusion (Ahmed, 2012). Effective inclusion practices must address estrangement and other practices that had previously closed the door for others (Crisp, 2010). If this step is omitted, the unanticipated consequence would be that of undermining the effective participation of marginalised individuals or communities in environments where they must tread carefully. Ahmed (2012) cautions against viewing inclusion practices as temporary and failing to create solid foundations to ensure their longevity, especially for the benefit of those being included.

However, this view is contradicted by Arvin et al., (2013) who disparages inclusion as an enabler of patriarchy and its inherent power, serving the erasure and co-option of dissenting voices. While a case for inclusion in South Africa is interpreted through the lens of redress for the historical legacies of colonialism and apartheid social engineering programmes that excluded the majority of South African citizens on the basis of race and gender (Benya, 2009), it is evident that due care and attention is required to the way it is implemented. Diversity literature states that there has been limited success in the implementation of diversity and inclusion strategies in South Africa by the corporate sector (April, Dreyer, & Blass, 2007). To this end it becomes evident that business requires external support to facilitate this function.

This is particularly important for the research question of this specific research. Another way to understand inclusion is to understand its opposite, which is exclusion. The roots of social exclusion were sown by historical events such as the slave trade and the dominance of individually-oriented cultures, resulting in weakened community and social bonds that are important to hold communities together (Apfell-Marglin & Marglin 1990 as cited in Howarth & Kessi, 2016).

Those likely to experience exclusion are likely to hail from groups whose racial and cultural identities have been stripped of value, along with being stripped of all forms of wealth-accumulation opportunities often from birth (Arauco et al., 2014). Exclusion thrives where there are few political instruments of social mobilisation and redistribution is poor (Arauco et

al., 2014). These factors combine to compound the disadvantage and strife experienced, which are described as "intersecting inequalities" (Arauco et al., 2014).

The most enduring forms of identity-based inequalities are ascribed from birth; such as race, caste, and ethnicity, which persist over generations (Arauco et al., 2014). Key features of exclusion include, but are not limited to, living in poverty, poor employment prospects, low levels of education, declining health and lack of asset ownership (Narayan et al., 2000 as cited in Mair & Marti, 2009). Exclusion has a compound effect on women, who are often poor (Mair & Marti, 2009) and their poverty is then used to exclude them from economic participation (Mair & Marti, 2009).

Both exclusion and the rise of inequality are global phenomena. A study that focused on inequality trends around the world between 2008 and 2013 observed that inequality widened in at least 34 of the 83 countries on which the study was based (Hostettler, 2018). Poor citizens in at least 23 countries, saw a 40% decrease in their incomes. The rise in incomes only benefitted the rich (Hostettler, 2018). This thesis has already discussed how South Africa mirrors this global trend.

A Human Development Index (HDI) comparison between Black and White South Africans found that development opportunities, for Black South Africans in the early 2000s, was comparable to that of other developing countries in Southern Africa such as Zimbabwe and Eswatini, while for white South Africans, there were similarities with First World countries such as Italy and Israel (Adato, Carter, & May, 2006). Black women are the face of poverty in South Africa as the key markers of poverty are race and gender (Bhorat & Van Der Westhuizen, 2012) and the roots can be traced back to apartheid where Black women were barred from participation in economic activities (Moleko, 2018). Researchers warn of the dire consequences as democracy's survival and sustainability has proven to be incompatible with high levels of inequality (Bhorat & Van Der Westhuizen, 2012). Economic exclusion relates to a lack of access to economic opportunities and often hinders the accumulation of assets. For example poor households, unlike their well-off counterparts, struggle to access financial products that would provide a cushion when experiencing economic struggles (Adato et al., 2006).

A win for those who facilitate inclusion for REIPPPP, is that it could lead to favourable market outcomes. A study in Thailand found that socio-cultural factors were a key barrier to the adoption of clean energy in a community. The study also found that a considerable investment

needs to be made to dismantle these barriers over and above measures geared at the financial inclusion that had been planned for (Yaqoot, Diwan, & Kandpal, 2016). If the views of the community had been sought, either through opinion polls or focus groups ahead of products being launched, the product designers would have been aware of such socio-cultural factors and would have found a way to address them.

It is important that the integration is carefully managed and monitored, because in an environment of structural inequality such as exists in South Africa, dominant cultures may take the role of a host, while those being included may be perceived as guests (Ahmed, 2012). Already marginalised communities in municipalities hosting the REIPPPP have demanded their inclusion through protests at project sites (Mthembi, 2016). Lack of inclusion could threaten the sustainability of projects and also weaken social bonds, alienating the very community meant to benefit from the development (Simpson, Wood, & Daws, 2003).

Another concern is the exclusion of Black women from value chain opportunities on the programme (Stuurman, 2018). The thesis deems the design of the REIPPPP, as being geared to systemically exclude businesses owned by Black women, and cites historic discriminatory and exclusionary industry practices, lack of social capital and financial resources, amongst other reasons. Arguing for a special category for Black female-owned businesses; Stuurman (2018) states that White women, due to their proximity to White men who are the inherent decision-makers in the REIPPPP, are already benefiting from the programme. Furthermore, the research paper posits that special attention should be given to this demographic group throughout the supply chain opportunities, including the SED programme activation and delivery (Stuurman, 2018). Female-owned enterprises have had limited opportunities in the construction phase of REIPPP, despite being mentioned as a targeted group in the White Paper on Renewable Energy (DME, 2003). The IPP Office has flagged the insufficient inclusion of women and has cited the incapacitation of female-owned enterprises as an area of focus (IPPP Overview, 2016b). While this point is of particular interest to the author of this research because it deals with inclusion of the excluded, the representation of women as service providers on the REIPPPP is beyond the scope of this research.

The REIPPPP roll-out has also brought to bear the reality of an energy transition in South Africa and the transition has disrupted the traditional patterns of power generation and inherent stakeholder relationships. Part of the disruption brought about by the transition from fossil-

fuel generated power to renewable energy is the emergence of intermediaries, often organised around sub-sectors and previously not recognised (Moss, 2009). They frequently connect role-players who previously have had no interaction, such as low-income communities and energy regulators (Moss, 2009) as well as famers and rural communities, as in the case of the REIPPPP. Another example, which is the subject of this research, are low-income communities, civil society and power producing companies. Davies (2016) argues that transitions are enabled by the possibility of a variety of stakeholders engaging in dialogue to give effect to the social transformation of systems.

This approach ensures that planning, for example, of human settlements, addresses environmental issues and the views of affected parties. These include other sectoral role-players such as education, health, policing and neighbouring commercial entities. Co-creation fosters closer cooperation and integration of planners and implementers of projects. This thinking around development emerged in the 1980s, partly to address lack of inclusion and inequalities that were already rising back then (Cameron, Odendaal, & Todes, 2004).

Surprisingly, the democratic engagement with stakeholders that has been woven into the introduction of renewable energy, has taken hold even in states that are undemocratically-governed, such as Thailand (Delina, 2018). An example of this is the Pa Deng community, which set up its own renewable energy farm with no support from either government or the established non-governmental sector. The farm has been operational for over a decade (Delina, 2018). The study found that public engagement is ever evolving, stating that "*public engagement is co-existent, collective, cultural, contingent, co-produced, critical, consequential, and connected*" (Delina, 2018, p. 56). The inclusion was enabled by the continual adaptation of the engagement process in order to give effect to marginalised communities (Delina, 2018). This case study would be worth exploring in-depth for those charged with community engagement on behalf of IPPs. While developing their own renewable energy farm would not be possible for the majority of South Africans due to multiple development challenges facing the country (NDP, 2012), South Africa would benefit from studying the public engagement process. As reviewed literature indicates, this has been a poorly executed attempt at remedying errors and ensuring that future IPP projects are community-centric.

2.2.5 Could intermediation help REIPPPP facilitate a pathway to inclusion?

Given the little room for failure for REIPPPP, due to contextual factors already outlined in this thesis, including demands for inclusion by low-income communities (Mthembi, 2016; Nleya, 2011) and the empirical evidence of business' limited ability with this function at community development level (McEwan et al., 2017), it then falls on IPPS, who have been tasked with the function of SED for the programme, to explore effective ways to fulfil the role, despite the fact that it typically falls outside their core responsibility.

The intermediation theory points to the fact that businesses make use of intermediaries for a whole host of reasons, but the key indicator of whether a business would outsource a service to an intermediary is cost reduction in carrying out the function through intermediation (Kistruck et al., 2013). It is important to note that this theory applies to commercial enterprises, contracting other for-profit entities to mediate between themselves and the end user of commercial products.

A possible solution, with pressures from communities on the ground, is the exploration of the role of intermediaries to facilitate for the role of inclusion through tailored community development practice interventions. A key consideration would be intermediation that would be acceptable to communities and other local stakeholders, while making business sense for the IPP in terms of delivery aligned to procurement conditions.

2.3 Intermediaries

The reviewed literature paints a picture of intermediaries' evolving role. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO), which are deemed to be part of civil society, have emerged as a favoured intermediary in the socio-economic development sector (Buckland, 1998; Forstner, 2004; Heinrich, 2001; Sanyal, 2006), with the intermediation being carried out on behalf of a variety of actors. The latter could include donor agencies, government, state organisations or commercial enterprises. It is for this reason that they dominate the focus of this review. The making and agenda of civil society is informed by the various contexts that give rise to these organisations in the first place (Edwards & Foley, 1998).

The reviewed literature points to their changing role in South Africa, where during apartheid (Heinrich, 2001), they often supported communities battling oppression. However, in the democratic era their role is varied (Heinrich, 2001; Lethbridge, 2011; Ntongana & GroundUp,

2018). An economic model followed overwhelmingly, focuses on non-profit generating activities while securing funds from various donors (Leroux, 2007). While NGOs are commended for the work there are doing in communities (Calton, Werhane, Hartman, & Bevan, 2013), they have also come into collision as they are perceived to impose Western norms and values that undermine local knowledge and cultures (Howarth & Kessi, 2016; Wright, 2012). It does appear that resistance from communities yielded a change as the researcher observes that during the onset of the 21st century, literature on NGOs has a slant and examples of their role in inclusion, and how they are moving to integrate their programmes with local norms and practices as this thesis articulates in the later pages.

This thesis also reviews literature on for-profit intermediaries, such as those enabling and facilitating market entry for-profit international companies (Kistruck et al., 2013) as well as those who coordinate and facilitate on behalf of regions as enablers of economic activity (Lieda.co.za, 2013; Smedlund, 2006). It further unpacks literature on intermediaries, including their definition in literature, their key characteristics, their resourcing as well as their ability to facilitate socio-political and socio-technical transitions.

2.3.1 Contextual existence of intermediaries

Intermediation like all organisational forms happens in particular economic, social and political contexts. Frandsen and Johansen (2015) state that they often act on behalf of specific organisations and intermediate with a stakeholder group on behalf of such an organisation.

The table below outlines key intermediary forms and organisational design of such entities. In the case study under review, its intermediation is intervention. This includes intervening, where it is advocating for clean energy in energy-poor communities as well as educating communities about the workings of the different layers of government, so that citizens can achieve maximum benefit for themselves.

The table below presents the Taxonomic Criteria for intermediation

Areas of society in which the intermediary is active	Organizational field Industry Sector(s)

Organisational form	Individual Group of individuals Organization (of individuals) Meta-organization (of organizations) Pure
Status	Pure intermediaries Intermediary of the organization(s) Intermediary of the stakeholder group(s) Shared intermediaries that are also stakeholders
Representation	Plus representation Formal representation ([s]elected by others) Plus/minus membership of the intermediary Informal representation No membership of the intermediary Self-(s)elected "representation" No representation
Intervention	Furthering the interests and activities of the organization(s) and/or the stakeholder group(s); To support, facilitate, coordinate, mobilize, campaign in favour of, etc.; Impeding the interests and activities of the organization(s) and/or the stakeholder group(s); To hinder, to campaign against, etc.; and More neutral types of intervention
Strategic communication of the intermediary	External communication of the organization and/or the stakeholder group; Reputation management (including strategic responses to a reputation commons problem);

	Extra communication (meta-organizations) to handle the balance between collaboration and competition; and Internal communication of the organization and/ or the stakeholder group

The table above captures the contextual social and political contexts in which intermediation happens (Frandsen & Johansen, 2015, p. 263).

2.3.2 Intermediation to facilitate inclusion in low-income communities on behalf of for-profit entities

Literature has many examples of the role intermediaries play in different economic sectors. For example, the literature on technology and innovation defines them as firms that act as a link between consumers and producers of knowledge. This research is limited to the technology sector and cites an example of knowledge transfer from universities to private companies (Smedlund, 2006). When businesses innovate, a critical role played by intermediaries includes linking all the stakeholders whose various inputs are critical to the whole. Smedlund (2013) described intermediaries as playing a bigger role as a glue between innovators and the cultural, intellectual and commercial businesses that such innovation is geared at.

The literature on market entry in developing markets by multi-nationals, views them as critical stakeholders who aid the introduction of their products to new markets in low-income environments (Calton et al., 2013; Mair & Marti, 2009; Vanderlinde & van Braak, 2010; Venkataraman, Vermeulen, Raaijmakers, & Mair, 2016). This is especially so when unconventional strategies are used to enter these markets (Calton et al., 2013). This is due to them having proven particularly effective as bridge-builders during engagements by different stakeholders who may have common long-term goals, but pursue vastly different trajectories to achieve such goals (Hamann & April, 2013). Furthermore, in such instances, intermediaries may have a profit-motive in line with their envisaged role of facilitating direct or indirect interaction between sellers and buyers (Kistruck et al., 2013).

Due to their strong and existing networks in communities, NGOs (or intermediaries) are able to create appropriate opportunities for prospective customers to interact with products in familiar environments (Calton et al., 2013). Even skeptics yield to this logic, as tough lessons have been learned through failed market entry strategies; as often low-income communities frame their challenges differently to businesses and may not display the desired response to marketing plans designed by businesses (Kistruck et al., 2013). The key to these lessons are that even when working with intermediaries who will facilitate entry to markets, collaboration is often located at the end of a long continuum of trust-building moments (Calton et al., 2013).

Their skillful balancing act of reconciling somewhat conflicting or competing paradigms is one of the reasons why intermediaries from the civil society sector are prized (Venkataraman et al., 2016). Pradan, an Indian NGO that ran a programme in the north of that country, was particularly effective as it pioneered a new model of community organising, which married a market-driven approach to development, with the long-enduring structures in the community. This proved particularly valuable in providing entrepreneurial opportunities for women (Venkataraman et al., 2016).

The study found the intermediary was able to create a new organisational model due to an institutional void, where contexts override existing institutional structures that are either outdated, inadequate or weak (Mair & Marti, 2009). The study also concluded that NGOs are intermediaries as their work is not an end, but a means.

Researchers who investigated the potential of creating entrepreneurial opportunities in Bangladesh, where an NGO facilitated opportunities to access the free-market systems for poor families, particularly the female members of these families (Mair & Marti, 2009). Furthermore, it was found that the indicators of success are different to those of market-driven private companies and include harmonising markets to ensure room for socially-oriented economic activity, whose mission it is to improve the lives of citizens (Daskalaki, Hjorth, & Mair, 2015) as well as poverty eradication (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006 Venkataraman et al., 2016). Consequently, the NGO was credited for women's "*knowledge, awareness and agency*" (Venkataraman et al., 2016, p. 714).

2.3.3 Intermediation to coordinate tackling systemic challenges and failures

There are many examples in low-income communities where intermediaries have been at the forefront of highlighting systemic policy failures and even taking action to effect harmonisation of the policy environment (Lethbridge, 2011; Ntongana & GroundUp, 2018). Often, to achieve

this, they have had to coordinate horizontally to amplify impact. From time to time intermediaries form coalitions, in order to solve enduring problems related to the socio-economic needs of communities (Glickman & Servon, 2010). Working with communities and other role players, they have found that at times, to optimise and coordinate the support to the community development practitioners; intermediary organisations such as funders and development partners have formed singular entities known as Community Development Partnerships (CDPs) (Glickman & Servon, 2010).

This finding was preceded by the realisation that problems faced by communities are complex and systemic, therefore a fragmented approach to development was not helpful or effective (Glickman & Servon, 2010). The NDP goes further in recognising the role of community developers as it frames them as key representatives of the marginalised and excluded (NDP, 2012). There is limited literature on whether these special purpose arrangements become permanent structures or whether they remain periodically established and based on need.

2.3.4 Intermediation in the public sector

The changing lens of economic development and the need to attract investment has seen an increasingly region-focused, as opposed to local-focused, development planning. Due to their agile nature, intermediaries have been deemed one of the key ingredients in fostering the continued learning, innovation and production required to sustain regional knowledge clusters (Smedlund, 2006). An example of this would be the LIEDA, which is the provincial economic development agency of Limpopo province in South Africa. The agency has a mandate to promote and mobilise investment for the entire province of Limpopo and engages on national and international platforms, acting as a singular voice and coordinating entity for developmental economic activity in the province (Lieda.co.za, 2013). While such structures place emphasis on the benefits they offer such as reducing costs by centralising functions, there are drawbacks (Sanyal, 2006). These are trade-offs, especially for organisations that lack economic dominance whose interests could be side-lined in favour of the interests of bigger players in the network or region (Sanyal, 2006). Another example of the influence of intermediaries on government policy, is the impact of legislation in the case of low-energy homes in the UK (Martiskainen & Kivimaa, 2018). In theory, policy design is a sole duty of government and yet in this example, the influence of intermediaries in both the public and private sector is cited in crafting the final outcome (Martiskainen & Kivimaa, 2018).

The literature on public utilities working with finite resources for public consumption, argues that such entities often rely on intermediaries to relay complex messages to the everyday user of their services. One example of this is a study undertaken on the water sector in Europe, which found that intermediaries are well-placed to help interpret the complicated Integrated Water Resources Management for consumers (Moss, Medd, Guy, & Marvin, 2009). However, Moss et al., (2009) point out that intermediaries work to achieve their own objectives too and are therefore not neutral advisors.

They further add that "*at the very least, intermediaries could be expected to facilitate dialogue and negotiation amongst stakeholders of water management*" (Moss et al., 2009, p. 19).

2.3.5 Advocacy, capacity building and empowerment - intermediation in the socio-political system in South Africa

The efforts of democratising local government in post-apartheid South Africa saw the creation of representative structures for citizens, to ensure that their voices are heard in a manner that affords them representation in policymaking (Esau, 2008; Makoetje, 2017; Mchunu & Theron, 2014). The complex South African political system has a host of intermediaries supporting the delivery of its various functions. One of these is the Ward Committee, which plays an advisory role to municipal councils on behalf of citizens in a particular ward and is an effective intermediary between citizens and local government (Esau, 2008; McDaid, Manqele, & Moran, 2016a). A study that focused on a Ward Committee in Bonteheuwel, a township in Cape Town, (2008) found the Ward Committee to be a voice of the community. The findings pertinently confirmed the discourse that active citizenry is a driver of citizen participation in such programmes.

The Ward Committee, which is an intermediary that works at local level, is able to execute its duties because it has been able to establish relationships through trust and communication with different role players (Esau, 2008; Smedlund, 2006). This aligns with the vision of active citizenry espoused in the NDP (McDaid et al., 2016a; NDP, 2012).

Many NGOs in South Africa have been key to this process through advocacy, education and awareness, due to their much closer contact with disenfranchised communities (Heinrich, 2001). This has included various functions, which include enforcing accountability in the public sector through instruments such as the Public Access to Information Act (PAIA), court

action to challenge state decisions and the provision of coordination and advisory services to the different levels of government (Heinrich, 2001). An example of this would be the court victory of the Social Justice Coalition (SJC) who challenged the discriminatory allocation of crime-fighting resources by the South African Police Service (SAPS) in the Western Cape Province. The court ruled in favour of the SJC (Ntongana & GroundUp, 2018). However, the inability of the NGO to enforce the court judgement, that is, ensuring that it is honoured by the South African government, points to the limitations of NGOs.

Another example of successful court action against the state is when a coalition led by NGOs tackled the hotbed issue of access to treatment at the height of the Aids pandemic in South Africa. The movement that took on the state to fight the battle included trade unions, faith communities, NGOs and political parties (Lethbridge, 2011).

It is believed that trade unions joined the fight as infected and affected workers would have benefitted from the treatment roll-out. However, NGOs sometimes work in support of, and collaboration with, the state. For example they are sometimes contracted service providers of the state, such as with the provision of disaster relief or voter education (Lethbridge, 2011).

Research suggests that the increasing role of civil society as an intermediary between governments and citizens, is motivated by the diminished faith of citizens in their governments due to the inability of governments to meet citizens' needs (Ashman, 2001). The relationships between civil society organisations with either public or private sector role players, are characterised by a sense of partnership between entities, which are often cordial and almost always never hostile (Waddell & Brown, 1997). Furthermore, these partnerships have increasingly morphed into tripartite structures, involving public, private sector and civil society organisations. This formation could be a result of increasing complexity, coupled with increasing inequality (Waddell & Brown, 1997) and the need to tackle problems jointly. Due to the organisational structures, more often than not the civil society group that proves agile, adapts to reduce risk and complexity in these partnerships (Ashman, 2001). This trend could be due to the pressure on civil society to adapt to the demands of donors. Already in this thesis, we have learnt about the financial dependence of civil society organisations on donors. This increases their vulnerability (Leroux, 2007) and they often have to bend to the agendas of donors.

The negative consequences of this scenario is that a civil society organisation could alienate itself from its peers in the civil society sector (Ashman, 2001).

2.3.6 Facilitating socio-economic development and inclusion for the excluded

The most prominent intermediaries in the socio-economic development sector in South Africa have taken the form of NGOs, in both rural and urban settings. They are deemed the ideal development partner in a strand of tourism that has gained attention in literature, which is known as Community-based Tourism (CBT), a form of tourism that is often performed in low-income communities (Forstner, 2004).

Often local indigenous cultures form part of the tourism offering being sold to tourists, as an extension of the tourism product offered by near-by wine farms and hotels (Forstner, 2004). This form of socio-economic development, which aligns with the DTI definition that requires SED, leads to economic participation for those previously excluded, as the intermediaries cited support inclusion of communities in the tourism value chain.

Intermediaries usually take on the role of capacity-building and empowerment through facilitating or providing training to help communities operationalize the cultural aspects to be traded, including other relevant business development support (Forstner, 2004). A concern has been expressed about how cultural performance in such settings undermines local cultures by commodifying them (Forstner, 2004; Rogerson, 2006). While CBT could be regarded as a form of inclusive practice in the tourism sector, measuring whether the financial benefits actually accrue to low-income communities as pro-poor tourism has not been successful in attracting the attention of scholars (Rogerson, 2006).

Intermediaries in the development sector have demonstrated that they are best placed to play the role of supporting businesses in executing socio-economic plans as they have the appropriate toolkits and other enablers (Daskalaki et al., 2015; Mair & Marti, 2009; Van der Linde & van Braak, 2010; Venkataraman et al., 2016). With these toolkits, they are able to introduce innovations with nuance, taking care to ensure that they do not alienate marginalised communities (Moss, 2009). Furthermore, reviewed literature reveals that intermediaries have proven helpful in supporting businesses in their interactions with stakeholders. This is particularly evident in low-income communities, where business have to employ unique strategies to gain access and legitimacy in such environs (Calton et al., 2013).

2.3.7 Intermediaries as Convenors

This thesis has already cited examples of intermediaries engaging in various roles, including convening stakeholders to facilitate dialogue around specific issues. Front stage convening refers to the practice of convening diverse stakeholders to achieve specific outcomes (Mair & Hehenberger, 2014). Often the convened stakeholders are able to influence key decisions of the convenor. In cases where the convenor is an arm of the state, this is undertaking a public engagement consultation for policy-making purposes (Spitzeck et al., 2012). Effective front stage convening is aided when consensus decision-making, the art of deliberation between equals, can give effect to cooperation (Robson & Kant, 2007). Convening is often necessary to facilitate the discussion and potential to collaborate around complex issues (Dorado, 2002). Other benefits of front-end convening are the fact that those who convene, learn to work with and gain respect for others. This is what embeds social norms and trust-building. Furthermore, repeat encounters with others through meeting via networks that are shared helps to foster trust between people (Bjørnskov, 2006). A key contributor to the success of front-stage convening is distributed leadership and decision-making [1](Mair & Hehenberger, 2014).

Back stage convening refers to the process of engaging stakeholders to introduce ideas, to understand goals and vision, and to creating a space where ideas and innovations can be unpacked by those whose buy-in is required (Westley & Vredenburg, 1997).

This normally happens ahead of convening a larger group for a plenary engagement that involves various stakeholders. When done properly, backstage convening uncovers and addresses potential conflicts. Pertinently, a thorough analysis of the impact of the innovation on existing community networks and social infrastructure in a community needs to be undertaken (Simpson et al., 2003).

2.3.8 Social Capital – a two-way street in intermediation

Being in possession of social capital has emerged in literature as a key factor in successful intermediation, for both intermediaries and those who work with intermediaries as beneficiaries of programmes. Social capital is often framed as a result of "*micro social interactions which are conceived as learning*" (Kilpatrick & Falk, 2000, p. 89). The essence of which is to create 'networks of trust'. Eminent sociology scholar Alejandro Portes, points to the need to distinguish between the possession of social capital, its sources and resources and understanding how these integrate to produce

[1]

desired outcomes (Portes, 1998). Certainly, participation in group activity results in positive positionality for individual members of such groups. This could be viewed as a just reward for such individuals as social groups are not a naturally occurring phenomenon, but occur a result of active work to build and sustain such groups through the investment of time and resources (Portes, 1998). In fact, the possession of social capital by individuals is linked to their keen interest in community participation(Esau, 2008). So important is social capital for intermediation that the role of citizens in a Ward Committee, which is a local government structure that represents citizens, that the notion of citizen participation is predicated on citizens who possess it (Esau, 2008).

Both Esau (2008) and Glickman & Servon (2010) found that the social capital of intermediaries is important in realising their mission as it helps to unlock access to opportunities such as having an opportunity to advise government on services needed by communities, thus serving as the voice of the community. While Esau (2008) Kilpatrick and Falk (2000) have emphasized bridging capital, which views social capital as a win-win that benefits networks equally, DeFilippis (2001), exposes the shortcomings of this perspective. One of the key components of social capital is trust, which is deemed a by-product of other enterprising actions such as participation in civil society programmes for the benefit of the collective (Woolcock, 1998). However it should be noted that social capital is not unlimited in supply and therefore needs to be replenished. Furthermore its use is only optimal (Westlund & Bolton, 2020; Woolcock, 1998).

DeFillips, (2001) who critiques social capital; asserts that not enough emphasis has been placed on the "capital" part of social capital. He argues that networks through which social capital is derived in market-driven economies are contested, exclusionary and accrue differential benefits to different members (DeFilippis, 2001). Citing an example of gated communities in wealthy districts, DeFilippis (2001) argues that these communities employ their social capital to maximise isolation and limit capital flows outside their communities. Furthermore, the research shows that although in low income communities there is always the expectation of economically benefiting from social capital as it deemed a ladder to prosperity (DeFilippis, 2001), due to the continued marginalisation of these communities from the political economy, this does not become their reality. Given the competitive nature of market-driven economies, those who possess this capital tend to limit the entry of others to such networks (DeFilippis, 2001).

2.3.9 Intermediaries and adaptation to a dynamic environment

Scholars investigating the transformational change required in communities to adapt to climate change, found civil society partnerships and intermediaries are key to gaining the community's buy-in (Burch et al., 2014). Furthermore, the research found that intermediaries are particularly important where they facilitate engagement with communities with the aim of securing legitimacy for initiatives developed around sustainability (Burch et al., 2014). Often during sustainability-oriented transitions, new organisational arrangements unfold, in response to the new emerging reality (Davies et al., 2018a), with (Moss et al., 2009). This serves as a reminder that intermediaries are defined not by the character of their organisation, but by the work they do.

While intermediaries are valued for what they can achieve for their partners, they are not always successful in achieving their stated goals. For example, one of the biggest trade unions in South Africa, namely the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), was found to have been unable to achieve their goal of increasing the number of women employed in the mining sector (Benya, 2013). Furthermore, Benya (2013) points to the irony of NUM not meeting this objective given that it was part of setting up the framework that led to the process of legislating gender representation of women in the South African workplace and within its own structures.

2.3.10 The politics of resourcing intermediaries

The socio-political work of NGOs, when influenced by donor agenda, tends to lean towards neo-liberalism and western hegemony, which is often in conflict with values-based cultures (Galvin, 2010). NGOs often champion agendas imposed on them by donors and often have little room to negotiate such matters. In countries such as South Africa, with strong indigenous cultures, they face challenges where these views do not always find support with locals (Galvin, 2010). Literature has suggested an acceptance of the fact that the served communities have a right to determine own agenda and milestones of their own development (Girei, 2016), while accepting that development, its design, processes and effectiveness, is a contested terrain (Girei, 2016).

A study focused on investigating the gap between research and practice in the education sector, found that the intermediaries that fund research benefit from this and they also determine research themes and methods to influence the research conducted (Broekkamp & Hout-wolters, 2008). The same study also identified another category of intermediaries whose primary role it

is to translate the research for practitioners. Pointing to the uneasy path intermediaries have to tread, one of the key findings is that while practitioners are scathing in their views of the gap between research and practice in education, intermediaries expressed neutral views as they deemed themselves to play the role of designing appropriate tools to effect communication between the two groups (Vanderlinde & van Braak, 2010). Proving their role as mediators, to ease the tension between researchers and practitioners on the technical nature of academic writing, has proven to be a barrier to understanding for the practitioners.

Intermediaries proposed a solution, with the right amount of information for use by practitioners (Vanderlinde & van Braak, 2010). The study also brought to bear the boundaries of the role of intermediaries, which is advisory in nature, with limited capacity for enforcement.

The table below illustrates the working relationship between these very divergent organisations and also how these relationships are structured. When the stakes are high in terms of the tasks that are to be performed, this work best when there are a lot more similarities and diversity levels are low (Waddell & Brown, 1997). Due to their ability to organise stakeholders to achieve outcomes, these partnerships yield benefits that individual actors cannot achieve (Waddell & Brown, 1997). However, multi-stakeholder engagement sometimes undermines the convergence of insights due to power dynamics, set agendas and other vested interests (Jaglin, 2014).

On a positive note, when issues under discussion are of global or national significance and when solutions are crafted, there is almost always a reference to a local experience and focus implementation to address specific local issues (Jaglin, 2014). Given the complexity and sensitivity of the environment in which the IPPs work, with examples already stated in this thesis, the researcher believes it necessary to classify the relationships between IPPs and their respective partners.

The table below from Waddell & Brown, 1997, p 4 illustrates the partnerships where there are differences between partners:

	Low Partner Diversity	**High Partner Diversity**
Low Task Specificity	Vision: Agreement on general problems relevant to similar constituents. Organisation: Associations	Vision: Agreement on general problems relevant to diverse constituents. Organisation: Broad social movements and

	or Ideological networks that allow loose coordination among similar organisations.	geographically based networks that allow loose coordination among diverse organisations.
High Task Specificity	Vision: Agreement on specific problems and actions needed by similar constituents. Organisation: Issue-based networks, alliances or joint ventures that coordinate tasks and resource allocations among similar organisations.	Vision: Agreement on specific problems and actions needed by diverse constituents. Organisation: Coalitions and partnerships that coordinate task and resource allocation among diverse organisations.

Literature is divided on whether intermediaries are neutral. Moss (2009) believes they are; Mcewan (2005) states that they are not and le Roux (2007) believes that due to their dependence on donor funding, they are susceptible to influence. Still another view is that they function and integrate the market-driven and social agendas successfully (Venkataraman et al., 2016).

2.3.11 Intermediating to facilitate socio-technical transitions

The findings of a study by Burch et all reveals that intermediaries have proven helpful in securing buy-in from communities for energy transition (Burch et al., 2014) as they are best placed to disseminate information about community energy on pragmatic terms to communities (Smith, Hargreaves, Hielscher, Martiskainen, & Seyfang, 2016). Certainly they often have the toolkits and social resources required for community engagement (Loveridge et al., 2012).

Given that this research is concerned with intermediating a transition from coal-generated to clean energy, the researcher paid attention to intermediaries which, through their development practice, also facilitate the transition to, and adoption of, new technologies. These transition intermediaries typically fall into the following categories:

1) "A systemic intermediary – operating on all levels (niche, regime, landscape), promoting an explicit transition agenda and taking the lead in aiming for change on the whole system level.

2) A regime-based transition intermediary – that is tied through, for example, institutional arrangement or interests to the prevailing socio-technical regime but has a specific mandate or goal to promote transition and, thus, interacts (often) with a range of niches or the whole system.
3) A niche intermediary typically working to advance activities of a particular niche and trying to influence the prevailing socio-technical system for that niche benefit.
4) A process intermediary that change process or a niche project rather than a broader niche (or TIS) level; often without explicit individual agency or agenda, but in support of context specific (project-based or spatially-located) and/or external (niche, regime) priorities set by other actors.
5) A user intermediary translating new niche technologies to users and user preferences to developers and regime actors, qualifying the value of technology offers available" (Kivimaa, Boon, Hyysalo, & Klerkx, 2019, p. 1070).

This thesis has already discussed the energy transition that is underway (Davies et al., 2018b). Furthermore, this transition has also seen the emergence of new role-players. With the change in systems, all manner of reforms is triggered throughout the value chain, which includes a changing and more active role for end users (Moss, 2009). This includes the introduction of renewable energy in South Africa through REIPPPP, with its economic scorecard that offers benefits to communities in host municipalities (Tait et al., 2013). Although intermediaries have always existed, those that intermediate transitions operate in uncharted territory where the once solid lines between role players in the value chain become increasingly blurred (Moss, 2009); by designing information and education programmes to ensure adoption by consumers (Kivimaa, Boon, et al., 2019). Intermediaries are thrust in the mix, with transitions requiring dissolution of what no longer works and the introduction of new innovations (Kivimaa & Kern, 2016).

Engaging with a broader set of stakeholders not only has an impact on governance, but can foster innovative practices (Spitzeck, Hansen, & Grayson, 2011). Since there are various stages to transitions, each step in the process requires its own intermediaries. The stages could include liaising with policymakers to articulate information gleaned from needs analyses of communities, landowners and regulators; organising finance, negotiating with local

government for access to municipal services, prototyping and testing (Kivimaa, Hyysalo, et al., 2019). Therefore the role of intermediaries takes on a different function with every stage of the transition process (Kivimaa, Hyysalo, et al., 2019). Due to the overlaps and complexity of transitions, it is difficult to clearly delineate the beginning and end of one intermediation stage to another. Furthermore, intermediaries move to form their own networks, which include consumers, policymakers and project leaders (Kivimaa, Hyysalo, et al., 2019).

A reduction in state funding for most intermediary functions has also created intense competition for these intermediaries over mandate and role (Martiskainen & Kivimaa, 2018). A lack of consensus among industry role-players is partly influenced by active divestment from old systems and channelling of resources towards new systems and innovations (Kivimaa & Kern, 2016). This adds to the complexity (Mytelka, 2016) and the driver of disagreement is usually vested interests, which are perceived to be under threat (Rennkamp et al., 2017). A remedy that has been proposed is a disruption that incentivises existing incumbents to embrace and invest in the transition (Kivimaa & Kern, 2016).
A common thread across intermediaries that supports socio-technical transitions is their location in settings where they need cross cultural, spatial and other boundaries to carry out their work (Kivimaa, Boon, et al., 2019).

A tool that seems to be widely included in the engagement mix is that of deliberation for critical stages in order to guarantee inclusivity and outcome legitimacy (Delina, 2018; Hamann & April, 2013). Leadership, including relational abilities, helps intermediaries navigate the choppy waters of disagreement, uncertainty, resource scarcity and ambiguity (Hamann & April, 2013). Intermediaries need to have a strong mettle as energy transitions are a stop-start process, with delays and inertia almost guaranteed (Sovacool, 2016).

2.4 Chapter Conclusion

The key summary points from the reviewed literature are that SED benefits are a requirement of the REIPPPP and therefore participating companies who secure contracts from the state under this programme, cannot opt out of the obligation (IPPP Overview, 2016b). A problem arises when private companies, which the IPP project companies are, have been mandated to take responsibility for community development in spite of the fact that this function is not their competence (McDaid et al., 2016b; McEwan et al., 2017; Tait et al., 2013; WWF, 2015). In

addition the inclusion women and other marginalised groups has not fared well (IPPP Overview, 2016b; Tait et al., 2013). notwithstanding the fact that both groups are specifically mentioned as targeted groups in the White Paper on Renewable Energy (DME, 2003). Significantly, their inclusion is one of the premises that the programme is championed on.

There is little evidence in existing literature to suggest that much attention has been paid to the different role-players who are required to support the energy transition at various levels; including the level of local citizens. (Mthembi, 2016; Weber & Rohracher, 2012). Part of the concern stems from the fact that with the envisaged expansion of REIPPPP, the programme could become even more complex and complicated (Eisner, 2005).

The reviewed literature also points to a nexus between local government, IPPs and local beneficiary communities, who are key parties to REIPPP's SED programme implementation. There is also a gap in the literature with regard to the potential role of intermediaries in the implementation of SED benefits in low-income communities for REIPPPP. In these settings intermediaries can play the role of bridging access for mobilised citizens, who are equipped to engage with both with private or public sector developers and hold them accountable to deliver on contracted procurement conditions.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter introduces the research methodology, which is a qualitative case study using ethnographic methods. Due to the nature of the research question this approach it was deemed appropriate as it seeks to investigate the quality of the case study programme rather than the number of interactions between the intermediary and the community activists (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013).

3.2 Research Approach

The research undertaken is inductive as its approach is based on observation and semi-structured interviews. Had the study been focused on legislation and other data and scientific arguments, it would have employed a deductive approach (Trechim, 2006 as cited in Soiferman, 2010). The analysis it follows is qualitative, due to the fact that information is gathered and then interpreted before generalisations are made (Soiferman, 2010). The deductive approach is often paired with the quantitative analysis, but research increasingly finds less dichotomy in these approaches than some believe (Soiferman, 2010). Furthermore, in a qualitative study there is greater emphasis on details of the research site, seemingly including details that might be deemed unimportant in other contexts, but which would be relevant in other studies as they reveal detail and nuance of the research site (Bryman, 2012). For example, in South Africa geography is a determinant of so many things, including access to municipal and other government services.

Qualitative research has strengths, which include unearthing rich data and the ability to explain multifaceted episodes. The setting is always the real world (Burke Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 1989). Conversely, there are also weaknesses in qualitative research, which includes the fact that generalisations could be problematic and also that the researcher may influence the analysis in greater detail than would be the case in quantitative studies (Burke Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 1989). The researcher mitigated this weakness, firstly by carefully selecting a sample that would help answer the research question, and also by including more than one method for the study. In addition, the collected data was triangulated. The integration further assisted the researcher to understand the research problem and to answer the research question (Fielding, 2012).

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3.3 Research Site

The research focuses on the work of Project90by2030, a public benefit organisation (PBO), non-Governmental Organisation and Non-Profit Organisation (NPO). Project90by2030 is based in Cape Town and has implemented its programme in at least four provinces in South Africa (Project90by2030, 2019).

The organisation's mission is to work with citizens to tackle climate change impacts and to mobilise citizens in mitigation thereof. Their plan is to help citizens to reduce their use of finite resources such as energy, food and water by the year 2030, with the intention of achieving a low-carbon future by the year 2030 (Project90by2030, 2017). Furthermore, Project90by2030 is actively engaging with various communities through education and advocacy programmes in order to facilitate this transition, according to one of the respondents. In addition, they unpack opportunities for citizens to participate and access benefits through already current legislated and regulatory frameworks in South Africa.

The case study is exploratory as the researcher is interested in gaining a deeper understanding of their community development practice (Simpson et al., 2003) through the Community Partnership Programme (CPP), which involves representatives from Community Based Organisations (CBO) in low-income communities of Cape Town.

The programme content includes a learning programme that focuses on educating participants about energy access, regulation and efficient use; including introducing green energy low-tech solutions such as a wonderbag[2] and solar lighting. The other part of the learning programme includes educating participants about the mechanisms for citizen participation in the democratic South Africa; such as participating in public hearings where possible and the IDP of local government.

[2] A wonderbag is an insulated slow-cooker, in the form a bag, that does helps to reduce electricity use for heating food.

Furthermore, the organisation depicts their work in the image displayed below:

Source: Project90by2030

A review of the organisation's documents was undertaken by the researcher. This includes the information available on their website, stakeholder methodology and Participatory Community Engagement (PCE). This revealed that the case study's practice methodology blends various approaches to community-based socio-economic development (Project90by2030, 2019).

The organisation's tagline is "Inspire. Mobilise. A low-carbon generation". According to Project90by2030, the following five key principles are the centre of their work:

> **"*Leadership:*** *we develop young leaders whose actions inspire others to be more aware of climate change and energy-related issues;*
>
> ***Research:*** *we research thoroughly, which enables us to formulate good arguments and inspire action in ourselves and others;*
>
> ***Practical Action:*** *we encourage and capacitate communities to take action to adapt to, and tackle, the energy challenges they are facing;*
>
> ***Advocacy &Communication:*** *we promote participation and engagement of civil society through effective communication and advocacy in decision-making processes; and*
>
> ***Partnerships:*** *we work collaboratively towards a sustainably developed and equitable low carbon future*" (Project90by2030, 2019).

To date, through the CPP, training has been provided to Community Based Organisations (CBO) in four provinces in South Africa.

Although Project90by2030 is presently not involved as an intermediary in the REIPPPP, they are working as an intermediary delivering on the socio-economic development agenda in South Africa. To this end they work to educate communities about their basic rights and also help communities to access information as well as platforms for civic engagement. The organisation's approach involves improving the capacity of locals, so that they can go back to their communities with vital knowledge and skills that can be transferred to others. Given that this thesis has already cited the skewed distribution of skills in South Africa, this is sensible approach. This is particularly so because civil society is not deemed to be neutral in South Africa; as it is often dominated by those advantaged by apartheid and influenced by their views and paradigms. This is a contested space and is often not inclusive (McEwan, 2005).

The initial learning programme launched by the organisation four years ago included energy education to those residing in energy-poor communities. This included introducing the communities to new forms of cost-effective off-grid technologies that could augment grid-power and help to ease some of the challenges experienced by these low-income communities.

The organisation's community engagements in the 2017/2018 financial year included completing the European Union funded Energy Smart Citizens in Action Project, which focused on improving energy access and engagements with local government for energy-poor low-income communities. The programme is now focused on training citizens on the cooperative governance system in South Africa, in order to help citizens, understand the three levels of government and how the three work together to deliver programmes to citizens. The key focus is the citizen participatory process of the IDP and other participatory mechanisms provided for in the South African context.

One of the research respondents states that it is important for citizens in any municipal jurisdiction in South Africa to understand the participatory nature of the IDP, so as to have their communities' development needs reflected in the document. The view of the office is that socio-economic development plans (SED) drawn-up by IPPs, should align with the IDP of the host municipality (McDaid et al., 2016b). Though, this view is not without it's criticism.

This approach is supported by literature, which has found citizens who engage on government-led platforms such as the IDP, tend to be those who are or have been active citizens in their own communities or places of work (Newman, Barnes, Sullivan, & Knops, 2004). Since the onset of democracy, a policy shift towards citizen participation and engagement has emerged (Newman et al., 2004), which gives motivation for citizens to get involved.

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Project90by2030 convenes the representatives of the CBOs where they learn together in interactive training sessions that are facilitated by their in-house facilitators. Creating a learning community also helps the organisation to sharpen their own learning as they engage in their work (Respondent 5). This has benefits for the trainees as the creation of learning circles within the project is a win-win, facilitating as it does peer learning, while also supporting the organisation in sharpening their delivery (Stephan, Patterson, Kelly, & Mair, 2016).

3.4 Research Design

The research is designed in the form of a case study. The particular case study chosen is deemed relevant for a number of reasons, of which one is that it represents an effort to mobilise low-income communities towards a low carbon future. This particular case study did not align to the Yin (2014) prescribed six steps for a case study, and therefore the unit of analysis for the study is the Community Partnership Programme (CPP) of the case study. All data for this research is collected focusing on this element of the NGO's work. The entire study remained within this boundary.

One of the key motivations for selecting a case study is that it enables an intense investigation of social processes (Bryman, 2012). Furthermore, with a case study research design the intent "is not whether the findings can be generalised to a wider universe but how well the researcher generates theory out of the findings" (Bryman, 2012). Researchers are divided on the value of case studies. For some researchers, this is the favoured design for those who emphasise their ability to unearth rich empirical data; while others cite the difficulty to generalise their findings as a reason to shun them (Yin, 2009). Case studies are also often viewed as lacking in rigour, however, the researcher mitigated this by consulting different sources of data that were then triangulated (Yin, 2009) to confirm insights from the field.

Yin (2009) believes a key strength of case study research is that it affords the opportunity to "*enlighten those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes*" (20). It is this strength that makes the case study design suitable for this research, particularly because reviewed literature points to a complexity on the ground with regard to the implementation of community benefits for the REIPPPP. One should also consider that SED benefits and economic development are complex phenomena to which there are no easy or perfect solutions. To this end this research project strives to add another layer to the discussion on SED benefits in the REIPPPP, especially within low-income communities. This includes

exploring the development practice that leverages their existing socio-cultural assets and how these can foreground SED programmes to maximise impact in beneficiary communities.

3.5 Research ethics

Ethics clearance was given by the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Commerce at the University of Cape Town ahead of the researcher undertaking fieldwork. The researcher discussed an appropriate schedule with the facilitators, which allowed her to join the participants on one of their training days. Upon arrival at the training venue, the researcher was introduced to the participants by one of the facilitators and was given the opportunity to explain her research project to them. She articulated to the participants that the research methodology would include observation and interviews. This was done to ensure that the participants would have clarity with regard to their role in the research (Crow, Wiles, Heath, & Charles, 2006). The researcher regarded this as being crucial to engaging the research in a climate of equality between herself and the participants.

For the observation aspect of the research, the researcher explained that she would not be participating in the research herself, but would function as a note-taking observer., The researcher therefore opted for the opposite of the blinding practice, where neither the observer nor the observed are aware of the observation (Mann, 2003). The blinding practice would not have worked in this scenario as the researcher was unknown to the participants and they would have found it strange to have an unfamiliar presence in their very familiar group.

Furthermore, the researcher indicated that consent was required from them and those who did not want to participate in both stages of the research could indicate this to the researcher (Crow et al., 2006).

The researcher invited the participants to ask questions where they required clarity on any aspect of the research. Thereafter, the researcher asked the participants to complete consent forms. This was possible because the only people who were present in the room were the programme participants and facilitators (Walshe, Ewing, & Griffiths, 2012). A few weeks later the researcher returned to the training venue, as arranged with the facilitators, to join the group for one of their training days. The purpose of this visit was to engage with those respondents who were keen to be interviewed for the research, at which time the consent process was explained to each of the respondents (Crow et al., 2006). Because the researcher's first language is IsiXhosa, she used this language to explain the consent and withdrawal of

consent to IsiXhosa speakers; however, this process was undertaken in English for the Afrikaans speaking respondents as

The researcher does not speak Afrikaans. The researcher also explained to all the respondents that the interview questions are worded in English and she checked with them whether they would be comfortable to conduct the interview in English. Furthermore, the researcher advised the respondents that they did not have to answer any questions that they did not feel comfortable answering. It was also explained to the respondents that their responses would be anonymised and that the thesis will be shared with the NGO after the examination of the research. The entire programme of the NGO is presented in English; therefore, all respondents speak English fluently. Pertinently, all respondents were comfortable with the research being undertaken in English.

Before the commencement of each interview, the respondents were informed that the interviews would be recorded with an audio recorder and they gave consent to this. This was a re-confirmation as this had already been indicated in the consent forms (Speer & Stokoe, 2014).

The researcher found the respondents were confident in expressing themselves and had engaged in interviews before, as part of their community activism.

The researcher had indicated in the ethics application an intention to interview 40 respondents but found that there was a maximum of 11 participants on the programme. Upon gathering the data the researcher found that although in the ethics application she had stated that the research would employ three research methods, namely: observation, interviews and a focus group; she found that enough data had been collected with observation and interviews to the extent that the focus group method was not needed.

Certainly it became clear to the researcher that the research had reached a state of saturation once all programme participants had been interviewed (Houghton & Keynes, 2013). Qualitative studies dig deeper and place more emphasis on the social environment. This requires probing respondents with incisive questions and making more pointed observations rather than merely focusing on the quantity of respondents (Adler, 2012). The researcher was of the view that this had been achieved.

The researcher comes from the same cultural background as some of the respondents to the research. Furthermore, the researcher was raised in a marginalised community.

Pertinently too, the researcher herself works for an intermediary organisation in the basic education sphere in South Africa which serves under-privileged communities. This influenced the choice of research questions and the site of her research. Ultimately, the researcher's background also helped to create a rapport with all the respondents in this research (Bhopal, 2010).

3.6 Research Methods

Often case studies are associated with qualitative studies and the methods used are observation and unstructured or semi-structured interviews (Bryman, 2012). Bearing this in mind the researcher applied her mind to what would be the best way to answer the research question and decided that the combination of methods would work best, namely observation and semi-structured interviews. The researcher was also mindful that qualitative studies are particularly suitable in contexts where the respondents are from marginalised communities (Hutchinson et al., (2000) as cited in Bhopal, 2010).

3.6.1 Observation

This research method involves observing the research site and carefully recording such observation for later analysis and interrogation (Cresswell, 2003). Observation is a particularly useful method when one wants to understand behaviours and actions (Walshe et al., 2012).

The observation for this research took place on one of the training days for the CPP participants. The researcher joined the group in the morning and spent the day with the group. The observed group was made up eleven participants and two facilitators.

> The observation was unstructured. "Unstructured observation Mulhall (2003):
>
> • provides insight into interactions between dyads and groups;
>
> • illustrates the whole picture;
>
> • captures context/process;
>
> • informs about the influence of the physical environment (p. 307).

Furthermore, the observation helped to provide evidence to back up any assertions that have been made in various texts and documents (Mulhall, 2003). The first key observation made by

the researcher was of the training venue itself, namely the Tshisimani Activist Centre in Mowbray, which is aligned to the activist nature of the case study and the participants.

Before the start of the session in the morning, some participants congregated at the tea and coffee station, where they prepared their own tea and refreshments. Because people did not all arrive at the same time, it took a while for everyone to get organised. When everyone was seated and ready for the session to start, one of the facilitators asked one of the participants to pack her some refreshments to take home and enjoy later. The participant was fasting as it was Ramadan, a period when Muslims fast between dawn and dusk.

One of the two facilitators introduced the researcher and asked her to tell the group briefly about the research. The researcher then proceeded to inform the group about the research and her presence on the day and proceeded to answer a few questions. She explained that she would be observing on the day and would not be taking part in any of the proceedings. She also explained that she would be taking notes from time to time.

The ethics forms were completed by the participants in the training room, who were all present on the day, including the two facilitators. This was done ahead of the commencement of the day's proceedings. The ease of the process was enabled by the fact that the entire time the people in the room their function was as the participants, the facilitators and the researcher (Walshe et al., 2012). The researcher exercised the non-participant observer status so as to keep a measure of distance from the process. One of the advantages of this approach is the fact that the researcher was able to observe events and interactions as they occurred (Cresswell, 2003).

Pertinently, as a non-participant observer the researcher could focus solely on observation and she was able to observe even the most salient interactions as her attention was not divided between observing and participation.

The participant-observer opportunity was not really open to the researcher as she has not engaged in the type of community activism that was common amongst the participants, which is normally how the access to the group can be negotiated easier (Labaree, 2002). This status has a number of benefits for the researchers. Some include the potential to tap into shared histories with research subjects, thus gaining intimate knowledge and understanding of the research site (Labaree, 2002). However, a disadvantage thereof is the possibility of compromised objectivity whereas non-participant observers are able to overcome this hurdle with triangulation (Labaree, 2002).

The researcher took notes, which were elaborated on later (Yin, 2009) and this script was not shared with the participants or facilitators (Cooper, Lewis, & Urquhart, 2004).

The researcher also took care to dress informally with the intent to blend in with the entire group (Mulhall, 2003) as the researcher was cognizant of how communities tend to find it easy to establish rapport with those similar to themselves (Lohman, 1937). This also reinforced alignment with the inclusive nature of the research as well as being mindful that interview respondents would normally be excluded, and that their views are not often sought (Walshe et al., 2012).

The observation centred on demographic diversity, group interaction, communication and workshop content. The content of the training day focused on introducing the participants to the Integrated Development Programme (IDP) and its participatory opportunities for citizens. The researcher opted for this method in order to observe the intra-group relations, including verbal and non-verbal cues between themselves (Cooper et al., 2004). During the proceedings the participants would cite examples of their experience with accessing municipal services in their communities. Addendum 1 details the observations of the researcher on the day.

The start of the session was a discussion of the debate that had been organised by Project90by2030 and other civil society organisations, where they invited political parties to address voters on the green agenda they would be pursuing if voted into power. The debate had taken place a few weeks before the national and provincial elections that were held in South Africa in May 2019.

The researcher observed how the participants spoke to one another and the facilitators, animatedly sharing views on the political parties and leaders. This part of the session was very social and agreeable between participants, each taking a turn to express themselves (Chikovore, Makusha, Muzvidziwa, & Richter, 2012).

During the course of the day the researcher observed the interaction between the facilitators and the participants (Addendum 2) as well as intra-group dynamics between the participants themselves. Observation can prove to be a challenging method for researchers, such as when researchers witness inappropriate behaviour and may feel compelled to intervene (Walshe et al., 2012). Fortunately, no inappropriate behaviour was observed during day spent with the group by the researcher.

When it was time for the programme to wrap up, one of the facilitators distributed R100 notes to each of the participants. The facilitator later explained to the researcher that the funds were meant to cover the cost of transport back home and to compensate them for costs incurred to attend the training. This is in view of the fact that participants live far from the training centre and incur considerable costs to participate on the programme. This is partly due to the endurance of the apartheid spatial planning, which effectively moved Black South Africans to the outskirts of commercial centres (Christopher 2001 as cited in Lucas, 2011) and has translated into high transport costs for those living in such communities, including lengthy periods of time spent in transit because of distances travelled (Lucas, 2011).

Due to time constraints for this research, the researcher was limited to one observation occasion, which was undertaken on a single day, from the morning to the adjournment of proceedings on the day.

3.6.2 Interviews

The interview method is a widely used data-gathering technique. While it appears to be easy, it requires a researcher to be attuned to the site (Donalek, 2005) and to carefully align the interview questions to help answer the research question. According to Whiteley et al., (2005) an interview in a qualitative study is a personal interaction between two people, and it frames the interviewer as both participant and observer. This therefore "*means that involvement of the researcher in the data being collected is an essential aspect of the data collection exercise*" (Whiteley et al., 2005, p. 12).

For this research project, the interviews conducted were face to face interviews. The other interview modality is the use of the telephone. There are considerable differences between these two interviewing methods. For example, respondents would more readily answer difficult or uncomfortable questions during telephonic interviews than they would when sitting face to face with an interviewer (Locander, Sudman, & Bradburn, 1976). While this might be an advantage, one cannot overlook the importance of optical signals in face to face interviews, such facial expressions, gestures and body language. This absence could result in missed opportunities that could potentially enrich the data that is collected (Novick, 2008). However, this assertion fails to take into account the possibility of interviewers who might observe and not understand non-verbal cues, in an interview context. Face to face interviews are time-consuming, as they require planning to ensure that both the interviewer and the interviewee have to be in the same meeting venue.

Face to face interviews could also be stress-inducing for researchers (Novick, 2008). For this research project, it proved helpful that the researcher had met the respondents during the observation phase, and this potentially helped to reduce any discomfort. Significantly, as already mentioned, the researcher hails from a similar cultural background to some of the respondents.

However, face to face interviews produce substantial data, especially, when the researcher's sampling has been carefully considered (Rowley, 2012). The key factor about interviews is their ability to generate data from which a researcher is able to draw findings (Rowley, 2012). Therefore, one can deduce that both interview modalities have inherent strengths and weaknesses (Novick, 2008). The research process for this research included conducting two sets of semi-structured interviews, with questions framed in such a way as to help the researcher understand the subject of the research. Some sub-questions were also added to ensure that respondents were able to fully express themselves on the issue (Rowley, 2012). The semi-structured interviews were particularly important because the researcher was interested in providing respondents with "*maximum latitude to spot useful leads and pursue them*" (Adams, 2015, p. 494).

The first interview was conducted with one of the facilitators, which was followed by interviews with the participants. The second facilitator was interviewed twice. The reason for the second interview is elaborated on in the later pages.

A month after the observation aspect of the research had been undertaken; the researcher joined the CPP participants on one of their workshops so that she could ask some of the programme's participants if they were willing to be interviewed. The period between the various stages of data collection was largely dictated by the availability of the researcher, who works full-time, as well as the training schedule of the case study participants.

On the day in question, the researcher arrived early in the morning on a training day, having pre-arranged this visit with the facilitators. While enjoying coffee with the group ahead of the commencement of the day's training, the researcher asked the participants if they would be willing to be interviewed during either the morning tea break or at lunch time. Five of the participants expressed their willingness to be interviewed. Four out of five had been present during the day the researcher undertook the observation and were already familiar with her.

With the respondent who had not been part of the group that was observed, the researcher introduced herself and explained the purpose of her visit as well as the research to the respondent.

On the day the interviews took place there were only two male participants present. Therefore, the researcher is opting not to disclose the gender split of the respondents in order to protect the anonymity of the respondents. In addition, some of the respondents are the only representatives of their area; therefore, the researcher is opting not to reveal the residential areas of the respondents to protect the anonymity of the respondents.

The interviews focused on understanding the participants' background, their views and lived experience within their communities. This was to ensure that there is proper contextualisation of how they joined the programme and how they view their experience of the programme (Seidman, 2013). The interviews were conducted in a small meeting room adjacent to the training venue, for ease of access for the respondents. Consent forms were completed by each of the respondents ahead of the commencement of the interviews. The respondents also consented to the interviews being audio recorded. The researcher confirmed with them that they were comfortable being interviewed in English. The in-person approach for the interviews allowed for the researcher to clarify questions for the respondents.

The interview schedule is below.

Interview respondent	**Role in programme/research site**	**Date of interview**	**Interview venue**	**Comments**
Respondent 1	Community Activist Participant	28/05/2019	Tshisimani Activist Centre, Mowbray	Has been living in their community for "over 20 years".
Respondent 2	Community Activist Participant	28/05/2019	Tshisimani Activist Centre, Mowbray	Has been living in their community for 33 years.

Respondent 3	Community Activist Participant	28/05/2019	Tshisimani Activist Centre, Mowbray	Has been living in their community for 26 years.
Respondent 4	Community Activist Participant	28/05/2019	Tshisimani Activist Centre	Has been living in their community for 14 years.
Respondent 5	Facilitator	16/05/2019	Respondent's Office	Is employed by the NGO that the case study is based on.
Respondent 6	Community Activist Participant	28/05/2019	Tshisimani Activist Centre, Mowbray	Has been living in their community for 20 years.
Respondent 7	Facilitator	09/06/2019 & 03/07/2019	Restaurant & Respondent's office	Employed by the NGO that the case study is based on. This interview was done and completed. After the first round of data analysis, the researcher arranged to meet and clarify some points with the respondent.

As already mentioned in this thesis, the researcher informed the participants that although the thesis will be shared with the NGO, all respondents would be anonymised. This was to ensure that respondents would not need limit themselves and that they could express themselves as honestly as possible throughout the interview (Alvesson, 2003). This was meant to mitigate against the respondents feeling under pressure to agree with the other participants, in order to maintain positive relations with them (Jensen-Campbell & Graziano, 2001), even when a negative comment would be more appropriate as a response.

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The interviews were designed to make it possible to unearth responses that would enable the researcher to understand salient points about the CPP and the key motivators of the respondents, in alignment with the research question (Castillo-Montoya, 2016). The researcher was able to secure an interview with one of the facilitators and conveners of the CPP at an early stage of the research process. This interview took place at the office of the NGO and took approximately 45 minutes in duration. Ahead of the interview the respondent completed an ethics form and consented to an audio recording being taken of the interview. This interview was designed to understand the methods used by the NGO to convene as well as to understand the content of the programme; how participants benefit from attending the programme and how any barriers encountered were dealt with. One of the questions also allowed for reflection on the CPP practice over time.

A few weeks later, the researcher interviewed the other facilitator and convener. This interview took place off-site and was also approximately 45 minutes in duration. During the interview and later while transcribing the interview, the researcher found that there was some inconsistency between the interviews of the two facilitators and conveners. Pertinently, the researcher noticed an inconsistent reply to the question on how the CPP has been running. The convener's view was inconsistent with print and digital literature from the NGO. This moment in the research process served to confirm that transcribing is more than just the act of transferring what is recorded onto a text form. It requires a nuanced understanding of the research site and an ability to interpret data early on in the research process (Vaivio, 2012). The researcher then requested a meeting to clarify the inconsistency. A follow-up interview was undertaken, and this portion of the interview was recorded. The interview, which was duly audio-recorded and transcribed, took about 15 minutes and was conducted at the offices of the NGO. In qualitative research, varied data collection methods aid the researcher to gain a broader perspective on the research site. This compensates for instances where a single respondent presents a view that is not consistent with data from other sources (Whiteley et al., 2005). The interview schedule is included on Addendum 2 of this thesis.

The interviews commenced with the respondents being asked to state their names and their places of residence, to establish rapport (Patton, 2015 as cited in Castillo-Montoya, 2016) . This was also helpful to confirm that participants indeed they reside in low-income communities of Cape Town. Participants were also asked how long they had lived in their communities and to share details of their community participation. Thereafter, the enquiry focussed on how they were introduced to the NGO, again to understand and confirm the

convening methods stated in the CPP strategy of the NGO. Participants were also asked whether they found their learning beneficial. These questions were all geared at gaining insights into the research site and the experiences of the participants (Adler, 2012). Although the respondents home languages were mainly IsiXhosa and Afrikaans, all expressed being comfortable with being interviewed in English. The interview questions are attached as Addendum 3 of this thesis.

3.7 Sampling

There were two types of respondents for this research and the key consideration in sampling is alignment to the research question and the generation of data that could be generalisable to an entire population (Topp, Barker, & Degenhardt, 2004). While Seawright and Gerring (2008) are not entirely convinced of the generalisability of data from purposive samples, they make the case that they contribute to the "*inferential process*" (295).

To ensure that the research sample group would produce rich data and to achieve this purpose, the researcher chose the non-probability sampling route, ensuring that only participants who would be able to answer the research question were selected (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016; Seawnght & Gerring, 2008). For the purpose of this study, the respondents were chosen from a group of participants in the CPP of the case study. As mentioned already on this thesis, they were chosen to participate in this case study as they reside in low-income communities.

The study is particularly concerned with inclusivity: practices geared at deliberately including communities who would normally be excluded from wider decision-making structures.

Furthermore, the respondents also represent a homogenous sample (Etikan et al., 2016) because of their activism in local community based organisations (CBO) and their selection by the CBO to represent them on the programme. The sample is made up of 5 participants who are Black and Coloured Capetonians. The majority of respondents were women.

The second group of respondents were the two facilitators of the CPP of the case study, who are both employees of the NGO on whom the case study is based. Their selection was due to their role on the programme, as one had been working on the programme for a few years and the other designed the current learning programme (Morse, 2015).

The entire sample allowed the researcher to gain a deeper insight into the case study's community development practice (Cresswell 2013 as cited in Guetterman, 2015). Time constraints for the research were another key consideration.

3.8 Research Dependability and Confirmability

The first step taken by the researcher to ensure the validity of the research was the careful selection of the case study researched, to be certain that it would be able to respond the research question (Topp et al., 2004). The research is deemed valid when the interpretation is supported and corroborated (Soiferman, 2010) through data collected using different methods (Morse, 2015). Thereafter a pattern emerges (Sandelowski, 1993) in the form of varied respondents expressing similar experiences with regard to the research site. A further step taken to ensure dependability and confirmability of the research was the triangulating the data collected (Cresswell, 2003) during observation, interviews and viewing of key documents. An example of triangulation during the research occurred when the researcher noticed an inconsistent reply to an interview question on how long the CPP has been running. This arose when it became evident that the convener's view was inconsistent with print and digital literature from the NGO. The researcher then requested a meeting to clarify the inconsistency. The second interview took place at the offices of the NGO and the facilitator was able to clarify that they had erred in the earlier interview. The researcher's view of this incident was not to dismiss the inconsistent view, but to test if it was supported by other data that had already been collected (Sandelowski, 1993).

Upon checking with the respondent in question, the researcher learnt that the researcher had erred in her understanding of events and later corrected the error.

3.9 Research Authenticity and Transferability

Research transferability relates to whether research can be transferred to a different context. A scholarly view is that "in qualitative inquiry, the application of the findings to another situation or population is achieved through decontextualization and abstraction of emerging concepts and theory" (Morse, 2015).

To enhance the transferability of the research, the researcher has provided an in-depth picture of the research site, the respondents and their context. The findings of the research incorporate key insights from the empirical data collected (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004).

The authenticity of the research is supported by the rich data gleaned from interviews, key documents and methods of observation. All respondents engaged directly with the researcher without any intermediaries, which enabled them to express themselves freely (Winter, 2002).

The research is authentic as it presents an inclusive innovation that can add to the discussion on socio-economic plans for low-income communities and the research site has been selected due to its match to the low-income beneficiary communities of REIPPPP, thus enhancing its potential to respond to the research question. While the research might not be generalisable to other contexts, it would be transferable to other low-income communities in South Africa, where there is existing community infrastructure such as CBOs.

Themes that have emerged from the data of this research include incentivised participation, backstage convening and intimate knowledge of communities.

3.10 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher discussed the research methodology, unpacking research design and methods, sampling and the research site. The methodology aims to respond to the research question, which seeks to understand the potential role of intermediaries in the provision of SED benefits in REIPPPP to low-income communities.

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Chapter 4 Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the themes that have emerged from the thematic analysis of the data. The themes reflect some key arguments raised in the reviewed literature about the state of community relations in South Africa and also that the people at the receiving end of poor service, who lack representation and a voice, are people from low-income communities. In addition, it became clear that the intermediary seems to possess the toolkit and is able to work with communities to achieve outcomes.

The themes that have emerged are the following:

a) Reside and work in low-income communities;
b) Strong but challenged communication networks;
c) Acknowledgement of local knowledge and expertise;
d) Active Citizenry;
e) Female Representation;
f) Social Capital;
g) Esteem Benefits;
h) Incentives;
i) Empowerment & Capacity Building;
j) Front stage convening;
k) Back stage convening;
l) Dichotomy of Participation and Employment.

4.2 Coding of findings

Once the interviews were transcribed and pages printed, the researcher began to look for emerging themes by grouping similar themes together with post-it notes in a process that involved reading and re-reading the transcribed interviews and observation notes (Chapman, Hadfield, & Chapman, 2015). The resulting codes enabled the researcher to ensure that the questions that had been asked were answered (Skjott Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019).

To ensure rigour in the process, the code development process was deductive as some of the themes were influenced by the research question, the literature that had been reviewed and the documents from the case study (Fereday & Muir-cochrane, 2006).

Below is an outline of the codes that were named, explained and then sub-coded (Fereday & Muir-cochrane, 2006).

Name of the Code	Explanation of the Code	Sub-code
Low-income status of the community	The research question is framed specifically around people who live in low-income communities and therefore important to ascertain this fact.	
Co-creation of knowledge	Acknowledgement of local knowledge and expertise	Community Activists were members of existing CBOs
Strong but challenged communication networks	The literature has examples of poor communication on the REIPPPP by both the government and IPPs	Communication amongst citizens in the communities
		Communication between programme participants and the intermediary
		Communication between government and citizens
Engagement of active citizenry	The intermediary indicated that it works in communities where there are already existing community-based organisations and works to support and capacitate them. Furthermore, the programme comprises mainly of unpacking the democratic framework of South Africa, so that citizens can understand when and how to engage. It is designed so that community activists can go and share their experience with their peers in CBOs.	Social Capital
		Strong desire to participate in collaborative governance of South Africa

		Distributed leadership
		Front stage convening
		Backstage convening
		Incentivised participation
		Demographic Diversity
		Empowerment and capacity support
		Citizens' dissatisfaction with exclusion and a quest for inclusion
		Crime scars community life
Belonging, Esteem Benefits and Inclusion	Literature has examples of how the REIPPPP lacks inclusion. The NGO works with the very communities who tend to be overlooked for inclusion in South Africa	
Dichotomy of community activism and employment	The research respondents, who are community activists, are not employed. The NGO on which the case study is based also trains them, anticipating that some might leave when or if they are able to secure employment. The dichotomy lies in the fact that in South Africa, if you live in low-income communities, you can either be employed or be a community activist. Never both at the same time.	
Clean Energy Advocacy	The mission of the NGO is low-carbon mobilisation and this code was meant to confirm it.	Renewable Energy

4.3 Participants reside in low-income communities

During the observation, the programme participants spoke about their communities. Areas represented included, Hanover Park, Nyanga, Gugulethu, Siqalo Court and Bishop Lavis. All these areas are low-income in nature and residents are overwhelmingly those disadvantaged during apartheid. This is important to note as CPP uses its Participatory Community Engagement (PCE) mandate, which requires working with communities who are disadvantaged.

Low-income communities are characterised by struggles as many in these communities are economically deprived. It is in these communities where the rise of inequality continues to scar (Hostettler, 2018).

Developers of products and innovative technologies increasingly adopt transdisciplinary approaches when introducing products in these communities, such as technology specialists and socio-cultural practitioners, in order to ensure diffusion (Hostettler, 2018). Because their needs are often not met by mainstream innovators, low-income communities have at times resorted to innovating their own solutions by using the resources available to them (Hostettler, 2018). Examples are cited in the latter pages of this thesis.

4.4 Co-creation of knowledge

Acknowledgement of local knowledge and expertise

All the programme's participants are recruited on the basis of being mandated representatives of their communities. They are valued for their leadership and knowledge. All kinds of knowledge are acknowledged by the programme. Project90 believes that its programme can only enhance what already exists either within the individuals themselves or their communities. The community entry process undertaken by the organisation involves a careful investigation and analysis of the existing human and intellectual capital in a community, common cultural practices and building synergies from this understanding.

> *To use an example my personal preference is to be very careful that to say we are not teaching people. We are adding…we are enhancing people's existing knowledge of activism because that they are, whether they view it as that, that's not the point, they have that experience and they are [at] different levels of development.* Respondent 7.
>
> *"If you look for example, when teaching communities about, for example, the Wonderbag' the principle of the bag and the technology is that it retains heat, insulating*

essentially whatever is on the inside. In many cultures some of these principles are already applied in different practices, for instance, when making umqombothi, you take a blanket and cover the pot, so that the fermenting beer can rise. Because people already have knowledge culturally of this, they may not have linked as a fundamental principle you're doing the same thing as what the bad does, so instead of doing it for umqombothi, you're doing it for a meal you're making. But the very same concept that makes umqombothi rise is the same that will help the pot to continue to cook the rice that you're cooking. And so it is trying to make examples or analogies that occur [in] everyday life as much as possible. And to look for things culturally that people are doing and find those overlaps to explain the principle of something they may not have had exposure to before." Respondent 5.

This statement echoes the belief that while there is vast knowledge and wisdom held by professionals, academics and researchers, this knowledge is insufficient without the knowledge held by members of communities, whose wisdom is drawn from their cultures, life experience and other knowledge systems, otherwise referred to as indigenous knowledge systems (Regeer & Bunders, 2009). In fact, it is a shift after the realisation that grand challenges such as the changing climate, cannot simply be engaged without the input of those affected by such phenomena (Regeer & Bunders, 2009).

Researchers undertaking knowledge production in settings with indigenous Africans are often are encouraged to be guided by the norms in these cultures. "*These techniques avoid writing wherever possible, relying instead on the tools of oral communication like pictures, symbols, physical objects and group discourses*" (Hassan O. Kaya & Yonah N. Seleti, 2014, p. 33). This has already paid dividends for those engaged in research "*in agriculture, forestry and medicine.*" (Breidlid, 2009, p. 42).

The shift towards embracing the plurality of knowledge still requires strict adherence to traditional knowledge production conventions such as generalisability and testing of data for validity, while paying careful attention to the combination of different systems (Raymond et al., 2010).

4.5 Strong, but challenged community communication networks

The data points to strong organising abilities where there are established networks of organising and communication. The data pertinently reveals communication on three levels, namely, communication between citizens; communication between programme participants and

Project90by2030 and communication between citizens and different levels of government. In the case of government, communication is marked by its haphazard nature and inadequacy.

4.5.1 Communication between citizens in their communities

On the question of how respondents find out about meetings, the following responses were given:

"Mostly there is (sic) a lot of WhatsApp groups that we are on and they also put it up on the library and at the Day Hospital, at schools. But normally we get the invitation via the WhatsApp because there is a few groups that our organisation is on" Respondent 4.

"From public meetings, from community leaders who use a loudhailer to call meetings," Respondent 1.

"Living in my community people see that there is a problem, so they need to stand together. If there is a community meeting, they do attend because they want to know what can they do to better the area." Respondent 4

The data shows that communities are making use of a combination of new and traditional platforms to convene. The use of both online applications such as WhatsApp and offline tools such loud-hailing is indicative of modern communication methods confirming the online communication preferences of modern citizens (Darelle Van Greunen & Alida Veldsman, 2018). The use of the loudhailer could be indicative of the resilience of enduring
communication methods, in spite of the penetration of mobile technology, even in low-income communities (Darelle Van Greunen & Alida Veldsman, 2018).

Due to multiple challenges in low-income communities, organising and convening is not easy.

"I find it very difficult to organise in our community but we, if we organise, we normally do it through social media, word by mouth, pamphleteering, and also drive around in the community
with loud hailers to announce meetings or gatherings that we are planning." Respondent 2

4.5.2 Communication between programme participants and the intermediary, communication between citizens and government

This question had some layers to it as the researcher wanted to understand how the case study convenes meetings, how this is communicated and the views of the programme participants. The researcher also wanted to understand how the governmental structures convene meetings and also find out the thoughts of community activists regarding the government's communication.

How are you invited to meetings?

"*Yes, Either WhatsApp or via email. Or they contact us via telephone, and I think it works perfectly normally"* Respondent 4

"*Normally through phone calls or SMSs*," Respondent 2

Due to local dynamics, sometimes the intermediary works through elected public representatives, as the respondent reveals below.

"The channel they use, I think Project90 was … since they came to us between, they were like between community and iCity or the officials, so they came to our community through uCouncillor's office. UCouncillor contacted uSANCO since uSANCO is a structure that has all the areas within it. And then kengoku (thereafter) from SANCO to the community. So when there is a meeting we get letters from SANCO or calls from the Councillor's office"

Respondent 1.

The intermediary communicates through both traditional and new media platforms.

"Through calls and messages," Respondent 1

This is revelatory of a working relationship between the local councillor and the community served, as the Councillor plays a critical role in this instance.

"*Project90 is well equipped and they are sending SMSs and they are phoning after we receive the SMS, they make sure there is also a group chat where everybody is in that group chat indicating availability and we discuss the next meeting*," Respondent 6.

The data points to the intermediary's communication methods that are mutually-reinforcing. The phone calls followed by text messages, serve this purpose (Ng & Hamby, 1997). The intermediary executing programmes in low-income communities, requires solid intent in facilitating two way communication (Westoby & Owen, 2009).

In fact, when the intermediary communicates, although each invitation is sent to an entity or individual representing an entity that would be thought of as an interaction between a duo, it is in fact, an invitation to meet and converse with a third party too. In the case of this research this would be the other CBO that forms part of the programme (Westoby & Owen, 2009). Westoby & Owen (2009) assert that in "*the involvement of the third party, trust plays a vital role in the positive reception of hospitality, in stabilizing the relationships, in fostering an intimacy between the three agents and in creating an environment that is conducive to cooperation and productive mutualism*" (64).

4.5.3 Communication between government and citizens

Due to a poor relationship with citizens, the government does not even know what a suitable time to hold meetings is. Government lacks understanding of the challenges faced by communities when meetings are convened at night. In the process, the government is damaging the trust of the community and undercuts the legitimacy of its decisions.

"*They used to say their IDP meetings are going to happen between 6pm and 8pm. I don't go because it is not safe in our communities. So, they used to call "Meeting Meeting come come" some of us in my community don't attend those meetings. That is why things goes (sic) like this because maybe two people attend and then they say 'The whole community has come' and they take the wrong decision*" Respondent 3.

On whether the intermediary has helped in shedding light on the different tiers of government and their different mandates:

"*I understand it better. I know how the government works. I understand how the IDP works and a lot of structures because sometimes you are aware of these people that is there, but you don't know which one to link with what. Like housing, I never knew that housing was coming from Provincial, I always thought it was local but it is Provincial and small stuff like that. And that is the type of things that is actually helping us in the community to know who to go to and how to go about in order for the community to have a better life*," Respondent 4.

"*Oh local meetings, Hayi they tell us but I don't go. When I was still a youth, I used to go but now I realised that it's like I am wasting my time and to go there late at night and it's not safe when I go back at home. So I decided…I just don't attend late meetings*," Respondent 3.

In the excerpt below it becomes evident that there are differing opinions about whether citizens have a voice, even though this particular meeting was not held with government, but with the electricity regulator Nersa, which is a statutory body.

"*To me, at least I feel comfortable because my voice was heard and although I understand that government things are not going to happen overnight but at least our voice was heard there and everybody was flat-footed and clear of what is saying to them and I believe also the officials who were taking notes there they are quite clear that the communities they understand exactly what they are talking about*" Respondent 6.

When the government convenes meetings in low-income communities, it is around the needs of government bureaucrats, not citizens. The local government, who convene meetings such as the IDP meetings cited above, employ a top-down communication style. If the intent of the meeting is to activate participation of a broad range of citizen stakeholders, the convener's decision about the meeting date and time would take into account residents' needs (Ng & Hamby, 1997).

For example, the comment by Respondent 3 about an inability to attend meetings in the evenings due to crime in the area, reveals a lack of proper consultation of citizens before such meetings are convened. Research on crime in South Africa points to poorly-resourced policing in low-income communities (Ntongana & GroundUp, 2018), in spite of the fact that people in low-income communities have a higher rate of exposure to crime (Landman & Liebermann, 2005).

Government officials fail to understand their role as conveners who are meant to enable the participation of a broad range of stakeholders in government-led programmes (Bugge, Fevolden, & Klitkou, 2019). Effective communication requires investing time in relationship-building in order to create trust. There are four key issues on which trust must be based. These are "perceptions of commitment, competence, caring, and predictability" (Kasperson et al, as cited in Ng & Hamby, 1997, p. 5). The poor communication and lack of care and attention in executing it correctly, could be indicative of underlying issues of lack of commitment and resourcing of responsible role- players by those in leadership (Ng & Hamby, 1997).

4.6 Engagement of the citizenry

South Africa's National Development Plan challenges citizens to take on the work of building their country through effective engagement and participation in structures and instruments created for citizen participation in a democracy (NDP, 2012).

"*And the idea was then to take it a step forward to say if the community is having these problems, how do we solve them and we then looked at…well I was not there at the time…the organisation then looked at it and the organisation decided we must use the existing instruments of democracy and the instrument of democracy is the IDP, so that's what this programme is about. It's basically saying to people 'this is your opportunity to raise your concerns and to make sure they are addressed, within the current system' and so the key focus*

areas is understanding democracy, particularly local government and the IDP and Leadership skills…adding to people's existing leadership skills because that's what you need when you want to mobilise people and then advocacy skills, adding to people's understanding of advocacy skills and lobbying because you will need that in order to win at a higher level. So ja, that's the organisation." Respondent 7.

This thesis also already theorised that change in systems facilitates exit and entry of actors (Moss, 2009). In the case of this research, the system change relates firstly to the democratisation of South Africa, which resulted in a legislative framework that changed the way local government works, as it now requires participation of citizens in crafting their own future (Mchunu & Theron, 2014) through participatory democracy mechanisms. Secondly, REIPPPP's economic development scorecard requires interaction between beneficiary communication and private providers of power, in order to give effect to the programme's development agenda (Mthembi, 2016; Tait et al., 2013). Furthermore, the literature posits that socio-economic development at local municipality level is best executed in collaborative fashion through the coordinated and co-operative endeavours of local government, citizens and private sector (Abrahams, 2003). The data from the respondents of this research point to active participation in matters of citizenry, such as attending meetings organised by local government or meetings convened by citizens, for citizens, to discuss various matters including crime-fighting in their communities. This was confirmed by a number of research respondents. This thesis has already discussed how the respondents were recruited on the basis of their community.

4.7 Demographic Diversity

The researcher's observations of the participants included the gender split amongst the participants. The split was eight females and three male participants, while the participants were a mix of youth and mature participants. One of the participants is a practising Muslim and was fasting when the researcher undertook the observation as it was the Ramadan period. There were also two facilitators, one male and one female. The home languages of the participants are IsiXhosa, Afrikaans and English.

The participation of women in numbers on the programme is in tune with the view that the municipal governance system needs to be demystified for women, especially Black women

(McEwan, 2003). Their recruitment is relatively easy as historically, this group has a tendency of active participation in CBO in their communities (McEwan, 2003). Ironically, even with this history of participation, there is evidence that they are often overlooked for local government participation processes (McEwan, 2003). Arvin et al., (2013) challenges this view as non-Western cultures are not organised around patriarchal gender roles and therefore their participation should be viewed as participation in a citizens' programme.

The decision to recruit women for the CPP programme is in tune with research, which has found that women face considerable of barriers including that of access to human settlements and other amenities. As a result, women stand to benefit from participating in local government processes such as the IDP. Given that the focus of the programme includes demystifying the cooperative governance system in South Africa. The overrepresentation of women on the programme is welcome.

A focus on groups disenfranchised during apartheid could help foster new and positive connections between these citizens and local government, as some are old enough to remember local government as the arm of the apartheid government that was responsible for giving effect to apartheid spatial planning, for example, racially segregated amenities (McEwan, 2003).

Furthermore, in the present day South Africa with the majority of children raised in single parent homes by their mothers (Children's Institute, 2018) this turns the hetero-patriarchal system, with its emphasis on the strong male figure as the societal leader and head of the household, on its head (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013). The participation of women also centres the intersectionality of their race, gender and class struggles as being inseparable to citizens' fight for access to socio-political rights (Arvin et al., 2013).

4.8 Social Capital

Social capital plays a key role on the programme, both in its ability to influence activist's inclusion on the programme and also, activist's voices within their own communities.

On the recruitment criteria for Project90by2030, Respondent 5 says "*There are two filters we employ, the first is the CPP, uses its Participatory Community Engagement (PCE), which has criteria that a community has to meet. Part of the criteria is the existence of a Community Based Organisation, which means some form of activism must be in place already before Project90by2030. Also, the organisation often chooses to work with those who enjoy social capital in the community.*

"*The difference between Person A and Person B will be how we established is the network of Person A vs Person B; and if we find that Person A has a stronger network, we lean towards Person. We try to strengthen what is already there more so than with Person B and that how we make a decision*." Respondent 5.

Social capital has been defined as relational capacity that often helps to unlock opportunities (Esau, 2008). For inclusive social innovations, which usually have limited resources, social capital often aids and unlocks financial support from benefactors (Bhatt & Altinay, 2013). This capacity of social networks to mobilise resources, especially those locked out of market-driven options, is something that is also puzzling and of interest, even to economists (Adato et al., 2006). Activists are able to tap into social networks when looking for human capital for their organisations (Bhatt & Altinay, 2013). Connections with friends and relatives have also proved helpful for those seeking information about work opportunities and short-term personal financial support (Adato et al., 2006), proving that next of kin are often able to help.

4.9 Belonging, esteem benefits and inclusion

The researcher's observations included observing rapport, intragroup respect and social cohesion. The participants exhibited a sense of social acceptance, emotional safety and respect for one another. The proceedings on the day began with them giving feedback and discussing their opinions of the political debate they had attended, ahead of the National and Provincial elections that were held in South Africa in May 2019. Most expressed their views of the various political parties freely; one went as far as telling others which political party they had supported in the polls.

The need to factor Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs in programme design is similar to findings discussed by Dr David Harris at the Collaboration Dialogue of the NPO Network in Cape Town in April 2018.

One participant was fasting, as it was the Ramadan period when the observation happened, a period when Muslims fast between dawn and dusk, and the participant was encouraged to pack their lunch and have it at home later, when it was time to break the fast.

The training empowers the participants to go back to their communities and help themselves and those who still need to have their physiological needs, such as water and shelter; as well as safety needs such as crime addressed.

"*I understand it better. I know how the government works. I understand how the IDP works and a lot of structures because sometimes you are aware of these people that is there but you don't know which one to link with what. Like housing, I never knew that housing was coming from Provincial, I always thought it was local but it is Provincial and small stuff like that. And that is the type of things that is actually helping is in the community to know who to go to and how to go about in order for the community to have a better life*." Respondent 4.

Belonging beyond the cultural identity and sometimes group cohesion can emerge in groups bound together by their economic-political strife (Arvin et al., 2013). This view places emphasis on a unity and belonging that is not premised on erasure of differences; enabling the differences to co-exist, even though they may seem contradictory and conflicting (Arvin et al., 2013).

A sense of belonging is also reinforced by the manner of engagement between participants themselves and between participants and facilitators; as evidenced by the sharing of experiences witnessed by the researcher (Venkataraman et al., 2016).

4.10 Incentivised participation

South Africa's blueprint and vision for development, the NDP, calls on citizens of the country to work towards their shared goals. Furthermore it calls on them to jointly work together to tackle problems and ensure sustainability of communities (NDP, 2012). The NDP further calls on governmental agencies to support and incentivise involved citizens, urging them to:

"*Work together in the community to advance development, resolve problems and raise the concerns of the voiceless and marginalised*" (NDP, 2012).

The participants on the programme are not employed. Although they are not paid to participate on the programme Project90by2030 provides refreshments and a transport stipend after each workshop. One respondent, who is also a facilitator at Project90by2030, views self-interest as the ultimate incentive for the participants. Respondent 5 does not regard the transport stipend and refreshments as incentives but as a *"…prerequisite for people to participate…*" but says that "*…access to information, which is often difficult to access in such communities, is the incentive. Information as a resource and how to use that information to achieve own outcomes…*"

Further emphasis on this point is that, Respondent 5 says the organisation's CPP is designed to synergise with the work that the community activists are already doing on the ground *"… there*

is always a link in what you're looking for and what we are looking for…" This confirms that self-interest is one of the primary drivers for community activism.

Another respondent cites that the knowledge gained on the programme can be taken to other frontiers of socio-economic struggles.

"*I think the first thing is that we make it possible for people to come and who do not have a regular income. We pay for transport and we provide lunch. So, there is (sic) no out of pocket expenses in terms of that. The second incentive is that we have made it very clear...we have tried to show people that what they are learning is relevant to other sectors that they are engaged with. It's not something that's something that's about climate change and energy and only P90 interests, it's something that they can take into other struggles: gender struggles, housing struggles or whatever."* Respondent 7.

In the example below, the respondent has an interest in understanding about the allocation of government housing. The programme has helped the respondent understand the specific level of government to which all housing-relating queries should be addressed.

"*I understand it better. I know how the government works. I understand how the IDP works and a lot of structures because sometimes you are aware of these people that is there but you don't know which one to link with what. Like housing, I never knew that housing was coming from Provincial, I always thought it was local but it is Provincial and small stuff like that. And that is the type of things that is actually helping is in the community to know who to go to and how to go about in order for the community to have a better life*." Respondent 4.

The need to understand how incentives work in order to support and boost the work done by change agents confirms the findings discussed by Dr David Harris at the Collaboration Dialogue of the NPO Network in Cape Town in April 2018.

The motive to address problems where one is likely to benefit from the solved-problem, is a practice that is not limited to community and NGO representatives alone, as even juristic persons engage in this way. Community engagement programmes of corporate companies are largely undertaken with the aim of ultimately benefiting companies (Hahn et al., 2015). When states introduce legislation or want to encourage business to embrace change, they may include incentives such as tax breaks, grants and other forms of support (Prasad & Visagie, 1997).

4.11The dichotomy of community activism and employment

None of the interview respondents are employed although some are looking for work.

When asked about continued participation on the programme, Respondent 2 said it was conditional *"…If I do not get a permanent job…".*

Project90by2030 does not seem to have an answer for this challenge.

Respondent 5 felt that *"…often times, you often run against the challenge of training a person and they leave because they have found work. So that's a major barrier and unfortunately, you know, do we not train people because we are scared they will leave? And I've found myself you know, I will train you and you might leave. I will train you with the expectation that you will leave and it's something we will speak about. That's something…that is the only thing I can do in that regard because I need to train people. It is not fool-proof and many people disagree with how I approach it and I found such openness helps people who want to stay to continue to help out."*

People living in urban centres require money to purchase goods and services and therefore employment and job-seeking tend to be prioritised. In low-income communities, job prospects are particularly limited due to poor education (Wratten, 1995). A lack of employment prospects increases the vulnerability of these communities (Wratten, 1995) and often makes the unemployed feel powerless (Glickman & Servon, 1998).

At least one of the Respondents indicated that they had been able to start a business, based on the training on the programme (Respondent 3). This could mean that while the programme is capacitating citizens about the participatory democratic system of South Africa, for those who are enterprising, it has helped them to spot pathways to income-generation opportunities.

Another factor to consider in the South African urban landscape is the migration of people from rural areas to urban areas in search of economic opportunities, which may in fact be a contributor to the high levels of unemployment in urban areas. In the 1980s, the apartheid government moved to relax laws that restricted the movement of Black South Africans (Posel, 2004). This enabled migrants to bring their dependants with them when settling in urban centres, interrupting the previous pattern of individual migration with families remaining behind in rural areas (Posel, 2004). The pattern also triggered a new wave of urban migrants, not returning home and permanently settling in urban centres (Posel, 2004).

A re-think on views about the productivity of the unemployed is invited by Benya (2015) who asserts that unemployed women engage in labour that benefits employers, and this work goes beyond the scope of housework. In a study focused on the lives of the unemployed partners of the miners of Marikana, the study found that the entire community is shaped around the mine, even for those not employed in the mine (Benya, 2015). Highlighting the patterns of male migrant workers who have a spouse left behind in their place of origin and the said migrant finding another companion in the town where they work, Benya (2015) asserts that the level of support given by these companions to the miners, benefits the employer, as it is they who organise domestic matters in the home. An example of this is when partners assist with convalescent care when the men are sick, as well as domestic work and rearing of children. These are amongst other duties performed for the benefit of the mineworkers (Benya, 2015). Therefore, even when a woman is unemployed, if she has a partner it can be assumed that she is performing duties that benefit the employer of the said partner. Furthermore, the study on women in Marikana demonstrates that although women's labour in the home has no ascribed economic value in a market-driven economic system, one can conclude from the study undertaken by Benya (2015) that women's work at home has a value that cannot be erased. The informal labour by these women supports the forms of labour that are under-remunerated. While the study is not about community activism, these facts are cited to demonstrate forms of unpaid labour that are performed and are not recognised as worthy of being acknowledged in economic terms, reinforcing the exclusion of the marginalised.

It is inexplicable that community activism is not defined as work despite the intense nature of the work involved in community development work, from which communities derive enormous benefits. These benefits are meant to include "solidarity, social cohesion, social inclusion, self-organisation and self-sustainability" (Economic Development Department, 2019, p. 13) though this is poorly appraised in the economic context. In what could be viewed as an attempt at remedial action, the national Department of Economic Development has published a draft Green Paper on the Social Economy for comment (Economic Development Department, 2019).

It is noteworthy that the National Social Economy Draft Green Paper asserts that measuring the sector's contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) presents challenges due to key founding concepts of the measuring instruments.

The draft green paper further challenges the non-inclusion of the sector in GDP as it fails to reflect contributions made (Economic Development Department, 2019).

This could possibly be driven by the continued emphasis of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as the sole measure of progress that has economic outcomes for a nation (Fioramonti, Coscieme, & Mortensen, 2019). This is despite the failure of GDP to account for new communal living models such as value created by novel digital solutions that achieve outcomes through different inputs. WhatsApp, which has already been cited in this research, is one of the successful platforms that enables convening (Coscieme et al., 2019). In the case of this research, one can conclude that GDP would be unable to capture the value and cost-benefit of co-learning and access to information, which is enabled by platforms such as CPP created by Project90for 2030. Similarly, it would be unable to capture the value of membership and regular attendance of Community Policing Forum meetings as a measure of mitigating and responding to crime in communities.

4.12 Empowerment and capacity support

The respondents all implied that they felt empowered by the programme.

"*And also the things about governance that is also related or included in the programme, that is something I am interested in."* Respondent 2.

Echoing this view on empowerment and capacity building is another respondent.

"Reason why, they are mind-opening, learning a lot from their meetings, and also they are giving us an opportunity to meet officials as us from the community, to call an official, we did not know how to do it, not unless we make toyi toyi and go in front of their offices and we were not winning by doing that. So, they give us strategies and teached (sic) us like how to do things, how to call these officials and stuff and then when the officials are here, what exactly to ask. So they prepared us and so like now even myself I could be able to say to the community if like we are having a grievance or whatsoever with a certain department, we must prepare ourselves before like the office came." Respondent 1.

"*Yes, because even now what I can say. I am well empowerment (sic) now by Project90 and what I am getting from them I am ploughing back to my community, which means my community is aware of what is happening about nature and climate change, and how other spheres of government…how does it work, how they can challenge them if they want any service delivery and protest whatsoever."* Respondent 6.

The participation of marginalised people, makes it possible for voices that have previously been ignored to be heard, hence the insistence of inclusion-grounded participation (Eversole, 2009b). The collected data reflects a sense of empowerment of the participants, which was often expressed as a need to share the recently acquired information with their communities; with the intention to challenge exclusionary practices collectively. This behaviour could be described as contrary to cultures that centre the individual, individual action and accountability (Torres-Harding, Baber, Hilvers, Hobbs, & Maly, 2018). Furthermore, empowerment is preceded by decisive action by the disempowered to empower themselves, setting goals and applying their minds in thinking about their capacity (Cataneo and Chapman 2010 as cited in Torres-Harding et al., 2018). The stated aim is to capacitate residents beyond seeking solutions in their communities, but also in broader regulatory structures such as attending and presenting at a hearing convened by the electricity regulator. This is due to the fact that local organisations are normally started and staffed with volunteers, and they are established to solve local problems (Florin; & Wandersman, 2006).

4.13 Front-stage convening

Project90 uses various methods to convene participants in the Community Partnership Programme. This was confirmed by research respondents who reported that Project90 makes use of both social media and traditional communication platforms to convene meetings. They cited WhatsApp, phone calls and email communication.

"*Project90 is well equipped and they are sending SMSes and they are phoning after we receive the SMS. They make sure there is also a group chat where everybody is in that group chat, indicating availability, and we discuss the next meeting."* Respondent 6.

The participants are convened for a specific purpose, by the organisation.

"*I am sure we've mentioned already that there was this EU project and it was a three-year project targeting eight communities in four provinces and the idea was to raise awareness of climate change and educate people about the alternative energy technologies and in the process hear from people what their energy experiences were. So at the end of a three-year process what they had was information, I think it was six or eight points…concerns that communities were having and they related to the price of electricity, access to free basic electricity, and the access of backyarders…of farmworkers to electricity that kind of thing.*

And the idea was then to take it a step forward to say if the community is having these problems, how do we solve them and we then looked at…well I was not there at the time…the organisation then looked at it and the organisation decided we must use the existing instruments of democracy and the instrument of democracy is the IDP, so that's what this programme is about." Respondent 7.

Elaborating further, the respondent commented: "*And the way to address your needs is to engage with local government and make sure that your energy needs are provided for in the Integrated Development Plan, the IDP. And then this is how the new programme that I referred to earlier…it's the continuation of that particular study and getting those communities…the community activists together to empower them, to skill them, to motivate and encourage them to get their energy needs reflected in the IDP*." Respondent 7.

Convening is deemed key in the quest to mobilise resources for organisations, especially when multiple role-players need to engage and combine resources towards solving problems, that are typically multifaceted, and therefore cannot be tackled by a single organisation (Dorado, 2002). Front-stage convening involves gathering different organisations who may be using different methods to address similar issues (Mair & Hehenberger, 2014). An example cited in this research would be Project90by2030. They organise for community activists from different organisations in Cape Town to participate in the hearings held by the electricity regulator Nersa, and to state their views on the proposed increased tariffs by Eskom.

4.14 Backstage convening

Project90by2030 spends a lot of time on backstage convening, meeting with CBOs and trying to understand their work in order to explore synergies. This step is followed by meetings with the various CBOs in communities. Respondent 5 adds, *"…the only way to build trust is to be seen, and so what we try to do is, which has always been our focus, is to try and have as much face time, face to face time with people as much as possible and the consistency in terms of what we are saying and what we are working towards…"*

Respondent 5, elaborates further "*Once we've gotten it down with communities, we are interested in working with that meet the criteria, we go to the community and meet up with stakeholders*," also, Respondent 5 elaborates "…*our role is not a prescriptive one but a supportive one.*

Supportive of the work that organisations in communities are trying to achieve…" Respondent 2 indicated that "*I heard about Project90by2030 through my organisation*," when one of the facilitators came to meet with the CBO.

"*Okay, I was the executive member from area structure. So there was a lot of projects in Nyanga that have been stopped by the community so there is development coming to … we know that within a short space of time the community will stop it because they are not happy with some stuff, so that's when I heard about Project90 because Project90 only came in as interfering like…as intervention just to create that platform for us to be able to communicate with officials and understand their side and for them to understand our side. That was two years ago*." Respondent 1.

Backstage convening involves convening that goes deeper in breaking down complex phenomena, in environments that lend themselves to learning, probing and questioning in order to understand (Mair & Hehenberger, 2014). Examples of backstage convening in this study include the CPP as well as the consultations held by Project90by2030 with different organisations.

4.15 Distributed benefits and leadership

The nature of Project90by2030's work was never meant to be concentrated, but rather to be distributed to CBO's via each participant. The respondents echo this view.

> "*Yes, the platform that I implemented, what I've learned from here in Project90 since I said to you I work part-time, we were having a problem of low-rates when we started, we were like underpaid and the workers wanted to toyi toyi like and stuff. What I did there was I used the skill that I've got from Project90 like trying to organise all the offices that are involved, from the contractors, the City and EPWP, all those high offices that are actually involved and organised the venue, like everything. And prepared the workers like what exactly do you need okay, when we finally have this meeting, you must ask this and these are the very important points. Like we must stick to these points and allow them like to give us answers like before we go to other points and stuff; and then prepare them also that we might not get all the answers, but we must at least say we've won out of 10 points, we've got answers of maybe four or five and then it went very well when they did come*." Respondent 1.

Respondent 3 concurs: "*A lot in terms of transformation, that's why I am doing the recycling. It's through the information I got from Project90*."

"*It's very interesting. You see when you are an activist, you do not always understand how different protocols work, how different structures work. So, they have made it easier so you know who is the 'go to' person for whatever, if it's housing, water so I can also tell the community how to go about it because sometimes they also don't understand. And for me to get all the information here and share it back with my community."* Respondent 4.

This finding on the nature of leadership for NPOs geared at empowering communities, affirms the findings discussed by Dr David Harris at the Collaboration Dialogue of the NPO Network in Cape Town in April 2018.

This leadership style distributes leadership to all role-players in an organisation and does not confine the role to those at the top of the organisational hierarchy (Leo & Barton, 2006). This style is deemed congruent with turbulence often experienced by those tackling complex societal challenges (Leo & Barton, 2006). The style frees organisations to open themselves to a plurality of perspectives and viewpoints across the organisation, in contrast to leadership styles where one or a few are deemed to lead (Harris & Gronn, 2008). There is the also cautionary view that leadership styles are not mutually exclusive, as one style may be more suitable than another due to a variety of factors (Harris & Gronn, 2008).

4.16 Strong desire to participate collaboratively in governance of South Africa

The programme aims to equip participants for their role as citizens in a democracy. While there is a solid focus on local government, the data reveals that the programme does include cooperative governance and mandates of different government levels and key statutory regulators, such as Nersa.

"*It's basically saying to people: "This is your opportunity to raise your concerns and to make sure they are addressed, within the current system" and so the key focus areas is (sic) understanding democracy, particularly local government and the IDP, and Leadership skills…adding to people's existing leadership skills because that's what you need when you want to mobilise people and then advocacy skills; adding to people's understanding of advocacy skills and lobbying because you will need that in order to win at a higher level. So ja, that's the organisation."* Respondent 7.

The participants have an interest in seeing change for the better in their communities and are at different stages in this process. Below, a respondent, who is acquitting themselves with collaborative governance explains:

"*Also, the things about governance that is also related or included in the programme, that is something I am really interested in*." Respondent 2.

An experienced community activist, Respondent 3, elaborates on attendance and public speaking opportunities at the Nersa hearing held in Cape Town. "*It was when Eskom was going to increase the tariffs and it was Nersa and we had to speak out as a community people and said 'No' they must re-think about this thing of increasing the tariffs. It was in town, in a hotel*."

The collaboration is already underway at CBO level. Respondent 4 expands on a burgeoning network of community-based organisations. *"…we try not to keep it because we are a social movement so that means the stuff they deal with every day is the same thing happening in our surrounding area. We form partnerships…".*

Respondent 6 is emphatic on understanding the different mandates of government. *"…and how other sphere of government…how does it work, how they can challenge them if they want any other service delivery and protest whatsoever*".

There is also a sense of how ineffective service delivery protests can be, and that the method being shared on the programme is aiding the exploration of alternatives.

Respondent 1 says: "*Reason they are mind-opening, learning a lot from their meetings, and also they are giving us an opportunity to meet officials as us, from the community, to call an official, we did not know how to do it, not unless we make toyi toyi and go in front of their offices and we were not winning by doing that*".

Access to information alone hardly leads to participation in citizen-government processes. Delivery of services and being responsive to needs of citizens could have the effect of increasing interest and participation (Jaeger & Thompson, 2004). The IDP and its process allow for a development approach that is all-encompassing, due to the participation of a range of stakeholders affected by developments. The end product is meant to reflect the wishes of all stakeholders and takes into account the economic, environmental and social goals of the affected parties (Cameron et al., 2004). Research has found the key driver for participation on the side of citizens is the protection of own interests and those of next of kin.

Another stakeholder in the process, namely, the business community, tends to have a dim view of the role of citizens', which is grounded in the belief that citizens' don't understand complex governance processes (Michels & De Graaf, 2010). Furthermore, public servants, who are

normally conveners and managers of such processes, often under-appreciate the input of residents (Michels & De Graaf, 2010).

Residents benefit from collaborative governance participation as they get to sharpen their civic skills, strengthen networks and improve social capital (Terriquez, 2017).

4.17 Citizens' dissatisfaction with exclusion and the quest for inclusion

The data points to citizens being dissatisfied with exclusion and shows that they are actively involved in ensuring that they are included as South African citizens. Through the CPP Project90by2030 is facilitating their inclusion to a certain degree. The data shows that citizens do not understand the governance system in South Africa, and this adds to their feelings of exclusion.

> "*…You see when you are an activist, you do not always understand how different protocols work, how different structures work. They have made it easier so you know who is the person to go to for whatever, if it's housing, water so I can tell the community how to go about it because sometimes they also don't understand…"* Respondent 4
>
> "*Definitely yes, I learnt a quite a few things that I did not know about, like for instance, the IDPs Integrated Development Plans and the development plans and Independent Power Producers and these things I did not have much info about and I have learnt a lot about that part*." Respondent 2.
>
> Respondent 1 elaborates: *"…we are voting for this government. In fact, the levels of government, I did not understand how they worked. I did not understand all the levels of government structures. To me what mattered the most was the national government because I was thinking our answers are there. But now after being part of Project90, I understand that we should first focus on understanding our local government and its levels because that's where our voices should be heard. We should understand other levels, but need to focus more on local government*." Respondent 1 adds: *"… So they give us strategies and teached (sic) us like how to do things, how to call these officials and stuff, and then when the officials are here, what exactly to ask.*
>
> *So they prepared us and so like now even myself I could be able to say to the community if like we are having a grievance or whatsoever, with a certain department, we must prepare ourselves before like the office came*."

The exclusion also leads to other methods for voicing dissatisfaction being explored.

> Respondent 1: "*also they are giving us an opportunity to meet officials as us, from the community, to call an official, we did not know how to do it, not unless we make toyi toyi and go in front of their offices and we were not winning by doing that".*

The lack of care by government officials adds another layer to the exclusion. The lack of community consultation about appropriate times to hold meetings, results in lack of attendance:

> "*They used to say their IDP meetings are going to happen between 6pm and 8pm. I don't go because it is not safe in our communities."* Respondent 3.

Protest is still deemed an effective method to express dissatisfaction with exclusion.

"Reason why, they are mind-opening, learning a lot from their meetings, and also they are giving us an opportunity to meet officials as us from the community, to call an official, we did not know how to do it, not unless we make toyi toyi and go in front of their offices and we were not winning by doing that. So, they give us strategies and teached (sic) us like how to do things, how to call these officials and stuff and then when the officials are here, what exactly to ask. So they prepared us and so like now even myself I could be able to say to the community if like we are having a grievance or whatsoever with a certain department, we must prepare ourselves before like the official (sic)came." Respondent 1.

4.18 Crime scars community life

The data points to the prevalence of crime in areas where the respondents live, i.e. low-income areas. The exposure to crime is indicative of a pattern where, despite enduring inequality, it is poor citizens, not the wealthy, who are likely to become victims of crime (Wratten, 1995).

Socio-economies challenges such as crime add a further layer of complexity to organising and convening.

"*They used to say their IDP meetings are going to happen between 6pm and 8pm. I don't go because it is not safe in our communities."* Respondent 3.

"…the other thing they must understand, they know exactly Western Cape Red Zone because there is also gangsterism. I am not trying to chase them out, but I want them to know that gangsterism is also there and it can intimidate them and makes them to be less interested in our community" Respondent 6.

"…gangsterism is a big deal and we are trying to work with the police to make it better and safer. So, safety in our community is very important" Respondent 4.

"*…community is riddled with gangsterism and substance abuse and shooting almost on a daily basis …"* Respondent 2.

A respondent in this research expressed concern about young people falling into crime and cites lack of job opportunities and how it impacts on social cohesion, "*We are so very united. Except the youth, our youth because of less job opportunities they end up smoking drugs and all that stuff*," Respondent 6.

4.19 Clean energy awareness and advocacy

The case study is involved in advocacy for green energy, and CPP does include awareness and education on green energy. The data below points to some understanding of green energy and the need to exit the fossil fuel regime for clean energy:

Respondent 7: "We've dealt with…with climate change for example, in order to explain why if you're having challenges with electricity if the price is high, coal is not going to solve the problem and what the other options are."….elaborating " …*We're saying that electricity is a major economic driver and is necessary for our livelihoods for cooking, for light, for studying and for whatever and so we want everyone to [have] access to electricity, but not at the cost of the environment on the one hand because that [is] not in anybody's interest*…." Further adding "*a challenge for us is to introduce the concept that renewable energy does not have to go into the grid, but can be smaller pockets in communities, community ownership of renewable energy provision. So I consider that to be smart too."*

Project90by2030 seems to have a good understanding of the issues facing communities where they work and where the gaps are and how to plug them, as evidenced by Respondent 5 "..*And so, how we try to approach it, is to say, we understand and are familiar with the challenges, especially with regard to the affordability of electricity and let's try and see if we can help reduce the consumption or help you cope better with the electricity pricing. And then we explain the factors that come into electricity as a person understands.*

In many instances it [is] the lack of information or understanding of what's happening outside the home…"

The data from the programme's participants points to the fact that the message is being heard and understood.

Respondent 2, "*Definitely yes, I learned a quite a few things that I did not know about, like for instance, the IDPs Integrated Development Plans and the development plans and Independent Power Producers and these things I did not have much info about, and I have learnt a lot about that part*." Respondent 2 elaborating further: "*I know that if we do not change our way of living very soon, nothing will be able to live on this earth again."*

Respondent 3, "I know now, no one can tell me that Eskom, the way electricity is coming to us is a good one, no one can tell me, I know that it is not a good one. I know that in Mpumalanga it's polluting. It's the knowledge I got through Project90." Respondent 3 elaborates further, stating: "*We said Project90 has trained us about the alternatives in renewables – for instance, the wind energy, solar energy…*" *…concluding "…that's why I am doing recycling; it's through the information I got from Project 90*."

Economic exclusion is a key factor in how and whether communities will be able to fully convert to clean energy. "*Yes, I know what is climate change, but to go into detail and understand it actually, how can you change this type of thing and make it easier for the people because I am talking about a poor community. It's not people who have money for a water tank and solar systems and stuff like that*."

Energy conservation messages and green energy solutions, especially for the home, have proved more appealing to women. Part of the reason is that women are still responsible for the bulk of the work in the home (Elnakat & Gomez, 2015). Often messaging for this group is impactful if framed around financial incentives and benefits on future generations, amongst others (Elnakat & Gomez, 2015; He & Kua, 2013). The ease with which households can migrate to clean energy is a determinant of whether they will actually do so (He & Kua, 2013). While research has been able to identify key demographic and psychographic profiles of those who are likely to adopt energy saving behaviours, there is also a call for nuance in understanding consumer behaviour that is also influenced by regulatory factors, legislation and personal preferences (Frederiks, Stenner, & Hobman, 2015).

4.8 Chapter Conclusion

The vast data collected and reflected upon in the preceding pages is reflective of the expressed voices of those South Africans who live in marginalised communities. The data will be discussed and unpacked further in the discussion chapter.

Chapter 5 Discussion

5. Introduction

This chapter unpacks the themes that have emerged from the collected data. The aim of the research is to answer the research question about the potential of intermediaries to support the implementation of community benefits for the REIPPPP. The themes that have emerged from the thematic analysis of data are exclusion and its manifestations; convening and communication; mobilisation of engaged citizens for collaborative governance; lack of harmony in government policy environment; socio-technical transition advocacy; as well as belonging, trust and inclusion.

5.1 Exclusion and its manifestations

Human beings as a species are social and can only exist in communities. Communities help individuals to mould their individual and collective identities through shared beliefs and values. It is also in communities that people seek and receive validation and belonging (Howarth, 2001 as cited in Howarth & Kessi, 2016).

Residents of low-income communities experience a disproportionate amount of intersecting inequalities that serve to make their lives even more difficult. These are unpacked below:

5.1.1 Intersecting inequalities

Much of the geography of the contemporary South Africa still reflects apartheid's segregation agenda and low-income communities are located in areas kilometres away from commercial centres and places of work. The country has not succeeded in breaking the characteristics of the apartheid-era spatial development (Newton & Schuermans, 2013). In addition, many of these communities did not form organically, but are as a result of the apartheid policies that included eviction from original homes and re-settlement to other areas (Baderoon, 2018). The enduring apartheid-inspired spatial design could be interpreted as revelatory, the social justice agenda or lack of, and is indicative of the priorities of policymakers in South Africa. The respondents to this research, other than the staff from the intermediary, live in low-income communities. Furthermore, due to racial classifications of communities in the past (Posel, 2001), the people who live in these communities are in the main 'Black' as defined by the Department of Trade & Industry (DTI, 2018).

A defining feature of these communities is the socio-economic challenges they face. These challenges include a lack of housing, high unemployment rate and crime, amongst other challenges. Over the years many development interventions that are led by both the state, private organisations, civil society and organised groups of residents have also become another common feature in these communities.

Most people in these communities do not have their own vehicles, due to a lack of affordability. Therefore, lack of access and costly transport costs is deemed to be a contributor to increased social and economic exclusion (Bostock, 2001). In this research, this thesis has already noted that by design, Black and Coloured communities in Cape Town live many kilometres away from commercial centres.

The transport challenges in these communities include the cost of, and access to, transport. The loss of time spent on travelling is also detrimental for those who live in low-income communities, as this is time lost that could have been spent with family or on other life-enhancing pursuits. The time lost includes time spent waiting to access transportation and the long distances travelled between transport nodes and homes (Porter, 2002 as cited in Lucas, 2011). Research has observed that men and women from low-income communities present different patterns of mobility, with women disproportionately constrained. Women are either forced to walk long distances or have to try and seek employment opportunities closer to home (Venter, Vokolkova, & Michalek, 2007). Cognizant of this reality, the NGO on whom this case study is based covers the transport costs for the participants with a R100 stipend for each training day attended. However, the initial engagement between the intermediary and CBOs takes place within these communities, with the NGO initiating contact.

The compound effect of the economic discriminatory that were the norm during apartheid is still felt today as homes headed by women are poorer than those headed by men. A study undertaken to investigate the impact of the positive economic growth experienced by the country between 1998-2008, found that "*at the upper poverty line in 2005, the headcount index for female-headed households was still 22 percentage points higher than for households headed by males, whilst at the lower poverty line this differential was more than 13 percentage points*" (Bhorat et al., 2014, p. 222). However, the programme of Project90by2030 is making a difference to at least some people in the community, as one of the respondents in this research mentioned having started a recycling business from home; an initiative that was inspired by the training on the programme of Project90by2030.

Another study found that there was a correlation between poverty and spatial development both in the countryside and in urban centres (de Swardt, Puoane, Chopra, & du Toit, 2005). Residents in urban townships often engage in urban agriculture to mitigate food insecurity, although a combination of factors such an unavailability of land, unequal access to inputs and lack of support from authorities undermine these efforts (Frayne, McCordic, & Shilomboleni, 2014). Households that have higher incomes seem to fare better in their efforts, which are largely influenced by better access to land and other socio-economic factors that put them in good stead compared to poorer households (Frayne et al., 2014). One can therefore conclude that thriving in urban agriculture is possible if one is affluent.

5.1.2 Poor citizens pay a heavy price for the disharmony in government policy environment

This thesis has already posited that there is disharmony in the government policy environment in South Africa. This research pertinently reveals that through its action and inaction, the South African government has contributed to enduring levels of inequality.

While different levels of government have introduced measures to assist economically distressed citizens, many of these measures are not properly communicated to residents.

For example, communities protest when municipalities cut services such as water and electricity, seemingly unaware that they could register on the Indigent Register of their municipality, which would exempt them from paying for such services (Rasila & Mudau, 2013). Ward Committees are meant to be another vehicle through which local government communicates with citizens. However, they are poorly capacitated, which renders them ineffective for the role (Rasila & Mudau, 2013). Rasila and Mudau (2013) believe that the burning of public infrastructure during protests has its roots in the lack of ownership that prevails in communities for what the government has delivered. All stakeholders, including government, have much to gain from improved communication between themselves, as engagement of a broader set of stakeholders not only has an impact on governance, but can foster innovative practices (Spitzeck et al., 2011).

The community activists who are respondents in this research have stated their struggles with accessing government services. One respondent stated the arbitrary manner with which the government organises meetings with communities. Another respondent cited how protests are

a frequent feature in their community as this is the only way they are heard. Still another was not sure about which level of government to address about concerns about housing. Through participating in the programme of the intermediary, the respondents had indicated that they had gained new insights on how to approach these problems and how to engage with government.

Research also points to the privatisation and the resultant commodification of government services as another way the state infringes on the socio-economic rights of poor citizens (Mosoetsa, 2004; Naidoo, 2007). The response to economic struggles have spurred citizens to organise formations to express their dissatisfaction with this state of affairs; leading to conflicts between the urban poor and the state (Naidoo, 2007). The state's response has been to undermine the collectivism of the poor through designing "*individualised bureaucratic arrangements, forcing individuals into binding technical agreements that erase the politics*" (Naidoo, 2007, p. 61). The roll-out of services where advance payment is required from consumers, has also served to extricate the state from the value chain and places responsibility for access wholly on the doorstep of the user (Naidoo, 2007), regardless of their socio-economic status.

The respondents cited various struggles in their communities as being the key organising principles in their organisations.

Benjamin (2007) also observed that increasing levels of poverty and the citizens' struggle against the state have dissolved the once solid apartheid era divisions of race amongst struggling poor women. The author of this research also found that during the animated discussion of the political parties' debate attended by the group ahead of the 2019 provincial and national elections; there were similarities between the struggles experienced by Black and Coloured residents of Cape Town. A possible reason for the increase in female-headed households is the declining marital rates for Black women in South Africa (Benjamin, 2007; Posel & Rogan, 2009). As already mentioned in this thesis, for historical reasons unemployment rates are higher for women than men (Moleko, 2018). Ironically, even employment does not decrease the economic woes of low-income women, as they occupy the lowest salary brackets (Posel & Rogan, 2009). This means that a female-headed home is likely to have less income than a male-headed one.

This thesis has theorised about forms of labour that are not remunerated in spite of the fact that they enable and support other forms of labour. For example, a research respondent cited participation in the Community Police Forum. The activist's labour on the forum supports and

enables members of the SAPS, who are the only ones recognised and remunerated for crime-fighting.

The delay in promulgating a policy that recognises community work is another way in which the South African government reinforces the marginalisation of those toiling in communities. This further points to the dichotomy of employment and community activism, emphasizing that volunteerism has no currency in a culture that places a price on skills and labour in the form of a wage. The dichotomy is birthed by the long-standing persistence of measuring economic inputs and outcomes via the Gross Domestic Product (Coscieme et al., 2019). Advancing the view that there has been a shift from large-scale production driven by large industrial businesses; the recognition of collectivist cultures that place a premium on sharing resources, and a UN-led shift in development agenda framed around the SDGs, which integrate human development with ecological and planetary well-being (Coscieme et al., 2019). The fact that the largest share of the GDP in South Africa is not manufacturing, but services, further strengthens the case for a rethink on the matter (Coscieme et al., 2019). Another challenge to the GDP doctrine is provided by the digital economy, which is continually increasing its value while reducing inputs, a situation that reinforces this viewpoint. Innovations such as WhatsApp have enabled communication at a fraction of the cost to the user (Coscieme et al., 2019).

The data collected for this research shows that respondents invest time and resources to improve the well-being of their communities. This includes ensuring that law enforcement do their duty when their communities have experienced crime, that they hold public representatives to account and that services that have economic value, such as provision of electricity, are costed fairly. All these examples have an economic value and outcomes for their own households as well as their communities. The research data has already indicated that participants' motivation includes and goes further than self-interest, with more than one respondent indicating that they share the knowledge that they gain at the NGO with their communities. Of note, this thesis has already spoken about strong collaborative networks in communities, which are wholly sustained by the communities themselves.

This view is backed by Project90by2030's respondent that the ultimate incentive for participants is the fact that the training they receive helps them to achieve their own interests, as well as interest for themselves and their communities, in order to resolve enduring challenges. This view is also supported by behavioural economics, which terms this as "other-

regarding motives" where individuals are prepared to forgo individual interests for the greater good of the group (Festré, 2010, p. 514).

A viewpoint from the literature is that part of the motivation to act within a collective is the opportunity to shape political discourse (Knoke, 1988). The data collected points to Project90by2030's role in preparing participants to present on behalf of their communities when South Africa's energy regulator (Nersa) held public hearings in Cape Town, in response to Eskom's application for a tariff increase. Eskom is South Africa's state-owned power utility. Such benefits are considered utilitarian and are a key feature of organisations who package political beliefs in their offering (Knoke, 1988).

One could argue that the Draft Social Economy Policy Green Paper that has been published for comment by the South African government is meant to provide a remedy as it makes mention of the need to account for the value the sector contributes to the South African economy (Economic Development Department, 2019). However, a definitive resolution of this broad and complex question is beyond the scope of this research.

The literature has already lamented the poor monitoring of the implementation of the Economic Development scorecard of REIPPPP by the South African government and its agencies, which serves to reinforce the exclusion of these communities from the programme (Mthembi, 2016). This comes after having already scaled back on Black Economic Empowerment requirements, the very piece of legislation meant to redress past economic disparities (DTI, 2018).

Policy disharmony at government level also saw the design of the REIPPPP exclude municipalities from being part of the planning and implementation of benefits for communities. This is ironic as municipalities are meant to be custodians of citizens' wishes with regard to development (Makoetje, 2017; Mchunu & Theron, 2014). In addition, REIPPPP's loose definition of socio-economic development totally disregards the work of another government department, the DTI, which has gazetted a comprehensive definition of SED and outlined who is meant to benefit from it (DTI, 2018). Both examples of disregard of existing government policy and duplication of work could be deemed wasteful expenditure by the designers of REIPPPP. Significantly, it undermines the measures aimed at inclusion of those who are excluded.

5.1.3 Racial and class bias by business

Literature has theorised that business is not the most appropriate implementing agent for development programmes for a number of reasons (McEwan et al., 2017; Morar, 2019), especially in the REIPPPP context where grey areas exist about functions and expectations (WWF South Africa, 2015). The literature pertinently states that when expectations and responsibility are not crystallised, it is likely that nothing will get done by business (Hamann, 2019a).

Research has shown that business often excludes low-income communities when devising innovations. While the 20th and 21st centuries ushered substantial developments and innovations, only a few of these were, or have been, developed to solve problems in marginalised communities. Research reveals the inability of these communities to use innovations effectively, which leads to poor diffusion and uptake. In addition, the' inherent beliefs of developers about those on the margins of economic activity means that these communities are not sufficiently and meaningfully engaged with, even for solutions that are tailored for them (Petersen & Kruss, 2018).

This view is in direct contrast with the diffusion of M-Pesa, a mobile money transfer solution that was launched in Kenya in 2007, targeting the lower end of the market. By December 2009, essentially within a period of two years, transactions via the mobile application had reached approximately US$330m. This diffusion rate exceeded all projections and reached 9m users within three years of the initial launch (Haas, Pyler, & Nagarajan, 2010). The case study that is the focus of this research has methods of ensuring diffusion of green energy, which includes availing low-tech green energy solutions at low-cost and for experimentation within low-income communities. Often the uptake is motivated by cost savings from migrating to solar energy. These two examples could be viewed as evidence that poor uptake of innovations is more nuanced. Delving further and trying to understand the phenomenon of the uptake of innovations in low-income communities is beyond the scope of this research.

Furthermore, this thesis has already detailed how these inequalities have been exacerbated in the urban centres, where low-income communities have seen incomes decimated by the increased exposure of South African industries to the global economy. This led to massive cutbacks, downsizing and closure of businesses (Mosoetsa, 2004).

The resultant economic pressures have put the family unit under immense pressure, an institution that had already been severely weakened during apartheid (Mosoetsa, 2004). Citing

the case study of Mpumalanga Township in KwaZulu Natal, Mosoetsa (2004) found that social grants are a crucial component of the livelihoods of the urban poor. The study also made a key observation with regard to poverty and its impact on individuals and on community life. The researcher found that while workplace struggles often create strong bonds amongst the poor, as they band together to fight oppressive systems, poverty induces indignity and people often retreat to their private homes (Mosoetsa, 2004). Communal and collective systems for fighting urban poverty are complex, ambiguous and contradictory.

Literature reviewed for this research also points to communication challenges and an uneasy relationship between REIPPPP projects with protests a prominent feature at project sites (Mthembi, 2016). There are concerns about the capacity of Community Liaison Officers (CLOs) who manage the relationship between projects and host communities. This is viewed as resulting from "*poor communication and a lack of dedicated attention*" (Mthembi, 2016, p. 91). Mthembi (2016) does not solely lay the blame on the doorstep of the IPPs as her view is that there is a skills shortage at a macro level in the development sector.

This thesis has already highlighted high levels of youth unemployment in South Africa. This is particularly concerning and will have dire consequences for the country given that young people make up the majority of people in South Africa (Booyens & Crause, 2012; Booysen, Kelly, Nkomo, & Steyn, 2007; Children's Institute, 2018; NDP, 2012). Youth unemployment also undermines and constrains the development agenda of South Africa as the country is unable to exploit what should be one of its key competitive advantages, namely, demographic dividend. A demographic dividend is when there is a higher number of young people active in an economy, helping the economy to thrive and enabling its capacity to provide a safety net for the numerically less and aging population (Oosthuizen, 2013). While private sector economic activity is not geared at socio-economic development, it remains a contributor to social upliftment (Abedian et al., 2013). During the observation phase, the researcher met a young person who is a participant on the programme and is of the economically active population age. REIPPPPP has in fact reported on employment opportunities created for young people on the programme (IPPP Overview, 2016b). Although this is a welcome development, the numbers quoted dwarf the overall numbers of unemployed youth, which requires a more strategic systemic intervention.

While the literature acknowledges the role of business in creating employment opportunities for young people, especially graduates through internships, the experience has not been a

smooth sail for the youth (Mason, 2018). While some interns point to positive experiences such as coaching, mentoring and support from managers, there are glaring issues of unequal treatment based on gender; interns living far from workplaces (Mason, 2018) and being adversely affected by their lack of bargaining power to negotiate working hours.

Since there is agreement in literature that exclusion is structural (Abedian et al., 2013; Bhorat & Van Der Westhuizen, 2012; Booyens & Crause, 2012; Moleko, 2018), clearly the experiences of discrimination and generational poverty aid and reinforce the ongoing exclusion experienced by these communities (Arauco et al., 2014). Dismantling inequality thus needs to be intentional and systemic. The review of the various government-initiated policies and programmes geared at encouraging youth employment by business is beyond the scope of this research.

5.1.4 Scarred by crime and police violence

The recurring mention of crime in communities by respondents in this research, includes the fact that it disrupts participation in citizen engagement platforms and sometimes is the cause for convening, such as in structures such as Community Police Forum structure.

A number of respondents to this research cited crime, specifically gangsterism, as being responsible for undermining social bonds and safety in their communities. One respondent stated her membership of the Community Police Forum (CPF) in the community, where residents convene and address crime incidents with the police. Another respondent cited lack of safety as a reason for non-attendance of meetings held in the evening, and yet another expressed concern about youth in the community who are increasingly falling into crime. From the research data, one can conclude that crime tears at society's social fabric and undermines participatory democracy and social cohesion.

Research has found that there is a strong link between crime and place; that it does not take place randomly but involves planning by criminals before they hit their target. Spatial planning and other environmental factors increase the likelihood of crime taking place, for example a lack of street lighting (Landman & Liebermann, 2005). For this reason, local municipalities are important role-players and stakeholders in the safety of residents. This reality is usually reflected by the fact that safety priorities often feature very high on the priorities reflected on IDPs (Landman & Liebermann, 2005). As already mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, part of the focus of Project90by2030 is educating communities about citizen-participatory structures

so that, where possible, citizens can influence the planning and allocation of resources for their respective communities.

Policing in South Africa is exacerbated by the difficult relationship between the police and citizens (Pelser, 1999), which dates back to the apartheid era. After years of crime-fighting efforts, it became evident to the police that they could not win the fight against crime without the cooperation of ordinary citizens, therefore the South African government created the CPF structure (Pelser, 1999). The White Paper of the Department of Safety and Security, which was published in 1999, introduced the concept of community-centred law enforcement as a mechanism to bring citizens on board in the fight against crime in a manner that supports the police (Pelser, 1999).

The success of the CPF has been a mixed bag as it is highly dependent on the ability of the police to build a relationship with residents over time.

These collaborations, which are often delicate connections between specific individuals and nurtured over time, have suffered in instances of staff mobility (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2006). The chances of success are also undermined by insufficient funding for training and development of the police-force. Furthermore, the public has a limited understanding of the criminal justice system and often blames the police when prosecutors fail to secure the conviction of offenders in court (Pelser, 1999), not realising that prosecution is a separate function that is independent from the police-force.

The participation of families in the CPF is key as literature has found that young men in low-income communities, are vulnerable when it comes to falling into crime, particularly between mid-teens and mid-twenties (Pelser, 2008). A study suggested that strategies targeting young men should focus on the family environment, education centres and immediate environments to mitigate these risks (Pelser, 2008).

A respondent in this research expressed concern about young people falling into crime and cites a lack of job opportunities and how this impacts on social cohesion.

Working women from low-income communities are another vulnerable group. A study found that using public transport increases their chances of falling victim to crime. This impacts particularly blue-collar workers who use taxis, trains, and buses to commute, and it is usually the last kilometre to or from the taxi drop-off, bus stop, or train station where they are most vulnerable to attack by criminals (Barclay, 2018). The participation of residents in crime-

fighting has been found to motivate them to participate in problem-solving with regard to community challenges (Landman & Liebermann, 2005).

The NDP envisions citizens living "*in our well-designed community surroundings and we feel safe everywhere. There we enjoy meeting one another*" (NDP, 2012). One could argue that the South African policymakers do not share this view of the NDP as in 2018, the Equality Court ruled that the allocation of crime-fighting resources to under-privileged communities in the Western Cape province, is discriminatory (Ntongana & GroundUp, 2018). Furthermore, a view could be held that budget allocations for crime-fighting are revealing of the policymakers' agenda and priorities.

This, therefore, means that apportioning blame for a lack of appropriate response to crime cannot be placed entirely at a police station level. Furthermore, one could argue that policing work in low-income communities, including the coherent and effective functioning of structures such as the CPF, is undermined by policymakers' through budget allocation, which is a national government responsibility in South Africa (Leo & Barton, 2006). In addition, while South Africa's high levels of crime could be interpreted as a reason for the failure of the police to keep citizens secure, it could also be argued that the police have proven very able to use their apparatus when they mete out violence on citizens during protests (Ndelu, 2019; Z. Stuurman, 2020).

One of the respondents to this research cited protest as a means to express dissatisfaction in their community. Protests in low-income communities are often characterised by battles between the police and protesters, where the police either open fire or use other violent methods against citizens.

Observers have noted with disdain the abandonment of the human-rights centred policing adopted in the early years of democratic rule in South Africa (Stuurman, 2020). This strategy is deemed to be driven by the need to attract investment into the country, with such possibility enhanced by the perception of order and a pacified citizenry, which is deemed to calm the fears of foreign investors (Stuurman, 2020). Such a strategy has been adopted by a peer economy in the global south, namely, Brazil. The other driver is having to manage the repercussions of the failure to stem inequality and its inherent manifestations, which include social instability (Connor, 1996; Stuurman, 2020).

5.2 Communication, convening & distributed leadership

Collective action by citizens organised around a common purpose works if citizens find a correlation between how they will personally benefit from participating and the cost of partaking (Mansuri & Rao, 2004). Project90by2030 already offers participants a transport stipend and offers lunch during workshops. This ensures that participants do not incur any personal expenses when participating in their programme. In addition, at the conclusion of the programme, the organisation issues certificates to those who have met the requirements for successful completion of the programme.

The cooperation that exists is backed by a study undertaken in neuroscience research, which found that the region of the brain that finds contestation rewarding is motivated by external reward, while collaboration appeals to regions dominated by empathy and intrinsic rewards (Skinner, 2018). Ultimately, whenever an external party engages a community, there is contestation between different opportunities and the success of such a party depends on its ability to balance the various interests and opportunities "*whether by persuasion, ideology, consensus, good governance, domination by greedy elites, or sheer hard work by a group of altruistic individuals*" (Mansuri & Rao, 2004).

5.2.1 Communication

Intermediary organisations often have the appropriate toolboxes that ease the flow of communication between citizens and government (Tarafdar, Singh, & Anekal, 2012). Increasingly, local engagements with communities are focused on both technical and social aspects as the adoption and diffusion of technology is dependent on the social context of its users (Boyd & Paveglio, 2015). This is particularly true for the case study this research has focused on. The organisation introduced low-tech green technology, such as the Wonderbag and solar lighting in low-income communities, who are known to be energy poor. The messaging was framed appropriately to focus on current energy costs in the household and possible reduction that may result from the adoption of the green technology.

The case study that is the focus of this research focuses on educating its programme's participants on the cooperative governance system in South Africa, in order to understand the role of local, provincial and national government. The respondents in this research confirmed this, when one indicated which level of government is responsible for providing human settlements to citizens and the respondent explained that they had previously been unaware of which level of government was responsible for the function.

One of the respondents stated how they had presented to the National Energy Regulator in South Africa (Nersa) when public hearings were held in Cape Town, to express the respondent's view on the tariff increase that Eskom had applied for.

Most of the respondents in this research cited the use of traditional communication platforms, such as meetings convened by Street Committees and civic bodies such as SANCO. In addition, the invitation methods used ranged from SMS, to phone calls and the use of social media platforms such as WhatsApp. It is evident from the data that strong communication networks foster linkages and networks.

Communication between citizens themselves also appears to be effective. One if the research respondents revealed how the community has solid citizen structures at street level and how information is fed to those who sit on the Community Police Forum (CPF) structure and table issues when meeting with the police.

The NDP attributes the numerous community protests to poor communication between the government and citizens as it views protests as a means for communities to express their dissatisfaction.

The plan suggests that a sense of humility from public leaders would enhance the relationship between citizens and government (NDP, 2012). Backing this view is one of the respondents to this research, who stated non-attendance of meetings held at night due to crime in the area. This could be viewed as reflective of poor relations between the community and local government in that residents are not consulted about a suitable time to meet and how this is arbitrarily decided by public servants.

5.2.2 Front-stage convening

Front-stage convening refers to the practice of convening diverse stakeholders for meetings to achieve specific outcomes (Mair & Hehenberger, 2014). Often the convened stakeholders are able to influence key decisions of the convenor (Spitzeck et al., 2012). Effective front-stage convening is aided when consensus decision-making, the art of deliberation between equals, can give effect to cooperation (Robson & Kant, 2007). Convening is contested and such structures, due to their size and varied vested interests of stakeholders and the complexity of issues being discussed, are not effective. To this end, it is not known how much such structures are able to influence decisions by corporates (Spitzeck et al., 2012).

Other benefits of front-end convening are the fact that those who convene, learn to work with and gain respect for others, which is what embeds social norms and trust-building. Furthermore, repeat encounters with others through meeting via shared networks helps to foster trust between people (Bjørnskov, 2006).

In the case of Project90by2030, the organisation seems representative of the CBOs as independent organisations that have not capitulated their mandate, but have a specific and negotiated association for the CPP specifically (Westley & Vredenburg, 1997). The only stated boundary for the programme is that participants need to be mandated community leaders residing in low-income communities that are energy-poor.

Bringing different role-players to work together is common practice in tackling grand challenges such as climate change and other challenges that threaten the sustainability of the planet, including clean energy mobilisation. The problems are too complex to be solved by a single entity (Etzion, Gehman, Ferraro, & Avidan, 2017). It could be potentially beneficial if a similar approach was adopted by the IPPs, when convening communities for their SED programmes and other interactions with communities. The table should be long enough and have enough seats for an array of stakeholders to be represented.

5.2.3 Back-stage convening

Back-stage convening refers to the process of engaging stakeholders to introduce ideas, to understand goals and vision and create a space where ideas and innovations can be unpacked by those whose buy-in is required (Westley & Vredenburg, 1997). This normally happens ahead of convening a larger group for a plenary engagement that involves various stakeholders. When done properly, backstage convening needs to uncover and address such potential conflicts. It needs to undertake a thorough analysis of the impact of the innovation on existing community networks and social infrastructure in a community (Simpson et al., 2003).

The NGO on which this case study is based carefully undertakes this function. According to its CPP the NGO uses its Participatory Community Engagement (PCE), before engagements with communities and there are some specific criteria to be met. Thereafter, the community is visited to commence engagements. The data collected during interviews with some of the participants attest to this method. Furthermore, the NGO revealed during this research that it is intent on supporting and capacitating community activists to deliver on programmes they themselves have identified, and not on making them initiate new ones. This approach of

working with CBOs is in tune with the SDGs, especially SDG 17, which views partnerships as key to ensuring sustainability for the planet.

This is particularly important for the REIPPPP, which is required to meet some stringent economic development criteria that include job creation, local procurement and socio-economic development. Many of the projects are deemed to "suffer from poor community relations owing to two factors: poor communication and a lack of dedicated attention" (Mthembi, 2016). The repercussions and consequences of getting this wrong can have far-reaching consequences and can tear the social fabric of communities. This could undercut interest, legitimacy and participation in future programmes (Simpson et al., 2003).

5.2.4 Distributed Leadership and Benefits

The case study's mission is low-carbon mobilisation. The CPP is designed to equip participants with skills to tackle other societal issues, specifically matters relating to energy, by adding to their toolbox of skills. This view is echoed by scholars who view grand challenges, a basket of sustainability challenges which include energy. The literature states that when issues are too complex and multi-disciplinary in nature, a host of stakeholders are required (Etzion et al., 2017).

Furthermore, Etzion et al., (2017) states that because the required actions are multi-layered with a mix of ambiguity and uncertainty in the mix, it is important that continual adaptation and idea prototyping is done. This would also have to be decentralised to maximise the benefits.

Distributed leadership, as opposed to concentrated leadership, allows for social learning, which can later be crystallised into actionable outcomes. Furthermore, because sustainability challenges are presenting problems at a scale never seen before, this type of leadership is widely gaining favour and has disrupted the traditional leadership paradigm (Etzion et al., 2017).

Paternalistic leadership styles are deemed unsuitable as they represent a form of outsourcing to civil society organisations acting on behalf of the state, therefore undermining local leadership of communities (Keevers, Treleaven, & Sykes, 2008). The CPP of the NGO on whom this case study is based, is designed to empower participants to ensure that they will be able to apply the knowledge they have gained in their own environments and CBOs. The respondents cited examples of how they have shared knowledge in their communities or at the very least stated the intention to do so. This would be a helpful approach for the REIPPPP in the design

of the SED plans as projects only have a 20-year life span following which they will exit communities. Skilling communities with this understanding would help to ensure that initiated programmes are sustainable even when the IPP projects have reached the end of their life cycle.

5.3 Mobilisation of engaged citizens for collaborative governance

With the evolution of democracy and the realisation of the important role of citizens in sustaining and supporting democracies, a number of public accountability measures have been tried and tested (Walker, 2009). This has also included popularisation and strengthening of participatory democracy. While for most citizens, taking part in participatory democracy processes is through voting in periodic elections, there are increasing calls for greater participation for citizens through established instruments between elections.

Engaged citizens are key to successful policymaking in modern democracies, where processes have evolved to strategically include citizens through tailored bottom-up approaches (Kpessa, 2011).

This also facilitates for a diversity of voices and views on what may be common problems, specifically in formerly marginalised communities who were denied a voice and were always at the receiving end of the policy-making machinery (Kpessa, 2011). Engaged citizens are able to mobilise against the state and express their dissatisfaction when aggrieved by it. This is evident in South Africa through frequent service delivery protests (NDP, 2012; Nleya, 2011). While power is not meant to be completely transferred to citizens by bureaucrats or policymakers (Kpessa, 2011), such engagement platforms allow for the emergence of converging interests, sometimes even in cases of seemingly irreconcilable interests (Alford, 2002). This is evident when able-bodied participants lobby for access for their disabled fellows or when economic elites advocate for reforms to enable access to high-end schools for children from a lower socio-economic background.

Research has observed that participatory democracy mechanisms are easier to roll-out in urban centres where residents tend to be mobilised around areas of interest. This practice is not common in rural areas where convening is much more challenging (Kpessa, 2011). Government credibility amongst citizenry enhances participation by citizens in such processes (Marinetto, 2003). Examples of participatory democratic processes in South Africa that have been referenced in this thesis include the IDP consultative mechanism (Mchunu & Theron,

2014), public hearings organised by NERSA, the energy regulator (Respondent 6) and the Municipal Ward Committee system (Esau, 2008).

There is a pattern of a perpetual under-promotion of these participatory platforms in low-income communities (Walker, 2009), and often it is these residents whose voices need to be heard due to historical exclusion. Within low-income communities, factors that undermine engaged citizens' efforts to participate in democracy include structural factors such as the enduring apartheid spatial geography (Newton & Schuermans, 2013), difficulty in accessing transport (Lucas, 2011) and poor health due to inadequate access to nutrition. This thesis has already discussed these points (de Swardt et al., 2005). Further barriers to participation may include language, as a medium of communication, in such platforms (Kpessa, 2011).

As a form of remedial action, Project90by2030 mobilises community activists from low-income community to help them find a space for expression in the democratic processes of South Africa. An example of this from the research data is where respondents were able to present their views to the NERSA when it held public discussions on Eskom's application for a tariff increase.

Another example is a debate convened by Project90by2030, along with other NGOs in Cape Town, for political parties to address voters on their parties' green agenda. On the day the researcher undertook the observation of the group, the participants were animatedly discussing their views of the debate, which was held ahead of the national and provincial elections of 2019.

It is also important to note that the participants on the programme were already engaged in community work in their communities and were actively involved in CBO, which is at the core of the recruitment strategy of Project90by2030. In fact, the CBO need to have clearly articulated goals in order to be able to be a part of the case study, as one of the respondents outlines below:

> "*As my role that when I am in communities, is not a prescriptive one but a supportive one. Supportive of the work that organisations in communities are trying to achieve and then I would link that up with what I am trying to achieve so that in whatever was that we work, there is always a link in what you're looking for and what we are looking for, so the motivator for you to participate in this space is not for me but the pursuit of your own end*."

EFMD EQUIS ACCREDITED ASSOCIATION OF MBAS ACCREDITED AACSB ACCREDITED

CBOs often form to address specific local issues (Florin; & Wandersman, 2006). The quality of leadership in CBO's is often a determining factor for other residents to join movements geared at addressing community issues. Therefore care needs to be taken about who is placed in leadership roles and also careful monitoring as to how they conduct themselves; as this may influence the rate of citizen participation in such organisations (Foster-Fishman, Cantillon, Pierce, & Van Egeren, 2007). CBOs are also vulnerable to decline due to their voluntary nature (Florin; & Wandersman, 2006) and lack of succession planning.

However, participatory democracy work achieve legitimacy when citizens are invited from the outset, so that their input can be included in shaping whatever is under discussion (Michels & De Graaf, 2010). The broad discussions also allow for areas of conflict between participants to be addressed, which legitimises outcomes of such processes (Carpini, Cook, & Jacobs, 2004).

Conversely, the process attracts criticism because self-interest has been identified as a major reason for participation by citizens in such structures (Michels & De Graaf, 2010) and this could include protecting their own interests and attracting funding from policymakers and bureaucrats of either their own, or their communities' programmes.

This therefore means that there is a possibility that such platforms are not representative of all voices. In addition, because such platforms are convened so infrequently (Carpini et al., 2004), one could assume that they are removed from the realities of day to day living.

Deliberation has emerged as the most effective engagement tool for participatory democracy as it includes being open to expressing one's views and receiving feedback from others, hearing the different views others and openly engaging with them. Residents believe this allows for the best possible decision to be made by the group. Although the process might sound easy and cordial, highly-skilled facilitation is in fact required to ensure that the expectations of all parties are managed (Michels & De Graaf, 2010).

Table 4: Aspects of Citizen Participation and democracy: a framework for analysis
(Michels & De Graaf, 2010, p. 481)

Aspects	Clarification	Theoretical Perspective
Inclusion	Allows individual voices to be heard (Openness, diversity of opinions).	Social capital
Civic skills and values	Civic skills (Debating public issues, running a meeting) and civic virtues (public engagement and responsibility, feeling like a valued public citizen, active participation in public life, reciprocity).	Deliberative democracy Participatory Democracy Social capital
Deliberation	Rational decisions based on public reasoning (exchange of arguments and shifts of preferences).	Deliberative democracy
Legitimacy	Support for process and outcome.	Participatory Democracy

(Michels & De Graaf, 2010, p. 481)

The NDP views active citizens as a key component of a successful developmental state:

> *Active citizenry and social activism is necessary for democracy and development to flourish. The state cannot merely act on behalf of the people – it has to act with the people, working together with other institutions to provide opportunities for the advancement of all communities* (NDP, 2012).

The data collected for this research reveals that participants want to understand the workings of government, with the NGO having introduced other ways to engage with different levels of government and regulatory bodies. Collaborative governance has been broadly defined as the partnering of a network of public, private and civil society stakeholders, around the

implementation of public policies for the benefit of citizens (Hayes & Conforth, 2014 as cited in Makoetje, 2017). The different levels of government are required, in the case of local government by the IDP (Makoetje, 2017; Mchunu & Theron, 2014), but government on the whole is encouraged to foster positive relations and engage citizens (NDP, 2012). Citizen participation would be hugely beneficial as it allows the state to gain perspectives and inputs that it would otherwise not have access to (Kpessa, 2011; Skinner, 2018). This ensures the state has buy-in and a sense of ownership from the very people who are meant to benefit from their programmes (Kpessa, 2011; Skinner, 2018). This is confirmed by research and points to a perceived increase in value about anything that people feel they own (Skinner, 2018). Collaborative governance is enabled by a relentless quest to be inclusive, creating an environment where hierarchies are collapsed (Marantz, 2017) and involving citizens from the beginning of any process (Michels & De Graaf, 2010).

Conveners need to employ strategies to sustain the interest of communities, often by mobilising a number of participants to ensure that there is a sizable presence and voice throughout (Foster-Fishman et al., 2007). This includes paying attention and mitigating the impact of structural barriers such distance from convening spaces or lack of suitable spaces to convene. Other possible structural barriers include language and illiteracy (Kpessa, 2011). While Kpessa (2011) argues that citizen participation is becoming a key pillar of democracy and the previous posture of elitism around policy making was outdated, another view is that the participatory system has not completely replaced the previous top-down system, but that the two often collide (Newman et al., 2004).

Supporting the leadership capacity of participants is also key because while local problems often spark participation in collaborative structures, it is the sense that communities have effective leaders that sustains interest and participation (Foster-Fishman et al., 2007). Similarly a strong belief that participation would result in positive outcomes for communities is one of the key drivers, especially for those who are marginalised (Foster-Fishman et al., 2007; Kpessa, 2011).

With regular mass demonstrations in South Africa (Nleya, 2011), one could conclude that there is a failure in the policy arena and the failure is underpinned by the inability of the different levels of government to coordinate, synergize and collaborate for the benefit of citizens (Bugge et al., 2019). Another way to view this is that municipal government failure points to a failure

of the cooperative government system as provincial government is meant to have oversight of the local government (Visser, 2009).

This view is supported by the research data where citizens did not know what the different mandates of the levels of government are. Furthermore, since demonstrations have been a feature in South Africa's democratic era for over two decades, one can conclude that the state continually fails to learn from its mistakes (Bugge et al., 2019) and it could be assumed that the state does not have the interest or capacity to self-correct.

5.4 Demographic Diversity

As already stated, the researcher observed that the group had a higher representation of women than men. The over-presentation of women in the group of participants cannot be regarded as discrimination against men, given the historic barriers women have faced to access opportunities (Moleko, 2018). On the contrary, this should be regarded as redress for historic exclusion.

Diversity is credited for enriching solutions to complex problems due to inputs of participants from different racial, cultural, age and gender backgrounds (Pless & Maak, 2004).

Currently in South Africa, the groups that are prioritised for economic inclusion are: Black people (DTI, 2018) and women (DME, 2003).The REIPPPP specifically targets the same groups, on condition that they live within the municipal boundaries of project sites, (Davies et al., 2018b; WWF South Africa, 2015) as well as small businesses for enterprise development and supply chain opportunities (Mthembi, 2016).

Overwhelmingly, the identified groups are also reflective of groups who were actively discriminated against historically; as well as the synergy between inclusion and livelihood (Petersen & Kruss, 2018). The data from the research indicates that the case study has paid attention to who is present in the room, with the presence and participation of Black and Coloured women and men; and the youth. The criteria also include age and religious diversity.

While one could argue that the demographic diversity is a recipe for decentralised governance and is therefore an enabler for citizen participation. However, in practice this has sometimes led to observation that democracy is either deepened or communities are disempowered (McEwan, 2003). Literature also points to a historical pattern where the participation of Black women in community organisations spurs them on to take an active role in local development

initiatives (McEwan, 2003). Gender Equality is one of the SDG's and the view is that climate action, which is also an SDG, is the key enabler of the transition to clean energy, as the SDG's are "*integrated and indivisible*" (Clark, 2017, p. 1/4). The prevalence of patriarchy, which often places artificial barriers on women who want to participate in decision-making structures, requires that the participation of women, should be by design and not be left to the preferences of those in leadership at a particular juncture (Pandey, 2010). Echoing this view is South Africa's NDP, which advocates for the participation of women in all spheres of life and leadership roles (NDP, 2012).

Women's participation in such structures is meant to capacitate and empower them as citizens. This is crucial in a country like South Africa, where women have the burden of raising the family. For example, out of 21 million children living in South Africa, 71 percent are deemed paternal orphans, which means they have a father who is deceased or is presumed deceased (Children's Institute, 2018). Women are critical stakeholders because of their role in society, beyond being mere citizens. Furthermore, in recent years, scholars have observed that poverty has taken on a feminine face (Benjamin, 2007; Bhorat & Van Der Westhuizen, 2012). This trend was influenced and intensified with the adoption of neo-liberal policies where the provision of services such as water and electricity, which had been provided by the state, were privatised and re-branded as commodities instead of public goods (Benjamin, 2007; Naidoo, 2007). Although there is provision of these services on a basic level, for most citizens this provision is inadequate (Ruiters, 2011). This means that citizens who are unable to afford paying for these services, for whatever reason, have to find a way to survive without access.

Another demographic group whose participation was observed is the youth. This group is not just important for their own sake but are known to be opinion leaders in the introduction of new innovations and their diffusion of these within families. To this end this group should be actively encouraged and safe-guarded (Correa, 2016). This influence was particularly observed in families at the lower-end of the market (Correa, 2016). Youth participation in civil society programmes has proven to have many benefits. These include enhancing social development processes as well an improvement in self-esteem for young people, who are participants. By participating, young people also develop a sense of their own capabilities (Balsano, 2005 as cited in Nicotera, 2008).

Through creating opportunities for young people to participate as co-creators of their own future along with mature participants, one is facilitating a transfer of skills and co-learning (Percy-Smith & Burns, 2013).

Youth participation is particularly important in the context of the present-day South Africa, with the high number of young people who are out of work and not in education or training (NEETS: a young person not working, or engaged in education or being trained) (Booysen et al., 2007; Children's Institute, 2018). Elsewhere this thesis has highlighted the staggering figures for all three provinces where REIPPPP has been rolled-out (Children's Institute, 2018). This thesis has already stated that NEETS are a vulnerable group and there would be dire consequences for the country if this group is left to idle indefinitely (Booyens & Crause, 2012). This group takes on particular importance if one notes that they fall in the 0-34 years' age group, which makes up 68% of the South African population (Statistic SA, 2010, as cited in Booyens & Crause, 2012). Failure to ensure inclusion of this group will have undesirable consequences for society such as them falling into criminal behaviour and drug abuse (Booyens & Crause, 2012; Pelser, 2008).

Given the structural factors have been cited as the reason for lack of integration of NEETS into society, another remedy would be to actively create opportunities for this group, to connect and engage with their peers about solutions to societal problems (Booyens & Crause, 2012). This is something that SED funds could help kick-start and support, with financial and human resources. Recognising the importance of engaging the youth, the NDP cites that "*South Africa has an urbanising, youthful population*" (NDP, 2012). The sub-optimal action of government in mobilising and educating citizens about participatory democracy has created a gap that organisations such as Project90by2030 have taken, by mobilising citizens to effectively participate in the South African democratic project.

5.5 Belonging, esteem benefits and inclusion

Maslow's hierarchy of needs

Source: https://www.thoughtco.com/maslows-hierarchy-of-needs

Maslow's Hierarchy of needs advances that people's needs can be grouped into five categories, namely: physiological, safety, social, esteem and self-actualisation. The needs are designed in such a way that the basic needs have to be met before one aspires to the higher needs (Kaur, 2013).

While Maslow's Hierarchy is deemed universal, needs are also influenced by one's cultural and social background. For example, a citizen of a Western country may not express a need for warmth and light provided by electricity because that is their daily reality, while a citizen from a developing country might yearn for access to electricity because they have only intermittent access to it (Wratten, 1993). The need to belong is innate and is driven by the human need to have close bonds with others, especially when there is much in common with them (Csikszentmihalyi, 2001).

Belonging takes on particular importance in a learning environment as it is a prerequisite to effective learning (Murphey, Prober, & Gonzales, 2010), the absence of which has negative consequences for society in all spheres. Within community, a feeling of not belonging undermines learning outcomes for students who might end up engaging in socially destructive behaviours such as bullying and fighting; in workplaces it can undermine collaboration between colleagues (Murphey et al., 2010). A lack of belonging and social exclusion often results in retreat, as a result of discrimination and lack of respect shown by others (May, 2011; Nordberg, 2006). The true embodiment of belonging is when people live their lives and carry on with their business, without worrying about who is paying attention, or what the reason for such attention is (May, 2011).

Most of the respondents stated that their neighbourhoods are crime riddled. One participant mentioned attending a Police Forum meeting and later spoke about how they now know which of level government is responsible for low-cost housing. Thus, one could say that although participants are engaging in a programme that fulfils their social and esteem needs, they are evidently still fighting for their physiological and safety needs to be met within their communities. Already this thesis has shared excerpts about respondents attending Community Police Forum meetings to discuss crime in their community and wanting to understand the process of the allocation of housing. In addition, another respondent was concerned about having a job that offered no job security.

Esteem benefits include the need for recognition. All humans need recognition from their peers, families, and other social groups that they may form part of, such as colleagues in the workplace (Pless & Maak, 2004). The participants in this research were all on the programme due to being nominated by their CBO to represent them on the programme. This means that their activism has been recognised within their communities and by their peers.

Inclusion relates to one's feelings of acceptance in a group through how one is treated by the group. This includes the balancing act of having similarities between the group's members acknowledged, and having differences appreciated and accommodated (Shore et al., 2011). Inclusion is premised on the belief in plurality of knowledge, believing that knowledge and insights should be drawn from a variety of sources and belief systems (Pless & Maak, 2004).

Inclusion is experienced in positive light both by the included party and those actively engaged in the act of inclusion. A concerted effort has to be made to realise being included as a strategic objective and a routine review of organisational practices and processes to ensure that barriers are dismantled (Pless & Maak, 2004).

Exclusion happens when one's uniqueness is ignored and unacknowledged by others, within a group context. This is not only limited to exclusion in social contexts, but extends to formal spheres such as, for example, knowledge production (Shore et al., 2011). Clearly, as depicted by the model, exclusion undermines one's sense of belonging as it shuns core uniqueness (Shore et al., 2011). In the context of this research, exclusion would have meant that the Muslim participant was shunned by the group and possibly denied access.

Alternatively, access would have been extended on condition that the participant was prepared to assimilate, by downplaying her belief system and breaking her fast to join others during mealtime, in order to fit in with the dominant group (Shore et al., 2011). When inclusion is not forthcoming, individuals with a strong need to belong could end up assimilating.

Settings with low tolerance for inclusion sometimes employ differentiation, which means, they will bring in those who are different at specific intervals, to tap into their unique talents or viewpoints without allowing them a permanent seat on the table (Riley & Buckley, 2008 as cited in Shore et al., 2011). As the model indicates, this reduces a sense of belonging in groups.

Table 5: Inclusion Framework

	Low sense of belonging	High sense of belonging
Low value in uniqueness	**Exclusion** The individual is not treated as an organizational insider with unique value in the work group, although there are other employees or groups who are insiders.	**Assimilation** The individual is treated as an insider in the work group when they conform to organizational/dominant culture norms and downplay their uniqueness.
High value in uniqueness	**Differentiation** The individual is not treated as an organizational insider in the work group, but their unique characteristics are seen as valuable and required for group/ organizational success.	**Inclusion** The individual is treated as an insider and also allowed/encouraged to retain uniqueness within the work group.

Shore et al., (2011 p. 1266).

The case study convenes community activists and through this process, representatives from different organisations, each engaged in civic work within their communities, find a community that shares their struggles.

Esteem needs involve the need to feel recognised and respected for one's gifts and contribution (Csikszentmihalyi, 2001), which is exactly how the group is convened. All participants on the CPP are recruited and engaged on the basis of their activism within their local community. In addition, the group's close relationships with each other may also help the participants develop identities that counter the negative stigma attached to their communities' as being only burrows of crime in Cape Town (Howarth, 2002).

5.6 Empowerment and capacity building

The knowledge gained from exposure to the CPP has a catalytic impact on the mission of CBO to capacitate participants to forge new ways of engagement with local and provincial government. The research data indicates that this is happening, for example one of the participants mobilised and supported her colleagues when they were dealing with a workplace grievance. Another respondent gained information that allowed her to start a recycling business in her community. This outcome is expected as learning is meant to expand and open new avenues of thinking (Percy-Smith & Burns, 2013).

Citizen empowerment is in tune with the vision statement of the NDP, which envisions a country that is "a story of unfolding learning" (NDP, 2012). Currently, the companies participating in the REIPPPP score poorly on training and up-skilling of staff at lower levels in their organisational hierarchies (Mthembi, 2016). Mthembi (2016) cautions that this poses a risk to IPP projects, with dissatisfaction expressed through the frequent protests at host communities. Her suggested remedial action is that the South African government, which is the sole purchaser of energy from the IPPs, pair the Economic Development element of job creation in the REIPPPP, with skills development (Mthembi, 2016). This would guarantee training and development opportunities to all staff employed by the IPPs.

5.7 Clean energy awareness and advocacy

Since 1994 a massive electrification drive has broadened access in South Africa, to those disadvantaged by apartheid. However, in recent years this feat has been undermined by the unaffordability of electricity (Winkler et al., 2011). Access to energy has both a direct impact on family life, as electricity is needed for lighting, cooking and the use of electrical appliances in the home, as well as an indirect impact because energy access is known to have positive outcomes for the larger community's educational and health outcomes; plus other basic social and economic needs (Jones, 2004 as cited in Okafor & Ijeoma, 2014).

The reality and impact of energy poverty has prompted Project90by2030's mission of mobilising low-carbon power generation. The key player in the programme, to provide electricity to communities who were previously denied access to electricity, was Eskom, South Africa's power utility, along with entities attached to municipalities (Van Horen & Simmonds, 1998). The electrification programme was one of the pillars in the development strategy for the country. While energy access does not immediately translate to economic development, it is a key precondition for this (Okafor & Ijeoma, 2014).

In spite of the huge effort that has gone into providing power to marginalised citizens, consumption levels have not risen to desired levels (Winkler et al., 2011). A study undertaken on the use of energy in low-income communities was revealing of the balancing act that low-income communities have to enact to keep the lights on while keeping hunger at bay. Multi-fuel use was found to be key in managing costs, with electricity being used mainly for lighting and alternative fuels such as paraffin used for other needs in the home (Mehlwana & Qase, 1998). Another factor is that some residents, who have roots in rural parts of South Africa, do not view their homes as worthy of too much investment, as they view them as temporary homes Mehlwana, 1997). The study found that there is poor knowledge with regard to the efficient use of electricity and the residents' mistrust of authorities, stemming from apartheid, discourages residents' from seeking help in this regard.

This study confirms the findings of earlier studies, which show that the use of electricity in developing countries follows certain trends and patterns; and that these are sometimes influenced by the socio-economic background of the user. A study by UN Habitat (2008), which compared energy household consumption in the developed world versus the developing world, revealed that *"cooking fuel and water heating comprise the largest share of household energy demand across Africa, while space heating, water heating and electricity dominate in EU and other industrialised economies"* (UN Habitat, 2008 as cited in Acey & Culhane, 2013, p. 1057).

The NGO that is the focus of this case study focuses on educating their programme's participants on the cooperative governance system in South Africa, in order to understand the role of local, provincial and national government. The respondents in this research confirmed this, as was the case when one indicated which level of government is responsible for providing human settlements to citizens and the respondent explained that previously the respondent had not been aware of this.

One of the respondents also advised how they had presented to the National Energy Regulator in South Africa (Nersa), who is the energy regulator in South Africa; when public hearings were held in Cape Town to express the respondent's view on the tariff increase application made by Eskom.

Literature views structural benefits as a key enabler of community energy programmes and this includes access to resources and political decision-makers, including technical and other support from partners (Bomberg & McEwen, 2012).

One could view the facilitation of the opportunity to present at the hearing held by Nersa, on the tariff increase application by Eskom, as an example of structural and technical support given to the community.

The NGO is also actively involved in education, encouraging the use and adoption of low-tech green energy solutions such as the Wonderbag and solar lighting, in low income communities.

Part of the literature shared with participants includes the impact of climate change on the South African economy. Researchers have been vocal about how low-income communities have been overlooked in advocacy and awareness programmes on climate change. Limited support has been offered by authorities in spite of known knowledge gaps, minimal ownership of assets and a lack of social protection (Gentle & Maraseni, 2012). Furthermore, Gentle & Maraseni (2012) posit that the poor are not able to adapt to climate change without support and what has been observed are makeshift coping strategies being implemented, specifically, in the subsistence farming communities. These include unsecured credit, child labour and migration (Gentle & Maraseni, 2012), whereas what is needed is a holistic development strategy geared at resource-poor communities. Scholars are of the view that intermediaries should take the lead as they possess the requisite skills and resources to scale adoption and penetration of new innovations (Feola & Nunes, 2014). Some of the key characteristics of successful transitions include successful recruitment of early adopters and keen experimenters; awareness and education; persuasive implementers with the ability to keep participants enthused and effective community engagement. This is over and above solid leadership, strong governance credentials and mission (Feola & Nunes, 2014).

Moreover, while businesses are expected to measure, report and mitigate their impact on the environment, with communities being a critical stakeholder in that process, capacitating would help make such a role meaningful.

Researchers also lament the slow pace of tracking and enforcing climate change mitigation by business in the developing world, with the need to boost investment being cited as a possible reason for such a stance by policymakers (Wang & Sueyoshi, 2018).

All respondents to the research were able to answer basic questions on renewable energy, with some expressing concerns about the continued supply of power through burning fossil fuels

and the impact this has on the health of communities residing close to power stations. (Respondents) [3].

The case study's mission is also validated by research findings, which show that reducing energy poverty and accessing green energy has benefits for well-being through increasing access (Kimemia & Van Niekerk, 2017).

5.8 Chapter conclusion

Through this chapter, it becomes evident that SED programmes must be designed to accommodate and respond to various factors that make up the lived reality of low-income communities in South Africa.

Climate change and the mitigation measures necessary are matters that all people should be familiar with regardless of their income bracket. Increased urbanisation has also compounded the impact of climate change for cities. Some of the impacts are already evident in human settlements, energy infrastructure and waste management (Bugge et al., 2019; Jaglin, 2014). Researchers have consistently cited the recruitment of opinion leaders to set an example for others as a key strategy in the adoption of any climate change mitigation strategies in non-scientific environments (Matschoss & Heiskanen, 2017).

[3] The research respondents were interviewed via semi-structured interviews.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the research by summarising the findings and the themes that emerged from the collected data, reiterating the research question, questioning whether the research has answered the question and outlining opportunities for future research.

6.2 The Research Findings

6.2.1 SED implementation should be implemented in partnership with local government and the LED

Conclusions drawn from the research findings are that businesses are not the best organisations to perform the function of community development (McEwan et al., 2017). The way the state has designed the REIPPPP programme suggests that the state is transferring its responsibility to business (McDaid et al., 2016b). This researcher suggests that the SED component of the scorecard be incorporated into the IDP, so that the responsibility to perform rests with local government (McDaid et al., 2016b). Clearly a firm commitment to clean governance is required from the state in light of the reports by the Auditor General of South Africa. The democratic system of government has created opportunities to citizens to have a say in their development through the Ward Committee structure (Esau, 2008) and the IDP participatory process (Makoetje, 2017; Mchunu & Theron, 2014). This could benefit from oversight by the LED. Such oversight and partnership between this level of government and private companies tasked with delivering SED would allay fears of ambiguously-designed programmes, often resulting in a no-win situation with non-delivery of promised services for the communities who are meant to benefit (Hamann, 2019a).

The study also found that the communities where the REIPPPP is rolled out face dire socio-economic conditions, with many people out of work and many of the youth not in training or employment (Children's Institute, 2018; Moleko, 2018; StatsSA, 2018). In addition, low-income communities are crime-riddled and the allocation of crime-prevention resources to these communities are limited (Ntongana & GroundUp, 2018). The data also showed that crime undermines social bonds in these communities. Since research points to crime being a matter of poor planning and resource allocation by local government (Landman & Liebermann, 2005) intermediaries, such as Project90by2030, who are engaged in promoting citizen participatory governance, could facilitate access opportunities for citizens to influence local

government budget allocation, which could possibly be an avenue for citizens to ensure decent budgets for crime prevention.

Intermediaries have a role in supporting the roll-out of complex socio-economic projects, and have appropriate toolkits to support the capacitation of communities with regard to collaborative governance (Burch et al., 2014). While community-based organisations are dynamic with varied histories, the marginalisation of female activists in their structures is a common theme. Project90by2030 is aware of this fact and they have successfully turned it on its head. Whether by luck or design, this has helped them buck this trend.

6.2.2 Community development practice

Community development practice needs to be grounded in respect of existing knowledge, assets and structures in communities and not new initiatives of developers. With regard to the case study analysed for the research, it was found that their practice is grounded in the principles of the SDGs and the NDP (Clark, 2017; NDP, 2012). This includes the inclusion of women and the youth (Pandey, 2010; Percy-Smith & Burns, 2013). The focus is on educating citizens about the instruments of democracy, especially the participatory process of the IDP (Mchunu & Theron, 2014).

According to collected data, the practice of the case study is to respect and uphold existing knowledge and leadership skills in communities. The analysis of the data from this research is that there is no tension between existing and new knowledge; and that elements of the existing knowledge are useful for the diffusion of new knowledge. The respondents indicated that they have lived in their communities for many years, with the shortest stay being 13 years and the longest being 33 years. They also displayed an understanding of their communities when they indicated the good and the bad, including methods used by participatory structures to convene residents. Knowledge and understanding of local needs is the driver of the desire to participate and this gives leverage to local leaders to mobilise locals and secure support for new interventions (Eversole, 2009a). Eversole (2009) adds that community organisation is partly influenced by a combination of diminished faith in traditional political systems and the rigorous scrutiny of the public sector by citizens. The data collected for this research points to a community development practice that values local knowledge and Project90 views itself as adding to that knowledge. This approach offers an opportunity for solutions that merge both new and existing knowledge (Eversole, 2009a), and this can quite possibly yield results.

From the collected data, this researcher deduces that while working on addressing and delivering bread and butter issues, SED programmes encompass an innate understanding of human needs and motivation, as well as other factors that may not be rationally evident.

6.2.3 Back-stage convening is the cornerstone of trust-based relations in communities

Back-stage convening ensures that there is community buy-in to programmes by working with communities on finding ways to add value to existing community programmes (Project90by2030, 2017). Having spent the past few years undertaking research to understand the energy needs of low-income communities, Project90by2030 are in a position to tailor appropriate interventions. An example would be the preparation of activists ahead of their presentations at the public hearings held by the electricity regulator, Nersa, on the tariff hike increase application submitted by Eskom. One of the respondents cited the preparation as the reason he was able to present coherently as an informed citizen.

Failure to undertake this task thoroughly, may lead to programmes that communities are unable to sustain upon the exit of the intermediary. Working with community-based organisations who have clearly articulated missions, objectives and methodologies is particularly important in this regard. There is no substitute for back-stage convening.

The importance of communities understanding and participating in the IDP processes, as well as understanding the workings of local government, cannot be overstated. The IDP is still the best way for the specific needs of communities to be documented, budgeted for and implemented by local government. Certainly, it is key that communities maximise this opportunity. Any programme with an SED agenda, such as REIPPPP, should seek to draw from the IDP and explore collaboration with other actors; in order to jointly undertake the delivery of wishes already expressed through a democratic process instead of drawing up new plans.

The design of the programme is geared towards the benefits being distributed in communities where the community activists live and work. This is aligned to the NDP and the benefits of development should derived by the low-income communities themselves (NDP, 2012).

Social development by virtue its nature, is a complex, adaptive and evolutionary process. As stated above, the four protagonists of socio-economic prosperity (or decline) are: the individual; societal culture with its embedded value system; political economy governance structures; and national capital endowment" (Abedian et al., 2013, p. 20).

6.2.4 Community activism is work that should be remunerated

There is an inherent dichotomy between employment and community activism, due to a lack of formal recognition and remuneration for community work (Economic Development Department, 2019), yet activists play an important role in their communities, often as a link between the state and citizens. Such recognition would strengthen the work of organisations such as Project90by2030. The respondents to this research indicated that they are unemployed, with one indicating an intention to exit the programme upon finding employment. Project90by2030 has indicated that it is aware of this risk and perhaps it needs to devise strategies to actively mitigate it. Having said that, and given the high unemployment rate in South Africa, it is unlikely that a whole programme would collapse because all trainees have suddenly secured employment. Furthermore, Project90by2030 has already indicated the predicament it faces as it generally works with unemployed community activists and that there is always a risk that trainees may abruptly leave the programme upon securing employment. The rate of unemployment in South Africa is presently 27 percent, this figure includes a high number of lowly-skilled people in the lower socio-economic brackets (StatsSA, 2018). Behavioural economics views unavailability, whether real or perceived, as the driver of value attribution. This therefore means one would typically place a high value on employment due to its real and perceived unavailability (Shin & Ariely, 2004). In addition the need to have a secure income to support one's livelihood is a basic human needs and therefore it would not be unreasonable for a trainee to abandon the training in favour of employment (Kaur, 2013). Furthermore, earned income enables one to secure other needs such shelter, which are: physiological, physical, social, esteem and self-actualisation needs (Shin & Ariely, 2004). Therefore, the South African government needs to move quickly to give formal recognition to this sector through its policy interventions on the social economy and devise appropriate means to remunerate this work, which this research has found to have tangible economic benefits for communities.

6.2.5 Government & SAPS enablers and enforcers of exclusion and inequality

The South African government at national and local government level is an enabler and enforcer of the exclusion of low-income communities. The policy confusion around the definition and framing of socio-economic benefits has resulted in the very people meant to benefit from the policy, not benefiting from it (DTI, 2018).

The lack of communication in the government system between the DME and DTI, led to the design of a policy by REIPPPP, which had already been done. This was subsequently amended by the DTI, amounting to potential wasteful expenditure on the part of REIPPPP. The White Paper on Renewable Energy clearly outlines the groups meant to benefit from the renewable energy roll-out (DME, 2003), having clearly identified women and those who are marginalised as the intended beneficiaries. Poor monitoring and lack of enforcement by the IPP Office, has hindered this being realised.

The poor communication by local government of pro-poor programmes has barred communities from vital information, such as the opportunity to register on the indigent list of a municipality (Rasila & Mudau, 2013), an intervention designed to ensure continued access to municipal services for citizens who unable to afford the services. Properly communicating this intervention through existing structures in communities, would minimise the conflict that results when services are cut-off and privatised (Naidoo, 2007). A lack of proper investment in citizen education on the collaborative governance system is another missed opportunity for meaningful engagement for policymakers and citizens. Participatory democracy has no meaning if citizens are denied the opportunity to participate, by an uncaring and unresponsive bureaucracy.

Poor managerial skills at local government level, which results in unauthorised expenditure of funds, poor planning and execution of service delivery (AGSA, 2019b), ultimately, undermines citizens' lived experience in a democratic dispensation.

The South African Police Service (SAPS), which through its budgeting, allocates a disproportionate amount of crime-fighting resources to affluent areas (Ntongana & GroundUp, 2018), undermines the safety and security of those living in low-income communities. In addition, the violence meted out to citizens when they engage in protests (Ndelu, 2019; Z. Stuurman, 2020) and the targeting of known community activists by the police (Ganesh et al., 2016), serves to quell participation in a legitimate means of expressing dissatisfaction with the state. This ultimately communicates to citizens what they may or may not protest about and also the consequences thereof.

The CPF structure (Pelser, 1999) and the continued voluntary participation of citizens from low-income communities, as attested to by one of the respondents in this research project, points to the willingness and desire of citizens to be part of the solution when it comes to crime-fighting in their communities.

6.2.6 Keep promises to the customer – except when the customer is the state

The everyday adage in business that the customer is king does not seem to apply to REIPPPP, where the customer is the South African government. The lacklustre performance of the programme, which is also confirmed by reports from the State's IPP Office (IPPP Overview, 2016a) is indicative of the trend that has been confirmed by research undertaken in the mining industry in South Africa. The study found that when the state does not clearly articulate its guidelines with regard to programmes to be implemented by business, with the state seemingly abandoning its role to lead, stated goals are not achieved and there is poor accountability on the part of business (Hamann, 2019a). While the state is not the customer in the mining sector, it is the sole issuer of mining licences for companies to operate (Hamann, 2019a).

6.2.7 Confirmation of other research studies undertaken on the REIPPPP

The research confirms findings of exclusion of poor communities from the programme, as posited by Tait et al., (2013) on a study undertaken on the REIPPPP. The study also confirms the arguments presented by researchers McDaid et al., (2016) who recommended that REIPPPP work with existing structures provided for by local government legislation and not initiate their own. Their recommendations concur with Morar (2019) in her observation of unequal power relations between IPPs and those residing in low-income communities.

6.2.8 Contribution to the Social Intermediation Theory

This research finds that the Social Intermediation Theory currently focuses on the role of intermediaries in providing a service, as a cost benefit to private companies that require intermediation in low-income communities (Kistruck et al., 2013). The findings of the study, which employed an inductive approach (Soiferman, 2010) points to a need for an approach that includes relational aspects to intermediation that is familiar and has toolboxes that respond to particular contexts, as posited by the social intermediation theory branch (Kistruck et al., 2013).

6.3 The study may benefit REIPPPP stakeholders in the following ways

1. The research was undertaken because the researcher believes it will add to the discussion on the implementation of SED benefits for the REIPPPP.
2. Independent Power Producers (IPP) may use the study to review and refine their current practice and implementation of SED benefits.

3. Policymakers on REIPPPP may use the study to inform reforms in the current REIPPPP programme, when it comes to the community benefits element.
4. The study highlights and profiles the potential role of intermediaries in the implementation of SED benefits.

6.4 Limitations of the study

1. The study is situated in an urban metropolitan centre of Cape Town where there is an abundance of skills and Public Benefit Organisations that can effectively play the intermediary role. There may not be such a distribution of skills and resources in rural towns of South Africa, where most of the Independent Power Producers (IPP) project sites are located.
2. Furthermore, being based in an urban environment, the respondents have reasonable access to energy, transport and other infrastructure, which are enablers for effective participation in community programmes.
3. There was a limited timeframe in which to conduct the study and therefore it is not known how the study would have fared over a longer period.

6.5 Future Research

Future researchers may want to evaluate this programme and investigate the medium to long term impact of the REIPPPP and also determine whether the benefits derived have proven sustainable. The IPP projects have a twenty year horizon and therefore there may be numerous angles and perspectives to investigate SED benefits and their implementation.

6.6 Conclusion of chapter

Clean energy is in its early days in South Africa and is expected to yield benefits to communities and commerce beyond the energy and environmental sectors. REIPPPP's also points to the fact that it is expected to stoke an entrepreneurial spark in the country, specifically within beneficiary communities.

This will help to close skills gaps and deliver socio-economic benefits to citizens. This might be a tall order for a single programme, however, with good governance and collective effort, it will be possible to marginalised communities to attain a quality of life that is currently denied to them.

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RE: [UCT Ethics in Research] What is the potential role of intermediaries to support the effective implementation of community benefits, in low-income communities, for the Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme?

Submittable

Dear Researcher

We are pleased to inform you that your ethics application has been approved.

Unless otherwise specified this ethical clearance is valid for 1 year and may be renewed upon application.

Please be aware that you need to notify the Ethics Committee immediately should any aspect of your study regarding the engagement with participants as approved in this application, change. This may include aspects such as changes to the research design, questionnaires or choice of participants.

The approval of this application is based on the researcher ensuring that all requirements regarding the permission to interview participants at the various organizations have been fulfilled prior to any surveys being conducted. Any jurisdictional requirements are the sole responsibility of the researcher in accordance with responsible conduct of research.

Researchers working in foreign jurisdictions have to acquaint themselves with local standards, laws, regulations, and best practices.

We wish you well for your research.

Kind Regards
Shandre Swain

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Observation Notes

Date: 15 May 2019

In the case of this research, the observation included observing a closed group of carefully selected and invited participants on the Community Partnership Programme of the case study. Access to the group was facilitated by the case, as they had given permission for the study to be undertaken.

The observation included spending a day with the group during one of the workshops organised by the case. The researcher was overt in her interaction with the group, which included introducing herself and giving background information to the study.

The researcher's observations focused on the following:

1) Physical setting – the setting was a training venue, a known meetings venue in Cape Town regularly used to convene community activists;
2) Gender split in the group. The researcher observed that there were three (3) males and eight (8) women participants. Further, the trainers, who are employees of the case, had a gender split of 1: 1, i.e., one male and one female trainer.
3) The third element of the observation was the representation of the geographic spread of the Cape Town metro. During discussions and informal conversations, the participants spoke about their communities. Areas represented included, Hanover Park, Nyanga, Gugulethu, Siqalo Court, Bishop Lavis. All these areas are low-income in nature and residents are overwhelmingly those disadvantaged by Apartheid.
4) Other salient demographic diversity, including age categories and religious background. There was a mix in the group in terms of age, with some mature and young participants. Also, the researcher learned about the different religious affiliations when one participant indicated that they were fasting. The observation happened during the Ramadan Holy month.
5) Cohesion and rapport in the group. The researcher observed high levels of cohesion within the group. One example was the participant who was fasting being encouraged to take snacks and her lunch home to enjoy when she breaks her fast in the evening. Another example was the group's enthusiastic feedback session on the political debate they had attended a few weeks earlier. The debate was convened by a group of environmental NGOs who invited various political parties to a debate that was attended by voters from various communities in the Cape Metro. The case study NGO was one of the conveners. Most participants expressed their views of political parties that were present, with one participant sharing which party they had voted for.

6) Interaction between the trainers and trainees. When one of the trainers noticed that there were low levels of energy in the group, the trainer led the group in a stretch exercise. Everyone in the group readily participated.
7) One of the facilitators distributed R100 notes to all participants, which is a transport stipend.

Interview Protocol for NGO staff

1. How long have you been working with low-income communities?
2. What motivated your decision to do so?
3. How do you identify the stakeholders you work with?
   (a) When there is not a fit with them, after you've already identified them, how do you handle that?
4. Please explain how you were able to gain legitimacy in such communities?
5. Energy citizenship is a hard concept to grasp. How are you doing it, especially in low-income communities?
6. How do you counter the narrative that low-carbon energy is inferior to grid-power?

7. What informs your decision to work with Community A instead of Community B
8. Can you describe barriers you have faced in your work with communities?
   a. How did you overcome them?
9. Given the benefit of time, how would you characterise your engagements?
10. What is the incentive for communities to participate in your programmes?
    a. What keeps them coming back?
11. How it all, has intimate knowledge about African culture, influenced how you have crafted your message?
    a. Please elaborate

Interview Questions for Project90 Programme Participants who are community activists

1. What is your name?
2. Where do you live?
3. How long have you lived at this address?
   a) Before moving to…where did you live?
4. Are currently employed?

a) If not, how are you able to support yourself?

5. How do people organise themselves in your community?
6. How do you hear about community events or meetings?
7. Do you find there are people outside your community that are showing interest in your community?
   a. If so, tell me more about them?
8. What would you like them to know about your community before they start engaging with you?
9. What do you like about living in your community?
10. How did you hear about Project90by2030?
11. How many of their meetings do you attend?
12. Is there a particular reason you attend their meetings?
13. How are you invited to meetings?
    a) Is this invitation method effective for you?
14. Would you say you are benefitting from attending their meetings?
15. What do you think of the topics that get discussed in their meetings?
16. Do you find their meetings useful or beneficial for you?
17. Is there a platform that you have able to engage in, because of your involvement with Project90by2030?

a) When was this?
b) What platform was it?
c) What was discussed?
d) Did Project90 offer you training before your participation?
e) Would you have been able to participate in such a platform without the support and training from Project90by2030?
f) What has changed for you since this event?

18. Does it matter to you which language people use when communicating?

19. What are the specific issues that Project90by2030 has helped you to understand that you did not know before?

20. Do you intend to continue participating on the programmes of Project90by2030?

21. Have you heard of renewable energy?

    a) If so, can you share what you know about it?

    b) Is there anything else that you want to add about what you know?

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Methodology:

CPP uses its Participatory Community Engagement (PCE) as its functional methodology. The PCE is based on a feminist participatory action research approach and development theories in the natural resource management and socio-ecology fields, drawing heavily on Ostrom, Cleavers, McKnight and Block, and Murphree[4].

While the methodology below outlines our current approach, it is necessary to state at the outset that the PCE is not fixed, but dynamic. As we are dealing with human beings in different contexts, it is essential that our methodology is adaptable. Our PCE approach is therefore constantly under review in order to ensure relevance and impact.

Community Selection process:

While we have endeavoured to make the PCE methodology as broadly applicable as possible we have learnt that certain communities are too small to support entrepreneurial activities, while others may have other priorities than food, energy and water security. As such we have developed a scorecard for use in analysing the appropriateness of the programme to the community and the community to the programme (see Appendix 1).

1. Accessibility:
   If a community is extremely isolated, or below a certain number of households, it will be very unlikely to have a large enough market in order to sustain service providers. For communities such as these, effective partnerships with outside organisations are critical. Needless to say a project site should also be reasonably accessible as the length of time taken to undertake project work as well as the cost increase with the inaccessibility of the location.
2. Levels of Community Organisation:
   The community itself should show some level of organisation as it is not possible for an outside organisation to engage with all residents effectively and as such a representative body plays a vital role. It is important to look for a range of organising structures as they offer insights as to what the community has prioritised in the past, and how well they can work together. Ascertaining whether other NGO's have been active in the area is also important as collaboration can be beneficial to all parties.
3. Relationship with Local Government:
   This is necessary because engagement with the relevant local government officials is an important element of establishing the project. It also offers an opportunity to find out about any state plans for the community and offers an opportunity to engage on matters arising from the Integrated Development Plan. Very often, however, the communities that Project 90 has worked with are communities that lack official recognition from the state, and as such they do not qualify for service delivery. In such circumstances it is ideal to develop the relationship between local government

[4] Elinor Ostrom's (2008) "8 design principles for successful socio-ecological systems (SES)"; Francis Cleavers (2002) concept of "Institutional bricolage"; Craig McKnight (2005) and Peter Block's Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) theory; Murphree's community based natural resource management (CBNRM)

and the community in question so that they may continue to work together after the completion of the project cycle.

Community engagement process:

Murphree (2009) states that

> "Best practice' in community conservation is not so much about transferring 'good' experiences from one project to another – rather it is about strengthening capacities and developing resilience of relevant agencies, communities and programme managers through the process of adaptive management where they experiment, learn and take decisions within the constraints under which they work"

Assets Based Community Development (ABCD) seeks to empower communities to lead in their own development and Community Based Resource Management (CBRM) initiatives. There are a number of considerations that should be included when engaging with the community around CBRM design through the ABCD approach. In the development of the PCE methodology, the ABCD approach was distilled into 7 key exercises (see Appendix 2) that help communities to better understand their own role and potential and to help regulators gain clarity on community priorities. It must be noted that the key exercises are merely guidelines as the key to participatory work is to not approach people with a set of ready-made questions.

Our structure for community meetings and training is set out in Appendix 3. Below we discuss how engagement with communities has influenced and altered our approach.

Community driven Agenda-setting:

Initial interaction with rural communities indicated that no matter how clearly the parameters of the specific Renewable Energy technologies were communicated, the vast majority of people would still tamper with the systems, leading to an exceptionally high and rapid attrition rate. The overall consensus pointed to two primary factors, firstly, initial tampering was unlikely to completely disable the technology, thus encouraging further tampering; secondly, the high demand for multiple modern energy utilities from refrigerators and televisions to sound systems and phone charging placed a high demand on energy services.

At the same time the issue of water access had been integrated as an additional focus area due to high levels of concern on the topic expressed by community members. It was also realised that the work would have to integrate other broader energy solutions, and not just focus on RE, which meant multiple possible technologies, and very often different and innovative models for the introduction of each one.

Our initial perspective had been that we would be able to narrow down the areas of greatest concern, make suggestions for possible solutions that we could partner with the community on, and give advice on how to advance issues that were outside our mandate. As it transpired, this approach was not effective. We learnt that placing a strong emphasis on working with the community to develop their own solutions to their problems increased the sense of ownership. To do this we needed to gain an understanding of how they experienced their problems and also what they saw as a "better" scenario.

An example of this was one community where 270 households required rain-water catchment tanks. The initial strategy to respond to the high rate of attrition was to investigate the feasibility of using a strong collective savings culture ("stokvels") as a mechanism to create savings for repair work and further investment. Project 90 also sought to use local labour as sweat-equity to increase both the understanding of the technology and to foster a sense of ownership. The savings schemes proved ill-suited as the cash-strapped community did not consider this a viable option. However, the sweat equity strategy brought positive results. The community was eager to partner on the project by volunteering to do all the physical labour and the project management themselves, but there was concern that the old, the ill and the infirm, who could not do the work themselves, would be left out. To deal with this, it was ensured that the tanks only got dispersed in blocks of 70 once each of those 70 households had completed their preparatory work to the satisfaction of Project 90. This ensured that the able-bodied assisted the less able and in this way all 270 households benefited from a functional system within 2 months. In the end, the attrition rate was lower as not only did the community feel a sense of ownership, but also – through their work on the project – understood the working of the units better.

Buy-in is a two-way street:

We further realised instead that if we wanted to have buy-in from the community, they needed to see that they in fact had buy-in from us. This meant not so much that we needed to bring solutions to all problems, but rather that the problems within the community were interwoven and needed to be addressed as part of the broader socio-environmental construct.

An example of this would be the problem that one community had with access to education. Like other communities they lacked energy and water services, but they also felt that having no school in their community was a major challenge. Even though Project 90by2030 does not work in the field of primary education, we can advise community members on the process for approaching education authorities, handling land tenure obstacles and various other challenges they face. Having a broader focus, very often outside of our budgeted-for activities, allowed for the creation of wider engagement and the right kind of enabling environment for people with differing priorities to work towards improving their community.

Acknowledging Local Expertise, Capacity Enhancement & Providing Sustained Support:

Two support strategies have been identified for further development. The first is a project run in conjunction with municipal partners, who will support the project into the future. The second is ensuring that the community accesses support through locally based entrepreneurs.

Practical, village-appropriate training is a key tool in our approach. Although it was not an intended outcome, participants realised that they possess useful resources within their community, and that through imagination and industry they can improve their lives on their own. For people who have believed their whole lives that they have nothing and that they are powerless, this opens the possibilities of imagining a different future. It also fosters trust between the development workers and the community, and allows us to develop a better understanding of the village and the dynamics within it. This has become one of our first points of engagement with new communities. It allows us to unearth and test local skills and resources and provides a space for introducing working with some of our existing

technologies. It also allows us to identify potential community partners for further project roll-out. This reflects a crucial element of our engagement philosophy, namely our belief in developing capacity within communities to meet the needs that they identify for themselves.

Furthermore, as we have learned over the last few years, RE cannot be treated as an isolated topic that stands distinct from other community issues. Developing sustainable energy and water solutions requires strong engagement in other sectors (most notably food, land and sanitation). Training on these various fronts is one of the primary methods for identifying the most suitable candidates to host the different types of small, medium and micro-enterprises (SMMEs) that the programme develops.

We also develop agro-ecological farming methods as it is an activity that almost all people are capable of participating in as small-scale farming is practised by almost every household in rural areas. It is also a great ice-breaker and bridge builder as it allows the engagement team to become familiar with the community.

Other training that relates to understanding how local government operates, how to engage with the state, conflict resolution and project development skills should also be interspersed to allow those who are less practically inclined to participate in the process.

Initially all of our interventions were sourced from the outside. Nowadays our focus has shifted to creating local service providers that we partner with to make the interventions within the community, e.g. rain-water catchment tanks, rocket stoves, solar power systems and solar water heaters. By developing small businesses we not only boost the internal economy of the village during the intervention, but ensure continuing service provision long after we are gone.

Resource Management & Governance:

Murphree (2009) asserts that successful resource management requires the development of strategies that anchor people at the centre of the development model based on incentive driven approaches that allow for differential benefits to accrue to differently performing members of a project. The approach recognises land and local government engagement as central themes and strives to deal with issues of ownership by increasing village level governance capacity.

An important aspect of our work involves ensuring that the community is able to manage resources effectively and efficiently, and that there are agreed processes in place that resolve any disputes or conflict arising around access to resources.

Cleaver (2002) states that institutional bricolage (a method of system development through organic community-led organisational processes) is vital to ensure buy-in and sustainability. Community-led organisational processes allow for similar arrangements to be adapted for multiple purposes, are embedded in networks of social relations, norms and practises, and maintain social consensus and solidarity. This may be equally as important as optimum resource management outcomes. While we appreciate that local social organisation and governance structures need to be respected, we are equally aware that power dynamics

within communities can see some benefit more than others, particularly where gender relations are extremely unequal. However, wherever possible, we have sought to make use of existing entities and only develop new ones when existing ones are not suitable to achieve project goals.

In order to limit power imbalances that can lead to unequal access to resources, we have incorporated aspects of Ostrom's "8 design principles for successful socio-ecological systems" into our Resource Management and Governance approach.

- Proportional Equivalence between Benefits and Costs

Ostrom states that access to resources should be allotted according to local dynamics regarding potential benefits as well as the costs involved in accessing those resources such as labour and capital. Being mindful of unequal power relations and access to resources (particularly in the case of women and young people), our latest adjustment of the methodology employs a subsidy model rather than a pure sweat-equity based system to ensure a greater spread of direct beneficiaries. This has however not yet been tested. We will continue to monitor the success or otherwise of the aforementioned approach and make adjustments where necessary.

- Collective-Choice Arrangements & Locally accountable monitoring

Ostrom states that one has to ensure that the people dependent upon the resource are at least in part responsible for defining the rules that govern the resource. Furthermore, it is important to ensure that those responsible for auditing the resource base and resource users' behaviour are at least somewhat accountable to the resource users or are in fact the resource users themselves. As Project 90 will not be able to ensure sustained adherence to agreements we recognise it is essential that these arrangements are arrived at through collective agreement. To facilitate this, Community Resource Management and Governance Agreements (CRMGA) will be set up. Graduated Sanctions and Conflict Resolution Mechanisms are included in these CRMGA, which emanate from the community itself. As outsiders, we are not in a position to determine what is just when it comes to settling disputes and infractions. We have also learnt that the application of graduated sanctions is not feasible over the long-term if conflict resolution mechanisms are not robust. Project 90 will not be part of this CRMGA and will only assume a mediation role when absolutely necessary.

Monitoring & Evaluation:

As part of the programme we undertake milestone surveys in order to monitor what the situation is at the start of our intervention, to take stock of changes from time to time and to assess what has changed by the time we have completed specific phases. These generally include the following surveys:

1. Baseline survey at the start: gathering basic residence data on current income, water, food and energy use and access, and questions to P90.
2. Mid-way survey against baseline after significant smaller installations are completed.

3. End-line survey against baseline to determine impact

Additional data will be gathered via official state processes to look at other data related to health in particular.

Appendix 1: Community Selection process

	Review points for selection criteria of communities:
1	Composition and size community
2	Geographical location
3	Accessibility for project workers
4	Level of community organisation (committee structures, conflict resolution, ward representation; traditional leadership roles)
5	Engagement with local government
6	Integrated Development Plan information
7	Land tenure status
8	length of time the community has existed
9	Identification of successful Community-led initiatives (savings schemes, gardening projects, child-care, small businesses, etc.)
10	Information on other NGO involvement
11	Socio-economic information (health, education, police data)
12	Levels of service provision
13	Apparent available resources
14	Cell phone reception

Appendix 2: Assets Based Community Development

Important questions in community workshops from ABCD
1) What are we asking of the community? What are we offering?
2) What is the common day to day experience of living in the community? What is liked, what is not liked?
3) If you woke up tomorrow and everything was how you would like it to be, what would that look like? Describe it.

4) What 5 things are you best at doing or that you like doing most? Do you participate in community activities (church, youth groups, sports, politics, gatherings etc). Business skills - Where do you earn money? If you don't have a business, what is stopping you from starting one? If you do, what could help you grow it?
5) What assets does this community have?
6) How can you use these assets and your gifts to make the community more like what you would like it to be from your own side?
7) What would help you to get there?

Appendix 3: Structure for community meetings

1. The first point of engagement will occur during site selection. It is vital at this stage to keep a very low profile. Creating expectations should be avoided at all costs during the initial site visit as something may crop up post-fact that eliminates the community as a potential partner.
2. Having conducted sufficient analyses of the community in question an official visit to meet with community members is required. During this visit the rough idea for the project should be communicated and the level of interest ascertained. If all is well, then the date for the first open workshop can be set.
3. In the first open workshop the project must be explained as well as background given about who we are and what we do. A small number of sample units need to be distributed through a process that is perceived not to be unfairly biased in anyone's favour to help raise awareness about the project. Around 5% of the total community should each receive one of the proposed technologies, focusing on rainwater tanks, hot boxes, cook stoves, PV home systems and toilets. Some of these items will only be distributed once we have begun training in the village (the toilets and the tanks).
4. In the second open meeting we explain the approach that we plan on taking. This includes taking time to conduct an assets assessment and a visioning exercise (ABCD approach). From this we develop key themes to be addressed by working groups going forward and define the overall goals for each theme, as well as a plan of action for achieving these goals to be followed up on in the third open meeting. In previous communities these themes have included healthcare, education, sports, farming, energy and water amongst others. We also need to start with local government engagement training to help give guidance to the working groups as they can now start to look at engaging with the state.
   Towards the end of the session we introduce the idea of working with community members on a voluntary basis to identify the best candidates to become entrepreneurs in each sector. Once we have completed training them, these entrepreneurs will receive contracts from us for the production of a certain amount

of each type of unit that will be sold at a fixed price. We set the date for the 3rd open workshop.

5. In the third open workshop we connect with the working groups and advise on next steps. Thereafter we begin with the general practical action training that focuses on using locally available resources to make the products discussed in the first workshop. Throughout this period, we analyse the suitability of the participants to the various business types we wish to develop with them. The community members are offered the opportunity to become the P90 contract holder based on our assessment of their performance during the training. Should they refuse the contract we reserve the right to offer them a contract in a different sector.
6. In the fourth workshop we proceed with agro-ecological training that is to be extended to the whole community and at the end of this, we select groups to go through trainings on each of the key products as well as a basic business skills course.
7. In the 5th workshop we conduct the product specific trainings with the pre-selected groups and having completed this we select the participants that we will enter into the contracts with.
8. The next step is to provide the workshops and tools required by each contract winner and get them started on producing for our order.
9. In the case of large communities where we cannot subsidise the sales price of all of the products for the entire community, our order could partially cover the costs of approximately 35% of the community's supply requirements (as an example). While we are still to determine the exact amount by which we will subsidise the purchase of the products, which will in turn depend on the level of funding, the initial thought is to provide a two-tiered decreasing subsidy. The first block will allow early purchasers to by the equipment at a 65% discount and the second tier will allow them to access a 35% discount. Thereafter customers will need to pay the full cost themselves.

10. Important workshop tools
Planning: The washing line exercise: Using clothes pegs and washing line to do a linear planning model.
Understanding: • Working in small groups to discuss ideas then sharing and commenting with the broader group. • Community mapping: Drawing the layout of the community with key features to identify assets and social spaces.
Gender: While our primary focus in this project is on building climate resilience through food, energy and water initiatives, it is important to note that we need to encourage women to participate in the training, as they will arguably be the biggest beneficiaries of the interventions.
Collating: Using small pieces of paper to define individual ideas and issues, then lumping them together in categories.

	Understanding/Team building: Build community connections web. Stand in a circle. One person in the circle will have a ball of string. That person holds onto the end of the string and then throws the ball of string to another person in the circle with whom they would like to forge a connection stating what connection they have or would like to form.
	Reflection: Dice feedback session: 6 questions: 1. Mention something you enjoyed about today.2. What was an important thing that you learnt? 3. Mention something you didn't like. 4. How did you find the range of activities you engaged in today? 5. Comment on the process and the content of today. 6. What learning or ideas from today can you use in your life?

A key lesson from the initial success were that the greater the level of localisation, the greater the acceptance of the interventions, and the better the potential for sustained, community-supported projects providing needed equipment to members over the long term at reasonable prices.

This document sets out the methodology employed, the rationale behind creating multiple focus areas for engagement, the outcomes and key lessons learnt during the process and how this has affected Project 90's approach towards future projects.

Introduction:

Programmes where energy solutions are introduced into communities in Africa have developed a reputation as being largely unsuccessful. The repeated experience has been that within a very short period of time after installation the equipment is either idle or has been stolen or used in unintended ways. There are also few examples of successful water services related programmes being introduced into communities. It was therefore essential for Project 90 to find alternative ways to engage with communities in order to ensure successful implementation and long-term impact of its programme.

In 2010, to augment the initial focus at policy level with a grassroots approach to better align the policy prescripts with the needs of the poor in South Africa, Project 90 developed the Community Partnership Programme (CPP). This programme aims to build vibrant and sustainable communities, working in partnership in order to enhance local energy, food and water security to promote climate resilience.

Business Plan

Name of the Business: Citizens for Development

Business Owner/Convenor: Researcher, Phumeza Mgxashe

Tagline: welcome, you belong

Entity type: Social enterprise

Mission

Facilitation of inclusive socio-economic development, which is a tool for peace building, good neighbourliness and prosperity.

Purpose

Facilitating inclusion in low-income communities by challenging deviations to the law and the constitution of the Republic of South Africa. This will be done by studying court judgements and understanding their relevance to the mission of the organisation.

Theory of change

The organisation believes that participation in community affairs, where citizens are incentivised in practices grounded in inclusion, will create the right conditions under which stakeholders can craft solutions to enduring socio-economic issues that plague South Africa. Socio-economic development is a tool for peace building and good neighbourliness.

Problem Statement

The entity, Citizens for Development, exists to seek ways to maximise how development can accrue benefits to citizens in low-income communities, especially, where the site for such developments is in such communities.

Often developments in these communities are discussed and agreed upon elsewhere, without the involvement or buy-in from affected citizens. Citizens often have no knowledge of development and other plans ahead of approval and implementation; they often do not know who all the role players are.

Citizens need to be informed about developments and understand how and where they can lodge objections, when the need arises.

South Africa is the most unequal society in the world and the poor are getting poorer and the rich, richer. Policymakers in South Africa have demonstrated little enthusiasm for tackling this ticking time-bomb. Citizens who care, believe that citizens have a role to play, independent of policymakers, to bring about the change that will benefit them.

Inequality has been cited as a cause of social instability, low voter turnout in elections and it undermines social cohesion in the country.

Executive Summary

Citizens for Development is a social enterprise that facilitates inclusion of marginalised communities. Its inclusion methodologies are evidence-based. The organisation will act to facilitate a connection between citizens and governmental structures, to maximise benefits to accrue to citizens, through using different tools including legislation, engagement with Chapter 9 institutions, legislative instruments and court judgements.

The entity will assist and facilitate the process through which communities can lodge objections or file complaints with authorised entities, where necessary.

As a social enterprise, the organisation will have a dual identity as a for-profit entity that also has a social impact agenda (Young & Lecy, 2014), and both these will be pursued with equal zeal. Social enterprises have also been found to be the best organisational forms for entities that are implementing inclusive social innovations (Boschee, 2007) that tend to focus on solutions to ensuring socio-economic challenges. The blueprint for development in South Africa, the National Development Plan, recognises that the country's development agenda is too complex and that the state has a limited capacity to implement this without partners. It readily calls on business, citizens and civil society to take on some of the responsibility (NDP, 2012). The capacity of social enterprises to deliver services in an inclusive, adaptive and cost-effective manner is something that is widely observed (Leadbeater, 2007).

Revenue Generation

A combination of traditional revenue gained from sales activities, through tapping into the SED funding of the corporate sector, which will form part of the regular expenditure and income; while grants that will be channelled towards the social impact projects (Young & Lecy, 2014)will be sourced from public sector, national and international donors of development work.

Legal structure

Because the entity supports the national development agenda of deracialising the South African economy, it will support measures and legislation, which include the BBBEE legislation and Codes of Good Practice (DTI, 2018).

The entity will be structured as an Exempt Micro Enterprise, with a revenue not exceeding R50m, in order to be eligible for Enterprise and Supplier Development funding in line with the current legislative framework in South Africa (DTI, 2018).

Collaborator/Competitor Analysis

Currently, there are two major role players in the socio-economic development fraternity, who have the bulk of the business from corporate South Africa.

Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI)

An institute focused on research, advocacy, public interest litigation in its quest for social justice in South Africa.

Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS)

A human rights organisation based at Wits University, that through advocacy, research and litigation, champions social justice in South Africa.

Competitive Advantage

The competitive advantage of the social enterprise will be that its work will be to tackle non-mainstream cases that would be typically be overlooked by bigger and well-funded institutions.

Key Institutions that the entity will regularly engage with, in seeking remedial action:

- The Public Protector – to which citizens can directly lodge complaints
- IPID – Independent Policy Investigative Directorate – for citizens to file complaints on police misconduct
- Human Rights Commission
- Commission for Gender Equality
- The 4th estate, i.e. members of the media
- Other NGOs and stakeholders facing similar challenges
- Parliamentary Portfolio Committees
- Local government representatives
- National Council of Provinces Committees

The following court judgements of the South African courts will form the basis on which challenges and objections will be lodged:

Social Justice Coalition and Others v Minister of Police and Others (EC03/2016) [2018] ZAWCHC 181; 2019 (4) SA 82 (WCC) (14 December 2018). The court ruled that the allocation of police resources is discriminatory and favours affluent communities. Further, the judgement found that poverty is grounds for discrimination in South Africa.

Baleni and Others v Minister of Mineral Resources and Others (73768/2016) [2018] ZAGPPHC 829; [2019] 1 All SA 358 (GP); 2019 (2) SA 453 (GP) (22 November 2018). The court ruled that a community's consent is required for mining development to proceed on ancestral land. This ruling could be tested against other developments, where ancestral land is involved.

Baleni and Others v Regional Manager Eastern Cape Department of Mineral Resources and Others (96628/2015) [2020] ZAGPPHC 485; [2020] 4 All SA 374 (GP); 2021 (1) SA 110 (GP) (11 September 2020). The court ruled that the community that will be affected and impacted by a development, has a right to access and view the application submitted by a developer.

Adonisi and Others v Minister for Transport and Public Works Western Cape and Others; Minister of Human Settlements and Others v Premier of the Western Cape Province and Others (7908/2017; 12327/2017) [2020] ZAWCHC 87 (31 August 2020). The court ruled

that the provincial and local government have a duty to mitigate apartheid spatial development, in its allocation of land resources in the current dispensation.

Key pieces of legislation to support the work of the organisation as a basis for action and remedial action

- Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000
- Promotion of Access to Information Act 2 of 2000
- Bill of Rights, Chapter 23 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

Projected expenses

The business will have one fulltime employee, namely Phumeza Mgxashe. It will also have minimal overheads as the enterprise will operate from her home.

Projected expenses are outlined below:

Expenses	**Cost per month**	**Total per annum**
Staffing	R55,000.00 x 12	R660,000.00
Office (stationery, printing, refreshments etc)	R1,500.00 x 12	R18,000.00
Office rent	R6,000.00 x 12	R72,000.00
Business Travel	R70,000.00	R70,000.00
Municipal costs	R5,000.00 x 12	R60,000.00
Public engagement and convening	R60,000.00	R60,000.00
Travelling	R35, 000.00	R35,000.00
Accommodation	R25,000.00	R25,000.00
Auxiliary expenses	R1500.00 x 12	R18,000.00
TOTAL	**R304 000.00**	**R1,018.00**

User access to the services of Citizens for Development

Step 1

Citizens will access the services through registering their grievance at the local Community-Based Organisation (CBO), as Citizens for Development works through them.

Step 2

A correct course of action will be determined in consultation with the CBO and the complainant.

Step 3

Process to lodge the grievance will unfold.

Step 4

Feedback to CBO and complainant regarding outcome.

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