

Social Media Technology and the Deepening of Participatory
Democracy: A case study of Langa, Cape Town

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A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of requirement for the degree of Masters in
Administration in the Department of Political Science of the University of the
Western Cape.

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KEYWORDS

Civil Society

Electronic democracy

Empowered deliberative democracy

Invented public sphere

Invited public sphere

Participatory democracy

Public spheres

Participatory budget

Social media technology

Ward committee



ABSTRACT

The study investigates whether residents in informal settlements in Cape Town use social media technology to deepen democracy. It explores the use social media platforms by both the residents of Langa and the City of Cape Town to promote participatory democracy. The literature review, drawing on international examples, reveals that social media technology holds the potential to deepen participatory democracy (Bratton & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005). This thesis demonstrates how the residents of Langa use social media technology in their daily lives and how the City engages with this technology.

It argues that in South Africa there is an adequate policy framework for the establishment of participatory democracy especially at the local government level, however, is being implemented within the broader framework of representative democracy (Modise, 2017) and representative democracy is facing a crisis of accountability. This research contribute towards understanding the support needed for residents in informal settlement such as Langa, who have experienced historical and systematic exclusions. The study demonstrates that the City of Cape Town inadequately supports the implementation of effective participatory democracy. However, it also shows that social media technology has a significant role to play in the process, particularly in informal settlements. The research contributes toward building a case that informal settlements need support from local government, if they are to effectively use social media to deepen democracy.

DECLARATION

I declare that *Social Media Technology and the deepening of participatory Democracy: A case study of Langa, Cape Town* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Madoda Foyd Cuphe

Date.....

Signed.....



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I was only able to conduct this study because of the support, encouragement and guidance from my supervisor Professor Fiona Anciano. Thank you very much Professor for the emotional and the material support that you have provided me, you continued to believe in me even during difficult time when I doubted that I could make it through. I also want to acknowledge the support from the Student Development Centre at University of the Western Cape. I want to acknowledge and thank Luzaan Kock-Afrika and her colleagues at the Student Development Centre. They have played an important supporting role in guiding the writing and structuring of this thesis. I am also indebted to the informal settlement of Langa for awarding me the opportunity to conduct this study. Langa is very close to my heart because it is a place where I was born. I engaged in youth and student politics in Langa. I was a founder member of youth and student organisation in the 1980s'. I played a leading role in the mass democratic struggles that contributed in defeating the Apartheid system. Thank you very much for awarding me the opportunity.



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1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction.

The challenges faced by the residents of Langa, Cape Town informal settlement could be addressed by involving residents in local co-governance through participatory democracy. The cornerstone components of participatory democracy are information sharing, consultation and interaction. The literature review reveals that social media has proven to have a potential to support these components. Social media platforms are an enabler for participatory democracy. But this will require a systematic support from the City of Cape Town to empower the residents to use social media to build participatory democracy (Lemanski:2017).

The research aim is to study the use of social media in deepening participatory democracy in the informal settlement of Langa. The study also explores challenges faced by residents. It also investigates whether residents of Langa receive support from the City of Cape Town to build participatory democracy. This chapter begins by outlining the background and the context that informs this the study. This then lays the basis for the discussion of the research aim, objective and question. This is followed by the exploration of the significance of the study, limitations and the structure of the study.

1.2. The Problem: Background and Contextualization

1.2.1. The literature review discusses international cases on the use of social media in promoting participatory democracy. Literature has documented examples of social media effectiveness in enhancing participatory democracy. There are not many studies on how municipalities should support informal settlements in South Africa in using social media technology to deepen participatory democracy. The result of this is that there is not enough guidance for the kind of support the local government need to provide to the residents. If this support is not provided there is a risk of perpetuating the historical exclusion of the informal

settlement from development. This will further condemn informal settlements to life of unemployment, poverty and inequality. The informal settlements in South Africa have not recovered from the decades of exclusion from development processes.

12.2. The historic development of informal settlements and the urbanisation problem.

The literature review reveals paradoxically that the economic and democratic development in South Africa was coupled with a process of segregation and exclusion of informal settlements such as Langa from development. The South African economy developed rapidly after the discovery of diamonds and gold in the eighteenth century. The promulgation of laws such as the Native Land Act of 1911 and Mines and Work Act of 1911 among many others, laid the basis of the segregation and exclusion which culminated in adoption of the Apartheid system of separate development by the Nationalist Party government in 1948. Land was taken away from black people. Their freedom was taken away and they were subjected to a system of oppression and exploitation. Informal settlements were developed in cities to accommodate labour that was needed to support the economy. Over-crowding, crime, worsening of health issues, illiteracy, unemployed, poverty characterised these informal settlements. The separate development meant that there were informal settlements designated for non-white people and the more formal and developed areas were reserved for white people. Langa informal settlement is a product of such historical development processes. (South African Institute for Race Relations, 1977: 437). Whilst the inequality still persists in South Africa the informal settlements are also faced with challenges arising from the rapid urbanisation and over-crowding of the cities.

1.2.3. The urbanization challenges.

The challenges experienced by the informal settlement of Langa are also exacerbated by the problem of urbanisation. As (Rogerson et al. 2014) explains South Africa is among the fastest urbanising countries in the continent. The problems and the challenges facing South Africa are

the same as those faced by many African cities. According to the United Nations report the population of those who live in the urban areas in Africa has in the past fifty years been increasing, this trend is predicted to continue. The United Nations expect that by 2034 half of Africa's people will live in the urban cities. (United Nations, 2021)

The literature reveals that the kind of urbanisation taking place in Africa is historically different from the earlier urbanisation that took place in the countries of the global north (Beal et al., 2010, Parnell & Pieterse, 2014, Grant, 2015). The rapid movement of people from the rural to the urban areas currently taking place in Africa is referred to as a second urbanisation. What characterises this fast-growing urbanisation is that it is occurring not in rich countries but in poor and middle-income countries (Rogerson et al. 2014).

Grant (2015) explains that the first urbanisation that took place in the global north countries was accompanied by the explosion of industrial growth that created and produced opportunities in the cities. The urban cities were flourishing and creating opportunities and formal jobs. The second urbanisation process is different from the first one because of the scale and pace at which it is occurring (Rogerson et al. 2014). The second urbanisation unlike the first one is not coupled with industrial growth in Africa. This then results in a situation where the rural people who move to the urban cities and are met with poverty, unemployment and growth of informal life (Grant, 2015). Urban life in Africa is the life of informal housing, informal economy, informal employment and informal cities (Rogerson et al. 2014). The critical challenges as Rogerson et al. (2014) put it is that the African researchers must include questions around building sustainable cities, local economic development, service delivery, food security, informal livelihoods and environmental rehabilitation.

Taylor and Peter (2014) reminds us that the issues of climate change has increasingly become a driving force that worsen vulnerable human systems, therefore the question of how to implement development that is in line with climate change has become a priority in Africa. The transition from rural to urban lives create a multiple of challenges which needs undertaking of applied research in order to strengthen capabilities of urban planning and management (Parnell, Pieterse & Watson, 2009).

The involvement of citizens through participatory democracy in developing alternative solution becomes important. Social media technologies has a potential to build a meaningful participatory democracy in the informal settlements such as Langa. This study explores how informal settlements are using social media technologies to deepen democracy.

1.3. Research aims, objectives, and question

1.3.1. The Aim.

The aim of this research is to explore the extent to which social media technologies are used to deepen participatory democracy in Langa, Cape Town, South Africa.

1.3.2. The Objectives

- To study how residents of Langa are using social media to engage with the City of Cape Town.
- To study how local organisations in Langa use social media to organise themselves.
- To study how the residents of Langa are using social media technology in their daily lives.
- To study how the City of Cape Town is using social medial technology to deepen participatory democracy in Langa.
- To understand the challenges faced by the residents of Langa in using social media technology to deepen democracy.

- To investigate the kind of support that the City of Cape Town provided to the residents of Langa in order to assist them utilise social media technology to deepen participatory democracy.

1.3.3. Research question.

The overarching question is: Do the residents of Langa use social media technologies to deepen participatory democracy, and if so, how? In order to answer this question the following sub-questions will be asked;

- Which social media platforms are used by the community of Langa?
- Why and how are these social media platforms used?
- What social media platform does the City of Cape Town use to engage the residents of Langa?
- How does the City of Cape Town use social media technology to deepen social media technology?
- What are the challenges in using these social media technologies?
- What is the impact of using social media technologies on participatory democracy?

1.4. Significance of the Study

There is not a lot of writing in South Africa about social media technology and the deepening of participatory democracy. The literature reviewed is largely international. This research will make a significant contribution to the body of knowledge on social media and the deepening of participatory democracy in the South African context. The research will in particular make a contribution in creating an understanding on how social media is used in Langa to deepen local participatory democracy.

1.5. Limitation of the study

The study is limited by the research methodology chosen, although the qualitative research methodology is suitable for this study. This is because a qualitative methodology deploys

suitable data collection tools such as an interview and focus groups. But the collection of data through interviews and focus groups can be time consuming. However care was taken to ensure reasonable time was allocated to collect data, conduct interviews and focus groups so that a fair analysis of the data could be done. The study was conducted during the COVID 19 hard lockdown and restrictions in 2020. This imposed challenges to having face to face meetings with my supervisor, access to university resources such as the library, discussion and support from fellow students. These limitations were managed to ensure that the study and the findings are reliable and credible

1.6. Structure of the study

This chapter is followed by the literature review in chapter two. This chapter reviews literature written on social media technology and deepening of participatory democracy. Chapter three discussed the theoretical framework. Participatory democracy is an appropriate theoretical framework to understand how residents could use social media to deepen local democracy. Chapter four discusses the research paradigm, methodology and data collection. I chose the constructivist paradigm, qualitative research methodology, interviews and case studies to collect data. Chapter five is a situational study of the City of Cape Town and Langa. In this chapter I discuss how the City of Cape Town is implementing participatory democracy and its use of social media technology. In Chapter six I discuss the findings of the study. This Chapter describes how the residents of Langa are using the social media in their daily lives to deepen local democracy. Chapter seven analyses the usage of social media technology in deepening democracy and the role played by the civil society organisations and the City of Cape Town. The last chapter discusses the conclusion of the study.

2. CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on social media technology and the deepening of democracy. It begins by discussing the concepts of e-democracy, e-governance and e-government. This is followed by the discussion of the social media technology and deepening of democracy globally and in Africa. This is followed by discussion how underdevelopment is impeding the effectiveness of the use of social media in Africa. The chapter then moves on to look at social media technology and e-government in South Africa. This is followed by the social media challenges and the conclusion.

e-democracy which is sometimes called digital democracy or e-participation involves providing residents with access to government institutions and officials through social media technology. It also enables residents to participate in public concerns through internet communication technology (ICT) (Bruns, 2012)

e-governance involves the manner in which government relates to the residents, how it involves them and promotes participation through use of ICT. It encompasses the entire political process of governance (Misuraca, 2006)

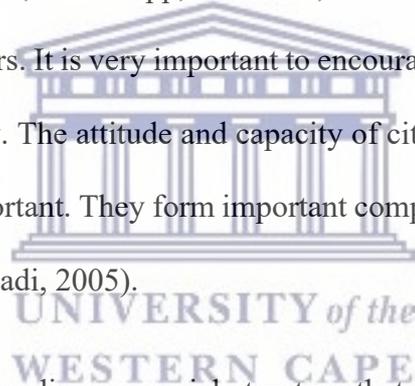
e-government is the use of ICT to perform administrative functions of government including delivery of services (Misuraca, 2006). As the chapter will show the literature reveals that all of these applications of technology have been limited in deepening participatory democracy. The use of social media in deepening participatory democracy has been evolving and showing promising signs.

2.2. Social media technology and the deepening of democracy globally

There is no common definition for the social media technology. According to the literature review scholars has given different definitions to the social media technology. According to Boyd and Ellison (2007) social media technology can be viewed as a web based service that allows individuals to build an online profile. This profile can be viewed unrestricted by the

public or be created to be view by a targeted audience. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) define social media as an internet platform. This internet platform was built on the technical foundations of web 2.0. This internet platform make it possible for user to create own content, exchange this content and also interact with content from other users. The users are able not only create the content but can edit, publish and share it. This way users are not just the passive recipients of information but a collectively collaborating in creating it in an open participatory environment.

Ajayi and Adesote (2017) explains that the emergence of social media has transformed the engagement, sharing of information and the way people communicate throughout the world in the 21st century. They give specific examples of social media platforms that is behind this transformation such as Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube, Twitter, social media blocks, Wikis, Web-based forums among others. It is very important to encourage citizens to use social media and ICT to improve democracy. The attitude and capacity of citizens to improve and promote democracy through ICT is important. They form important components of the democratization process (Bratton & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005).



Leavey (2013) defined social media as a social structure that brings together individuals or organisations sharing same values. It allows people who share common interest to collaborate to form opinions on matters that concern them. Social media technology allows all of this to occur virtually through internet connection.

It is very important to encourage citizens to use social media and ICT to improve democracy. This is because, while social media has its challenges, it can be a useful instrument for the establishment and consolidation of democracy (Štetka and Örnebring, 2012). The use of social media technology to deepen democracy was introduced by governments around the globe in the early 1990s. In the United States of America (USA) this was promoted by the former

Speaker of the House of Representatives, Newt Gingrich. His vision was to transform Congress into a virtual forum. He envisaged virtual parliamentary committees in different cities happening simultaneously through using technology. All parliamentary documents were going to be made available through internet and this was going to spark debates that would get citizens to be engaged (Tsagarousianou, 2000). The Clinton administration took this further by introducing the E-Mail system. This initiative was supposed to open the White House to the citizens. Through this initiative citizens would access important parliamentary information such as speeches and press releases. The White House introduced in 1994 its World Wide Web (WWW) page allowing the public to participate in virtual tours of the White House. (Tsagarousianou, 2000).

Literature reveals that social media technology has a potential in developing democracy. Other scholars such as Bratton et al., (2005), Groshek, (2009), Lei (2011), also concur that social media technology has a capacity to promote political change. They argue that social media provides multiple of choices for people, this enhances the potential to raise the political and the economical consciousness. Through platforms such as Facebook residents can send out mass messages, post pictures, videos and interact with the rest of the world. Twitter allows for short messages that can target thousands of people and also provide a platform to discussions. YouTube provide online platform to post campaign videos. These social media platforms have transformed the election campaign and provides electorate with an effective competitive voice (Bettina, 2009).

Social media promotes participatory democracy because it stimulates debate through digital public spheres. This process advances political engagement and mobilisation. Social media provides politicians with digital tools to keep in touch constantly with their followers. This

makes politicians seem more personable and gives them an advantage to interact with their followers(Kenneth, Odoemelam, and Chibuwe, 2012)

Former United States of America President, Barack Obama was able to build a huge and effective election campaign based on social media. The mybarackobama.com platform had about two million personal profiles and 35 000 groups. This social media based election campaign was effective in driving public opinion and in gathering support from the electorates. The Barack Obama social media based election campaign was so successful that politicians in other countries began to model their campaign on it (Leavy, 2013; Nnanyelugo, 2011). Social media has also been used by civil society organisations in many protests around the world. As well as many governments around the world have use it to deal with different situations including natural disasters.

Issaka (2011) reveals the protest that broke out in the mid-2011 in the United Kingdom in the mid-2011, were driven by use of social media platforms such as the BlackBerry messenger, Twitter and Facebook. Unfortunately the protest turned messy and violent. These protests During the Haiti earthquake of 2010, the social media played an important role. The government was able to mobilize disaster relief, volunteer support, and donations. Social media was also used to create an international solidarity for the victims of the earthquake.

These examples provide evidence that social media has a potential to re-energies governments. Social media can make government more effective, transparent, and accountable. Through the use of social media governments have the ability to promote active participation of residents in the governance matters that affects their lives (Leavey, 2013).

Although literature promote social media positive role, there are however some cases where social media has played a negative role. In these cases social media has distorted information,

created fake news, manipulated political situations and undermined democracy (Dumbrava, 2021). Cambridge Analytica scandal is a reminder of how personal information could be harvested from social media platforms such Facebook without the consent of the individuals. This information was used to manipulate political and electoral processes in the United States of America (Lampowsky, 2019).

In South Africa a public relations company based in the United Kingdom called Bell Pottinger used social media technology to flare the flames of racial hatred. Bell Pottinger is alleged to have created false political narratives and coined terms such as white monopoly capital (Guardian, 2017). Despite this negative side of social media it continues to make a contribution in deepening democracy and this can be seen also in Africa.

2.3. Social media technology in Africa.

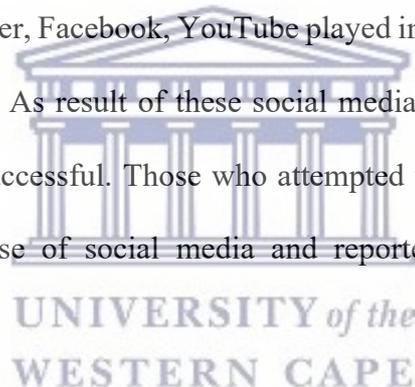
The literature reveals that social media technologies has been used in many African countries as well. Where it has been applied the results have been positive. The evidenced in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, Uganda, Kenya and South Africa, social media remains a powerful tool to bring about democratic changes (Issaka, 2011; Kasozi, 2011; Khair, 2011; Muller, 2012).

The social and political upheavals popularly known as the Arab Spring were made possible because the activists used social media platforms. These technology driven communication tools and networks rallied in short space of time millions of people in mass protests. These social media driven movements were so powerful that some authoritarian leaders were overthrown (Lim 2012, Youmans & York 2012).

The social media technology plays an important role in disseminating information. This is particularly important during national elections. This is a role that social media played during the Nigerian national elections and contributed in creating transparency and helped curbed political tensions (Asuni and Farris, 2011).

The pro-democracy group called “Enough is Enough” (EIE) that was created by the Nigerian people in 2010 is an example of an effective tool for electoral monitoring that could build public trust. This was possible through mobilising young people through a social media technology. EIE in 2011 launched a Social Media Technology Centre (SMTC) and an initiative called “RSVP” encouraging citizens to Register (to vote), Select (candidates), Vote and Protect (the vote from fraud) (Asuni and Farris, 2011).

The use of camera phones, twitter, Facebook, YouTube played important role fighting electoral irregularities and malpractices. As result of these social media driven initiatives the Nigeria 2011 election was generally successful. Those who attempted to commit election corruption were captured real-time by use of social media and reported to the security operatives (Chikero,2014).



In Zambia in 2011, a civil society group called Bantu Watch encouraged citizens to use social media platforms such as Facebook and twitter to report incidents relating to violence and corruption during elections. As the result of this initiative the elections in Zambia in 2011 were relatively peaceful (Mwilu, 2011).

In Tunisia’s the “Jasmine Revolution” and in Egypt as well social media strengthened advocacy, activism and protests. Facebook and Twitter was used to organise protests against the undemocratic regimes and corrupt governments. (Muller, 2012). In Uganda social media was adopted for the advancement and struggle against economic difficulties and high prices of

commodities (Kasazi, 2011). In the Arab Spring social media was used as revolutionary tools to facilitate massive communication on an unprecedented scale. Social media technology exposed the evils of the government of Turkey. This led to the banning of social media in that country for a while (Chikero, 2014).

The use of social media technology to release promptly election results assisted in preventing tensions and reduces the incidences of violence post elections. The availability of social media meant that election results could be widely shared on the platforms as their where being released. This prevented long and unexplained delays in release of the results which could create unnecessary suspense, anxiety which could be easily and opportunistically used by unscrupulous leaders (Bettina, 2009).

2.4. Effective use of social media in Africa impeded by underdevelopment.

Osuala, Adibe and Odoemelum (2011) notes that despite the fact that Africa need the ability of the social media to assists in human development. In Africa the deployment of social media technology is at a very slow pace. The gap is widening between developed country of the Western Europe who are rich in technology and information and the rest of the globe.

Where social media is in use in some part of Africa it mainly benefits elitist than the poor. Many of the African countries have yet to benefit from the global information revolution. Although Africa has 13% of the world population, Africa has only 2% of the world telephone line and 1% internet connection (Osuala, Adibe and Odoemelum, 2011).

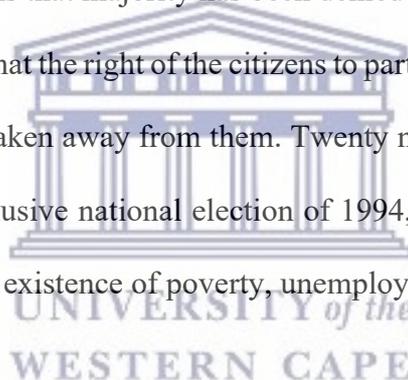
A model of the Electronic Government Development Index (EGDI) was developed in the United State. This is a tool used an indicator to measure how countries use information communication technology in delivering public services. The EGDI components include, Human Capital Index (HCI), Telecommunication Information Infrastructure Index (TII), and

Online Services Index (OSI). In order to evaluate the relationship between social media and internet penetration in Africa, Facebook was included (Oginni and Moitui, 2015).

The level of social media use in deepening participatory development is very low in Africa. The average world EGDI is (0, 4712) and Africa fall far below at (0,02661). Africa has the lowest electronic government development Index. ICT illiteracy is very high in Africa despite the investment in rising investments in ICTs by governments. (Oginni and Moitui, 2015). South Africa as a country in Africa is affected by this low utilisation of social media in deepening participatory democracy.

2.5. Social media technology in South Africa

Wasserman and German (2012:40) explains that the existence of the history of colonialism and Apartheid in South Africa means that majority has been denied or restricted in participating in the public spheres. This meant that the right of the citizens to participate in resolving the matters affecting their daily lives was taken away from them. Twenty nine years since the democratic dispensation altered by the inclusive national election of 1994, the right of the citizen to full democracy is still prevented by existence of poverty, unemployment and inequality.



According to Budree et al (2018: 318), there is now an opportunity for government to use the democratic legislation and the technology to enhance participatory democracy. The number of the users of social media and the extent at which they use it has consistently been climbing up.

Large numbers of South Africans still use their mobile phone to connect to the internet. Almost 65% of all South African households do not have access to internet through computers. It is indeed encouraging to learn that, according to the 2011 national census the number of households that have mobile phones has gone up from 31,9% in 2006 to 89,9% in 2011 (UNICEF, 2012).

28 millions of South Africans are creating, editing and sharing content among each other. In 2022, 30.7 million South African were on Facebook and over 95% of South Africans were on WhatsApp and Facebook. Social media applications such as Instagram has been growing by more than 500 000 users yearly. In 2021 Instagram has about 6.7million users. LinkedIn which is popularly use both for business and personal purposed had about nearly ten million users. The messaging apps Messenger and WhatsApp had a user base of 25.7 million and 9.9 million respectively. In 2022 reach of over 40% could be achieved through online marketing. YouTube had the highest reach followed by Facebook bordering around 41% and 40% potential, respectively. TikTok is currently one of the fastest growing social networks. Through TikTok an audience of 10.7% could be reached (Briggs, 2021).

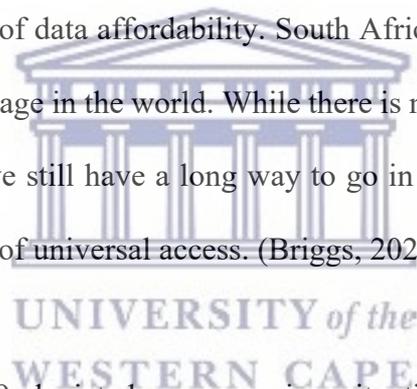


There has been use of social media to advocate for a range of social, economic, political and many other diverse issues in South Africa. This has been demonstrated by social movements such as #FeesMustFall, #FixOurTrains, #FixEskom amongst others. These movements have contributed to a radical discourse on social media, creating public education and awareness on how still today black majority and the poor are still being treated in society. The South African government has a responsibility to promote public spheres for ordinary people and the new social media technologies can assist in achieving such a goal (Budree et al., 2019).

Steven Briggs (2021) ranks access to digital innovations at the same level as job creation and skills development as an enabler to deal with the South Africa's challenges of unemployment, inequality and poverty. He points out that 36 percent of South Africans remain unconnected to internet. Fibre connection offer the most faster, reliable is far more affordable than the mobile connection. Majority of South Africans even though economically struggling use mobile

phones to access internet. Despite that connecting to internet through mobile is slower, unreliable it is also too expensive. All South Africans need to be connected to high quality, high capacity internet access in order to benefit in present day digital economy. People need to access cloud software or stream online video and this is impossible over poor connection. The initial costs of investment in fibre infrastructure will in the end pay its dividends in speed and also in empowering citizen to bridge the digital divide (Briggs, 2021).

The average cost per gigabyte in South Africa on the 23rd March 2021 was R38.98. This figure has almost doubled in a year later. This creates a serious barrier for poor South Africans to get connected to internet. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that 13 million South Africans are unemployed with great numbers households relying on social grants for survival. We are the 136th in the world in terms of data affordability. South Africa is 22 times more expensive than the cheapest data cost average in the world. While there is no doubt that the data costs are becoming more competitive, we still have a long way to go in ensuring that the cost of data does not prevent the initiatives of universal access. (Briggs, 2021)



The Stats SA picture in 2019 depicted a concerning situation where only 2.1% of the households in the rural areas has access to the internet connection at home. This was compared with the 7.2% in the urban areas. This is very concerning given the fact that there still a lot of South Africa population residing in the rural areas estimated at 32.4%. South Africa score 60.1% out of 100 on the GSMA Mobile Connectivity Index that ranks countries connectivity. This connectivity is ranked according to infrastructure, affordability, consumer readiness, content and services. This makes South Africa a leader mobile connectivity in Africa. But the affordability of data and mobile devices remains a barrier to connectivity (Briggs, 2021).

The State of ICT Sector Report in South Africa that was released in 2021, telecommunication investment increased by 9.1% over a six-year period. But the same report also indicate a decrease of 6% in 2020. South Africa has to revive these investments if we have to remain a competitive economy in the African continent and in the world. South Africa has an average national Broadband speed of 14.04 Mbps, when compared with the world Broadband speed the country rank third in the Sub-Saharan Africa, 97th in the world. The literature reveals that the country with the fastest broadband speed continue to grow economically and those with the slowest connection stagnates (Briggs, 2021).

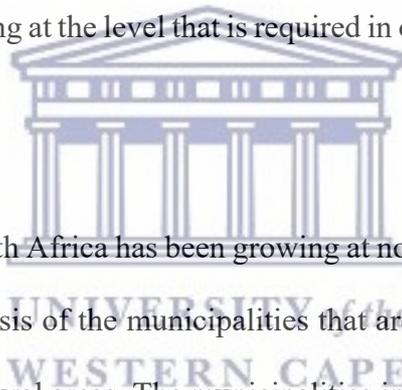
2.6. South African government policy and e-government.

The South African government has enacted a number of legal instruments and policies to enable use of ICT in improving service delivery. The legal instruments such the promotion of Information Act, 200, the Minimum Information Security Standards (MISS), Handbook on Minimum Interoperability Standards (MIOS), Electronic Communication and many other have transformed the South Africa's communication sector. The South African government has laid a solid basis for the use of ICT to improve service delivery and encourage citizens participation in the decision making process (Naidoo, 2012).

Nkosi and Merkuria (2010) reminds us of the enormous service delivery challenges that the South Africa government faces. The lack of resources for the public sector results in slow response rate to citizen requests. The public sector staff are demotivated and lack customer service orientation. The public services are in some cases especially in the rural areas far from the citizens. There have been approximately 771 service delivery protests nation-wide during the period of 2004 and 2015 alone, reflecting a broad sense of discontent. These service

delivery protests took place around the country by communities who were not happy with quality of municipal services they were receiving (Nkosi and Merkuria, 2010).

The Public Service Association (2015) concede that there are failures to delivering of services to the citizens. These failures are as the result of the institutional problems of the public service sector. The Public Service Association explained that the reasons for these failures falls within three categories, resources, capacity and structure. The developing challenges facing South Africa are enormous. When the country moved to a democratic dispensation after 1994 democratic election there was an expectation that the legacy of Apartheid will be resolved. The democratic government was faced by many challenges which required resources. The resources to fund large scale infrastructure roll out were constraint by the weak economic growth. The economy has not been performing at the level that is required in order to afford the development needs of the country.



Since 2012 the economy of South Africa has been growing at no more than 2.5% per year. This has been exacerbated by the crisis of the municipalities that are not financially self-sufficient especially those located in the rural areas. The municipalities in the rural areas derived 70% of their revenue through grants. Those in the metro derive only 24% of their revenue from the grant. The municipalities are at the coalface of South Africa's development challenges. Yet they lack financial and human capacity to perform the task that they are faced with especially those in the rural areas. Some municipalities are unable to perform their task even when the resources are available and this is because of the lack of skills and capacity (Public Service Association, 2015).

The South African Local Government Association, (SALGA, 2014), confirms that the local government is very important for the delivery of services. SALGA explains that local government is better placed to understand citizen's needs. It is the important service delivery arm because it is the closest sphere of government to the people. It is the obligation of the local government to ensure that services are delivered to the citizen in an equal and fair manner.

When the local government fails to deliver the services to the citizen and unrest situation is provoked. This has been seen in eruption of the service delivery protests. These service delivery protests target the municipality who fails to perform their constitutional duties and the councillors who do not account for such failures (Alexander, 2010).

E-government can benefit the facilitation of the delivery of efficient services to the citizens by the local government. It is at the local government level that the problems faced by the citizens can be resolved. The social media technology has a potential to empower the local government and the civil society organisations to work together to overcome the service delivery problems. (Karunasena, Deng, and Singh, 2011).



E-government may empower public sector organisations to operate better and achieve desired goals and enable the building of trust between a government and citizens (Karunasena et al., 2011). Various reasons are highlighted for the failure of e-government interventions. These include that these interventions are inherently risky, complex, non-linear and very technical in nature (Brown, 2005). The ongoing threat of the digital divide, insufficient funding and high operational costs (Ebrahim and Irani, 2005). There is a lack e-readiness, necessary infrastructure, data systems, policy issues, human capital, skills, supporting strategy and leadership commitment (Mutula & Mostert, 2010).

According to Mutula and Mostert (2010) the implementation of e-government projects has not been a resounding success in South Africa. 35% of all e-government initiatives have been a total failure, 50% a partial failure and only 15% have been successfully implemented. For example the Golaganang project that was designed to provide public service staff with ICT resources and literacy failed to launch. The worse case cited was the initiative for National Welfare Agency, it was planned to be implemented over three years but ended up only achieving 40% of the intended goals in the sixth year.

2.7. Social media challenges

There are serious challenges facing use of social media in deepening participatory democracy despite its huge potential. Among these challenges is the cost of data, relative low penetration and access. Perhaps, the most worrisome of it all is the problem of weak or absent regulation of the technology.

Kidafa, Odoemelam and Elechi (2011) observe that regulating media has always been challenging because of the issues related to copyright and right to privacy. The emergency of social media technology created an added regulatory problems. There is always a dilemma that the regulation should not be limiting human rights and democracy.

The use of social media will require some regulation because of the risk of misuse in disseminating unfiltered, unverified information and rumours. There is a challenge in monitoring and regulating social media. If the use of social media technology is not monitored and regulated affectively it can lead to greater challenges (Ekwe, et al, 2011).

Despite the numerous advantages of social media in supporting democracy and participation, it also have its problems. Social media can be used to discredit and cause damage to personal

reputation of high profiled individual. This is because it is always possible to anonymously post damaging content about others. It is not always possible to monitor and restrict these illicit acts through regulation (Kidafa, Odoemelam and Elechi, 2011).

ICT is often used to work against the democracy and it is important to understand how this happens so that it is possible to develop policies that counter such actions. There are also some scholars who are not enthusiastic about social media technology as an enabler for social organising. These scholars argue that networkable technologies tend to substitute physical organising and leadership. They contest that this lead to power vacuum because online organising has no visible leadership (Kidafa, Odoemelam and Elechi, 2011).

The world is still trying to find means and way to devise legislation and regulation to prevent social media being used against democracy. The process is still unfolding which will develop knowledge and understanding necessary for creating policies regulate use of social media.

Other scholars resent the fact that use social media technology prevent the physical visibility of leadership. Hassan (2011) argues that because the leadership in virtual spaces is not visible, this create a vacuum. This then make is a challenge to build a leadership that can contest real power. They claim that social media strategies do not build a visible leadership. These scholars do not believe that it is possible to substitute for a physical organisation and leadership of the residents with online networking.

Lynch (2011), submits that one of the short coming of social media is that it might seem that it is intending to substitute physical interaction with virtual communication. This create a situation where there are no visible leaders because everything is conducted online. This situation could create a difficulty where physical leaders are require to negotiate with authority. This also negates human intimacy that forms when individuals are physically drawn together.

Despite its positive potential the internet does possess a downside in that it can discourage people from forming physical relationships. The concept of networking has potential of shifting the core of communities from physical organising. This is a danger as there is still a need for citizens to strengthen their organisations, build relationships among each other and physically collaborate to strengthen their voice. This should not be replaced completely by on-line engagement (Rusciano, 2001).

On the contrary, Etling (2009) submits that despite these shortcomings social media could be the only means for citizens to push back against undemocratic and dictatorial regimes. This was seen happening during the Arab Spring revolution of 2011 when social media especially Facebook and twitter was used to mobilise activists.

Despite these challenges social media remains a powerful tool to bring about democratic change in Africa. The social media technology is the fastest and richest tool that triggers actions and provide direction during the deliberative process. Governments and social interest groups must devise means to accommodate social media technology because of irresistible and effective impact on communication (Issaka, 2011, Kasozi, 2011, Khair E., 2011, Muller 2012, Mwilu, 2011).

Social media revolution cannot be stopped. The positive aspects of the social media far outweigh the negative. It is therefore wise for governments and the interest group to embrace the technology. These are the changing times (Kidafa, Odoemlam and Elechi, 2011).

In informal settlement such as Langa that have a history of being systematically excluded from development this support become even more important. The informal settlement are being held down by a huge number of residents who are with little education and income. These areas are

characterised by high levels of crime, poor conditions, lack of municipal delivery services, poor infrastructure etc (Kidafa, Odoemelum and Elechi, 2011).

It would be unreasonable to expect that the residents of the informal settlements such as Langa would effectively use social media to engage with government without being supported. This would require systematic and sustainable support from the City of Cape Town. Amongst its other aims this study explores the kind of support that is currently available for Langa and whether it is sufficient.

2.8. Conclusion.

The literature review reveals that social media technology has a potential to deepen democracy. It has transformed communication, interaction, sharing of information between the people in the 21st century. People with common interest converge online and build relationship. They join online communities. This is done through creation of content, dissemination, sharing, among one another. This creates flow of information and knowledge between people. The social movements have used social media to organised in the Arab spring, Turkey and Nigeria to mention few international examples.

The attempt by some North America and European governments to revive democracy through introduction of technology resulted in minimal interaction. Although this facilitated digital access to governance, it failed to result in effective and transformative participatory democracy. It did not build a process that radically challenges the power relations. This is because those are in control have no intention of using the ability of the social media technology to build participatory democracy. The role of governments in supporting social movements to use social media to deepen participatory democracy is important in order to deal

with many challenges including, network connectivity, regulation, the cost of data etc. Social movements require support from the government in order to overcome the challenges posed by the use of social media. This support must be based on the use of social media to build participatory democracy. The following chapter discusses participatory democracy as the theoretical framework for studying how social media technology is used in by the City of Cape Town and in Langa.



3. CHAPTER THREE: THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces and discusses the theoretical framework for the study. It begins by discussing the crisis of democracy and then moves to development of participatory democracy, the public spheres and how they become digital. This then lays the basis to discuss the relationship between social media and participatory democracy. This discussion is followed by the use of social media in electronic democracy. The chapter then begins to develop the theoretical framework for the study followed by a conclusion.

3.2. Democracy in crisis

In literature, the concept of democracy has been covered extensively. The literature provides basic minimum principles for democracy. This basic minimum principle includes the provision of rights to all adults to vote in a way that does not discriminate against others. It encourages regular free and fair elections. Democracy envisages a society where citizens have a choice of political parties to vote for. There should be alternative sources of information to assist citizens to make informed decisions. All this happens in an environment guided by civil and political freedom (Diamond and Morlino, 2004).

There are different democratic models, including participatory democracy and representative democracy. The latter is a form of democracy where the representatives are elected and govern on behalf of the citizens. The citizens transfer their responsibility to govern to the elected officials. This a form of democracy that is most relevant in situations where there are numbers of citizens. In such contex participatory democracy is complex and cumbersome (Diamond and Morlino, 2004). However, participatory democracy is a process that empowers citizens. It is also a mechanism for allowing citizens to hold elected leaders accountable for their decisions. This is a form of democracy that allows citizen to play a role in decision making and influence

bureaucratic political decisions. This is important where people have lost confidence in elected leaders and have an experience of being disappointed by the ability and willingness of the elected official leaders to deal with the issues affecting their lives (Diamond and Morlino, 2004).

In evaluating democracy, Dalh (1998:31) distinguishes between actual and ideal democracy. The ideal democracy in informal settlements like Langa will be the one where residents are afforded an opportunity by the local government for making their views known before policies and decisions are made concerning their lives (Dahl, 1998). We have to ask to what extent the municipal consultative processes allow effective participation. How effective are the mechanisms such as ward committees in involving residents of Langa in processes that affords equal opportunity to influence the decision-making processes? To what extent is the information that is required to understand relevant alternative policies is provided by the local government? Are the informal settlements such as Langa who have previously been systematically and deliberately been sideline by the Apartheid system not being again left behind in the processes of technological development and empowerment?



As democracy spread in the last three decades there has been a move to analyse its character. This is important because deepening democracy is a moral good if not an imperative, democracy need to constantly reform to consolidate its legitimacy. Democracy is faced with problems that relate to public dissatisfaction and even disillusionment. In the context of South Africa more than two thirds of her population were excluded from benefiting from democracy before 1994 (Rich, 2017)

The Nationalist government passed laws such as the Group Areas Act of 1950 which segregated people based on the race. This Act created informal settlements which become over

populated and under-serviced. The development of participatory democracy arose as a response to this failure of the apartheid state to include all citizens in decision making. This study has chosen participatory democracy as theoretical framework. It then become important to begin by unpacking the concept of participatory democracy.

3.3. Participatory democracy and the Public Sphere

The historical development of the concept of participatory democracy is traced back to Jurgen Habermas' (1962) writings on public spheres as enablers of participatory democracy in Britain, France and Germany during the early development of capitalism. Fraser (1990) further develops this narrative by insisting on the acknowledgement of the alternative public spheres. These were non-liberal, non-bourgeois, competing spheres that arose as the rising capitalist class dominated the mainstream public spheres.

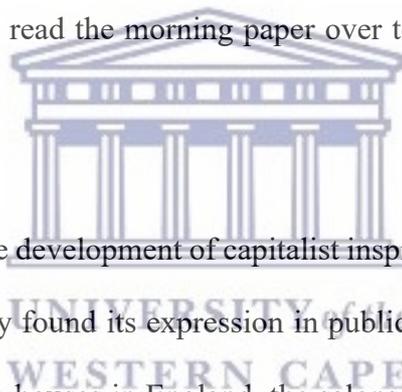
3.3.1. Public Spheres as early enablers for participatory democracy

Before capitalism became dominant in the world, Goode explains (2005) that under feudalism there was strangulation of public participation in society. The feudal societies under the rule of a monarchy were authoritarian and there were limited spaces for the public to express its opinion and to subject those in power to account. This frustrated the early rise of capitalism. Habermas describes (1962) how the emergence of forms of trade and finance capitalism in Britain, France and Germany and the eventual establishment of "civil society" and early forms of print media in terms of newsletters circulated among the merchant networks was driven by the public spheres.

Goode (2005) describes this period as when the rising capitalist class is building up its independence. They were constructing a civil society that was based on private ownership and

commerce. The second half of the century according to Habermas (1962) was an important period. This is a period when the press emerged and supported the creation of a capitalist society. This emerging press as Goode (2005) explains targeted largely the capitalist and educated classes. As the time moves on, this press began to accommodate workers. This is the time when the publication and distribution of political journals increased. Imagine communities also emerged during this period.

Anderson (2016) describe this period as when capitalist relations where playing a role in creating imagine communities. The production of newspapers, national journals, museums, national symbol contributed in the creation of this sense of belonging to a community. Anderson (2016) vividly describe how reading of the morning newspaper demonstrated a kind of belonging. Each person who read the morning paper over tea or coffee could imagine his countrymen doing the same.



These were the early signs of the development of capitalist inspired civil society. This growing capitalist orientated civil society found its expression in public spheres. The early eighteenth century saw proliferating coffee houses in England, the salons in pre-revolutionary France as well as the literary or reading societies. These public spheres in the form of coffee houses, salons and reading societies became spaces for critical public discussions, deliberations, public opinion forming an alternative to the duopoly of the church and state (Anderson, 2016).

Goode (2005) exposes that the process still excluded those who were uneducated and poor. The system energised the capitalists, the media was targeted at the capitalists in both form and content. Women played an active role in salons. These salons were attached to the house of

these women. These become the forms of women participation as they were heavily restricted in the coffee shops and other public spheres.

With the consolidation of capitalism and state Goode (2005) argues that the development of the mass, heavily commercial, print, audio and visual media replaced the critical participation in the public sphere. Media was pre-packaged and became commercialised. This process further contributed to promotion of the exclusion of the property-less, ethnic groups and women from participatory democracy spaces.

3.3.2. Critique of Public Spheres as enablers of participatory democracy

Fraser's (1990) critique of the public sphere of the eighteenth century raises the point that after these spaces were co-opted by the dominant bourgeois system, the rural and urban poor were left with no option but to create their alternative spaces. She argues that there was very little acknowledgement of organic development of these alternative spaces in Habermas' writings. The public spheres which she refers to as liberal public spheres created spaces for capitalist males to build their power. This stratum of capitalist men were preparing themselves and asserting their fitness to rule society. These public spheres in form of voluntary associations, networking clubs, civic, professional and cultural forum were not accessible to everyone. There was exclusion based on gender and income. These are the kind of public spheres that emerged in countries like France, England and Germany.

Fraser (1990) explains that the issue is not only that Habermas glorifies the liberal public sphere but that he completely overlooked the existence of the alternative forms of public sphere. There is written history of the many ways in which women of different classes and minorities created own spaces for political engagement. This was necessary as they were excluded from the official public spheres. The elite capitalist women spearhead the process of creating alternative

women only spaces. These public spaces were created to discuss female and motherhood matters. These became springboards for public engagement. Poor women participated in politics through supporting their working class men. This they did through taking part in protests, supporting demonstrations and other forms of public engagements.

Fraser (1990:62) asserts that capitalist public spheres were male dominated processes designed to legitimize the strengthening of a system of capitalism. This class rule had very little interest in extending the instruments of participatory democracy to the property-less, ethnic groups and women. The official public sphere were spaces for building a system of domination by capitalist class over society. Participatory democracy developed as a response to these exclusionary processes. Hence participatory democracy is an appropriate theoretical framework to understand how marginalised people organically access democracy.

3.4. The development of participatory democracy

Participatory democracy, Bherer *et al* explain, (2016) has been evolving but was initially formulated as a process where citizens engagement is able to make input in government policy making. Participatory democracy was also imagined for citizens to be politicized and be empowered. It is a tool for the citizens to use in order to hold the elected government official accountable.

There are best known citizen participation and international examples developed by a number of different organizations. Some of the examples of these citizen participation initiatives are citizen and neighborhood councils, participatory budgeting (PB), public consultation, participatory planning etc. There is now contemporary interest in urban governance that promotes inclusion of citizens in the decision-making processes. Participatory urban governance is seen as a process that organizes multi-stakeholders from government, community groups, citizens and business (Lemanski, 2017).

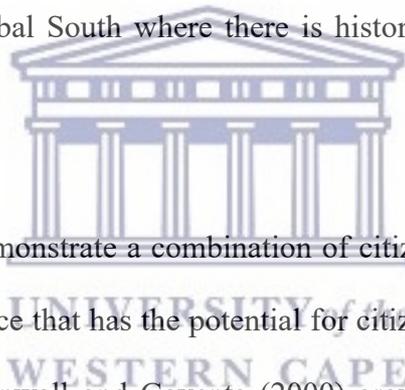
Cornwall (2000, 2004a, 2004b) brings another dimension in the discussion by introducing participatory processes categorized as invited and invented spaces. The invited spaces are those spaces where government invite community, residents and business to participate in the development processes. In contrast, invented spaces are grassroots-led form of collective political mobilization functioning in confrontation with authorities. These are the participatory spaces that civil society create organically outside the realm of the state apparatus.

Fung and Wright (2001:5) make a fundamental observation that the institutional forms of liberal democracy that is the representative democracy developed in the nineteenth century has become completely incapable of dealing with the novel problems faced in the twenty-first century. This way of organizing the state which is narrowly associated elections of political leadership for legislative office seem to be increasingly ineffective. It cannot accomplish the ideals of democracy and facilitate active involvement of residents. The representative democracy is failing to forge political consensus through dialogue. It is incapable of implementing public policies that promote product economy and a healthy society. Thus it is necessary for governments to support invited participatory democratic spaces.

However, the literature reveals (Lemanski 2017: 17) there is a critical discussion that invited spaces serve to depoliticize rather than empower participants by legitimatizing and promoting the voices of those in power. This depoliticizing perspective argue against the invited spaces because of the claim that they do not challenge economic and political structure. The argument goes further that these invited spaces privileges unelected and potentially unrepresentative actors. The invited spaces are stage managed by the state for its own narrow interests not over the interest of the civil society. They therefore argue that the whole process is flawed and must

be scrapped. But those opposing this argument, (e.g. Hickey and Mohan, 2004; Willams 2004; Sinwell 2010) advance another argument that invited spaces do have a potential of being transformative and empowering. They believe that the invited spaces can be implemented within a process of institutional change.

Isin and Nelson (2008) make a distinction between what they call the “acts” and “practice” of citizenship. They contest that in literature there is usually a focus in analyzing and exploring processes which define the way citizens practice and demonstrate their citizenship. They say that there is not so much focus in the legal framework that guide the citizen engagement. The manner in which citizens conduct their engagement with government can be radical but the legal framework facilitates how citizen could negotiate exclusion and marginalization. This is often more the case in the global South where there is history of colonialism and extreme poverty (Kabeer, 2002).



Participatory invited spaces demonstrate a combination of citizenship acts and practices as a space of institutionalized practice that has the potential for citizens to act out their citizenship rights and responsibilities. Cornwall and Gaventa (2000) argue that through invited spaces citizens practice being makers and shapers, determining their own activism. Hickey and Mohan (2004, 2005) also support this argument that invited spaces can be transformative. They need to be implemented as part of a radical political project and citizen must challenge the structural context.

3.4.1. Participatory democracy models.

This section will present three models of participatory democracy. First, Fung and Wright (2017:7) explores participatory experiments that have been undertaken by various governments

in dealing with these challenges. These are neighborhood governance councils in Chicago around policing and public schools, the Wisconsin Regional Training Partnership (WRTP) providing training and increasing transparency in employment, habitat conservation planning under the endangered species Act, developing ecosystem governance arrangement that satisfy both human development and protect species, participatory budget in Porto Alegre in Brazil and the Panchayat reform in West Bengal and Kerala in India.

Fung and Wright (2017) propose that invited spaces have features of Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) that value communication, public justification and deliberation. EDD that can be found in invited spaces extend the application of deliberative democracy to include concrete matters such street paving, school improvement, and habitat management. Secondly EDD and invited spaces promote civil society and non-government organisations. This is important in order to strengthen democracy within the invited spaces. Finally, invited spaces with the feature of EDD are more participatory and deliberative than representative democracy.

The participatory democracy framework that I have chosen is inspired by features of Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) common in the participatory experiments Fung and Wright look at. As Fung and Wright (2017:7) put it, EDD rely on participation and capabilities of ordinary people. This makes EDD radically democratic. The processes tie action together with discussion and make EDD deliberative and empowering. It promotes concepts of empowerment, deliberation and participation as a progressive institutional reform strategy.

The five participatory experiments Fung and Wright (2017) describes indicate the invited spaces created by states involving state officials, local government bureaucrats, retired professionals, experts, social movements, local organisations and local people. They come

together in committees that deliberate on local issues around governing schools, policing, training, job placement, conservation and municipal budgeting and governance. The joint committee create a space for public participation involving local people supported by retired experts, professionals and state official. Local people through the representative in these committees are able to assess their local issues and give an articulate picture of the problem because they experience these first hand. The state officials at national, provincial and local levels are able to understand better the local issues and problems from the affected people rather than from academic researchers and consultants only. As the result of these invited spaces with ordinary people and their representative deliberations and decision-making processes are likely to produce much more relevant strategies to deal with the local problems than it would have been if the state was alone.



Secondly, Goldfrank (2006:14) explores necessary conditions that are required in order to build and facilitate a successful participatory process. These are explained as a political will, social capital, bureaucratic competence, small size, sufficient resources, legal framework and political decentralization. It is important as a base that the party that is governing should have a political will to conduct participatory democracy. This political will should be demonstrated and driven by the higher decision making leadership of the governing party. The citizens should be well organized to drive the participatory processes. There should be effective civil society organisations that have capacity to engage with the government structures as equals in decision making processes.

The government officials must equally be in a position to support the citizen in building participatory democracy. It should be the mission of the government official to ensure that participatory democracy is successful. Participatory democracy works better when the size of

the neighborhood is small and manageable. The incumbent party have to ensure that there is sufficient resources and budget to drive the process. The legal framework must support participatory democracy and encourage political decentralization. Municipal office holders should be democratically elected and be driven by a political will to engage communities in participatory decision-making processes (Goldfrank, 2006). Municipal office holders should be democratically elected and be driven by a political will to engage communities in participatory decision-making processes (Goldfrank, 2006).

A third and useful model for participatory democracy I will draw on is from the OECD. The OECD (2011) developed a three component model as a framework for participatory democracy: information distribution, consultation and active participation. The OECD was formed in 1961 after the World War II to administer American and Canadian aid under the Marshal Plan for the reconstruction of Europe.

The OECD has taken on a role of working with partner governments, policy makers and citizen to establish best international practices, standards and explore multiple solutions to social, economic and environmental challenges. South Africa works closely with OECD to an extent where there is collaboration in six bodies and projects. In addition to this South Africa is a participant in fifteen of OECD projects and bodies. South Africa is integrated OECD data sets and participate in projects on strategy development. The OECD model was informed and slightly adopted from Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation which has eight steps, manipulation, therapy, information, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control. Although, the OECD model structurally resembled Arnstein's ladder it is less critical and radical (OECD, 2001:16)

The OECD (2001:16) defines participatory democracy as a partnership with the government. In this partnership citizens are actively involved in the decision making processes. OECD model recognises the participation of citizen in proposing policy options and involvement in the policy discussions. But the responsibility for final decision making regarding policy making is reserved for the government.

The OECD definition relates to one of the classic definitions of participatory democracy by Pateman (1970) who distinguishes between partial and full participation. Pateman describes partial participation as a process where both citizen and the government engage each other in the processes of policy formulation but the final say rest with the government. In contrast full participation is defined a process where government and the citizen engage equally in the decision making processes. In full participation both government and citizens have equal power in shaping and making decision on all aspect of governance and policy.

While an important innovation a review of the literature has shown that the development of participatory democracy has not managed to include ordinary people in democracy to the point of transforming the power relations in society. The literature reviewed indicates that the development of technology and social media has however, played some role in deepening participatory democracy. This study is exploring how invited participatory spaces created by the state are used to potentially transform power relations at the local level using new technology platforms. The literature reveals experiments at local level where some governments have initiated spaces and invited social movements to co-create transformative processes through join decision making and deliberation. These invited spaces have increasingly become digital as their use the new technology platforms.

3.5. Digital public spaces and spheres

Melucci (1989) in describing the post-industrial democracy emphasizes the role that public sphere play in participatory democracy. The public spheres are considered as the most important requirement for democracy. There has to be a multi forms of public sphere for democracy succeed. Furthermore, in this era of the explosion of technological development the public spheres have become digital. The digital public sphere provides another dynamic to the potential of these spaces. The technology driven public spheres has a potential of rendering power visible and negotiable. Citizens are instantly empowered because the technology makes relevant information available. The ability of citizen to be able to access information real-time elevate them to the same level as government officials. It is not possible for the government officials to mislead or hide information from the citizen. This readily available information is empowering to the citizens and gives them a cutting edge in the engagement with government officials. The information that is provided through the digital public spheres cannot be manipulated by government. The digital public spheres have some degree of autonomy from the state institution and yet are connected to the state. These digital public spheres can be easily accessed by both the state and the citizens at the same time. Through these digital spaces supported by social media technologies citizens are able to deliberate among themselves and develop people-centered views and positions. These people centered views and positions can then be accessible to the authorities to guide policy. The quality and degree of interactivity are key factors in this process.

Tsagarousianou (2000) distinguishes between two main dimensions of decision-making. There is the democratic right that the citizen exercise through institutionalized channels such as elections, referenda, consultation etc. The other dimension is the independent institutional collective action. Elections, referenda and consultation can be effectively supported by technology. The problem is that there has been very little political will to move to electronic

voting. The second dimension of autonomous collective action is more dynamic and has potential to support citizen to exercise their democratic rights. The electronic public spaces transforms contemporary democracy. This is done through increasing the scope for autonomous public sphere that are developing outside and independently of the state apparatus.

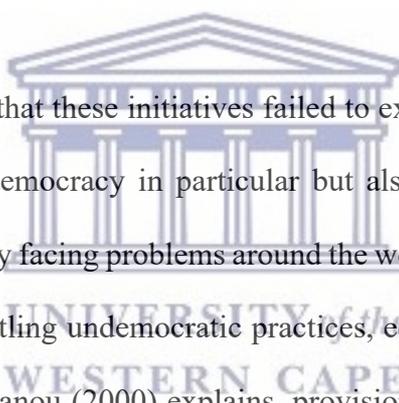
Tsagarousianou (2000) is critical of the US Congress and White house electronic democracy initiatives. She observes that the model of democracy that these initiatives support is limited and minimally interactive. She notes that despite the fact that citizens can use information technology to access to a certain extent the White House and Congress, these initiatives to apply social media to deepen democracy are limited. They do not promote in any serious way use of social media technology in promoting participatory democracy but consist a minimal and symbolic transparency.

3.6. Social media technologies and participatory democracy

In the early nineties Tsagarousianou (2000:233) explains that many European governments including in the United States of America started introducing what they called electronic democracy to deal with the problem faced with representative institutions of liberal democracy. The process has begun to transform governance into virtual forums. It was envisaged that parliament houses could hold hearings in different cities by television.

The existing technology makes it possible for legislative documents to be available to citizens. This then creates a possibility that this information could spark debates. These debates when driven by technology could occur online reaching masses of people. These masses of people would be having these debates in electronic town hall meetings. Already many governments have introduced World Wide Web pages. This allows the citizens to engage in virtual tours of the legislature and parliamentary houses. Once the citizens log on to government web sites, they have instant access government documents and information.

The initiatives by a number of American local government authorities take the use of ICT to a more higher level. Municipalities such Santa Monica, Glendale and Pasadena used ICT to encourage citizen participation in the public affairs as early as in the mid 1990s. Unlike just giving access to electronic documents of government, these municipalities went further and improved citizen contact and delivery of services. In other words ICT is used to improve the lives of the citizens. These are much more serious attempts to use social media to deepen participatory democracy (Dutton et al., 1991: Guthrie and Dutton, 1992, Docterand Dutton, 1998). These successful examples were followed by the European local and regional authorities such as Amsterdam, Bolgna, Manchester and Berlin. These initiatives that embrace ICT have strengthened the declining citizen participation in political life and grew the local politics.



Tsagarousianou (2000) argues that these initiatives failed to explore the lack of clarity of not only the notion of electronic democracy in particular but also the notion of democracy in general. Democracy is seemingly facing problems around the world as the citizens even in long established democracies are battling undemocratic practices, economic hardships and lack of service delivery. As Tsagarousianou (2000) explains, provision of access to information and technology alone without fixing what is wrong with democracy will not be sufficient to solve the problem. Different waves of digital democracy promised to make better contribution than the earlier implementation of electronic democracy.

3.6.1. The first wave of internet based digital democracy

Loader and Mercea (2011) suggests that the first wave of internet based digital democracy produced virtual public spaces. The participatory democracy was significantly strengthened by the use of technology in creating open and equal engagement between citizens and the representatives of government. This was made possible through provision to the citizens

information and digital communication tools. For cyber libertarianism, they thought this could even be achieved without the need of the government (Barlows, 1996).

Some left progressives even thought that the technology could allow stronger citizen engagement through online assemblies and Habermasian forums. This they thought could happen without the involvement of the government (Habermas 1962; Hague & Loader 1999). Hill and Hughes (1998) declared that this first wave of enthusiasm for internet-based visions of digital democracy did not transform the representative democracy. This is because that social media wave was shape and controlled by the interests of the powerful class in society. This powerful class in society manipulated social media wave to serve their social and economic interests. By the turn of the millennium it became clear that the virtual public spheres as critiqued feminist theorists were largely favouring white and wealthy males to the exclusion of other people (Patema, 1998, Fraser, 1980).



3.6.2. Second wave of technological optimism

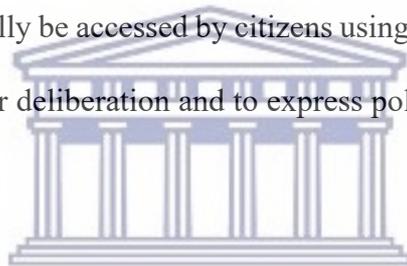
A second wave of technological advance in the form of Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Wikies and blogshere emerged. This wave displaced the public spheres model with that of a networked citizens. This provided opportunities to connect private spheres of autonomous political identity to a number of chosen political spaces (Papacharissi 2010). The openness of social media platforms facilitates the potential of what Charles Leadbeater (2008) called the mass-collaboration of individuals and groups who become the source of new innovations and ideas in democratic practices. However the implementation of social media requires that participatory democracy be built on strong foundation.

3.7. The use of social media technology in Electronic (participatory) democracy

Tsagarousianou (2000) views this use of social media technology in electronic democracy (arguably a form of participatory democracy) initiatives as rather limited ambition to provide

information, access and interactivity. This limited ambition approach, mainly through e-mail enquiries and comments has also been unfortunately shared by a substantial number of US local governments authorities and some of their counter-parts around the world. In investigating whether use of social media technology in electronic democracy projects deepens democracy, Tsagarousianou (2000) looks at the following, three components, namely, information provision, engaging in deliberation and participating in decision-making.

The first component which has to do with information provision, emphasises that, the notions and the aspects of democratic politics are premised on the idea of the informed citizen who deliberates and expresses political choices as a result of having all the necessary information. The social media technology has a storage and processing capacity for all kinds of information. This information could potentially be accessed by citizens using the new technology and social media and be used as a basis for deliberation and to express political choices. Tsagarousianou (2000)



In relation to the second component, on engaging in deliberation the community can use the social media as a tool. As Mellici (1989) emphasises on the need for multiple public digital spaces to support representation and negotiations in a post-industrial democracy. The use of new technology and social media platforms in electronic democracy has a potential to render power visible and negotiable and therefore demystify power relations. This is possible because social media supports citizens in engaging and deliberating their issues through digital public spaces. It follows that the access to these public spaces should be open to all social actors unhindered. Mellici (1989)

It is important as Tsagarousianou (2000) advises to distinguish between two dimension viz. participation in decision making through established channels (elections, referenda, consultation) and independent, extra institutional collective action. The existing social media technology has a potential to support electronic elections, referenda and consultation. But it is the second dimension that is less restrictive and more promising as far as democratic potential of electronic democracy. Public spheres supported by new technology and social media could lead the re-invigoration and democratisation of contemporary democracies. It is unfortunate that according to literature reviewed that the national governments, unlike social movements, are not using social media to seriously transform participatory democracy. The national governments instead uses social media to reform ailing democracy (Tsagarousianou 2000). But those initiatives led by local governments have been more effective and transformative.

3.7.1 Local government-led invited electronic space initiatives.

The local government-led initiatives proved to be more effective and transformative. This is because they relate to a specific municipal territory and constituency. This focus allows for these initiatives to focus sharply on the provision of the service delivery. In this way information provided was immediately relevant to the delivery issues at hand. These initiatives were seen in Manchester, Santa Monica, Amsterdam etc (Tsagarousuanou, 2000).

These electronic spaces were also made information and views of the citizens accessible to the local government authorities. The local authorities were now able to have access to the thinking and the wishes of the citizens without having to engage into elaborate physical consultation processes. These electronic spaces did not only made information available to the citizen. They also facilitated online deliberations and discourse. For an example the Santa Monica's PEN initiative allowed for computer conferencing. In this way citizen where able to discuss issues among themselves. These discussions on issues affecting citizens were also available to the local government officials for policy making purposes. The citizens were also able to access

on-line government forms and in this way give input instantly to government (Docter and Dutton, 1998).

This study takes a guide from these invited international spaces experiments that have now become electronic as a theoretical framework of what effective and transformative participatory democracy could look like. In the South African context the Constitution (1996) and the Municipal Systems Act 32, section 25(1) (Republic of South Africa 2000), outlines the mechanisms of participation and engagement between the government and citizens. This create an opportunity to study the invited local spaces in Langa which is under the City of Cape Town local government. The reference is also made in the literature (Tsagarousianou 2000) to invented spaces that are organically being created by social movements. Although the focus of the study is on invited participatory spaces moderated by the state.

3.7.2 Grassroots invented electronic space initiatives

The society led initiative such as Neighborhood online, Civic Practices Networks (CPN), and those pursued by ICT activists were even more transformative in nature than the local government led initiative (Friedland, 1996).

These grassroots initiatives are driven from below and have greater participatory involvement of people and promotes sharing of information, deliberations and decision-making. They are organically designed to challenge bureaucratic state power and promoting the transformation of state apparatus to reflect people needs and desires. Tsagarousianou (2000) explains that Electronic democracy did not fulfill the promise that it will enable citizens to be able to express their views, opinions and build participatory democracy. There are many reasons why this promise of the use of electronic democracy to involve residents in local governance such as technical limitation, financial restrictions, the lack of citizen access to the necessary technology or their negative predisposition toward the technologies utilized, the lack of political will, and political cultural related factors. The municipal-led digital spheres have a greater potential to

deepen participatory democracy than national government electronic democracy but just as grass roots electronic spaces this potential is impeded by lack of technological infrastructure, access to data, necessary equipment and lack of systematic political support. These processes have been unfolding differently in places like Langa and in the South African context. While observing the potential of the invented grassroots participatory spaces, the study examines the lessons from the invited participatory spaces because they have possibilities of leveraging institutional design support, training, resources, monitoring, coordination from the state at the local, provincial and central levels.

3.8. Developing a theoretical framework

Drawing on the OECD model (2001) and the EDD model, the following sections will discuss three democratic components, information distribution, consultation and active participation as a useful tool to theoretically frame a study of social media technology and participatory democracy.

3.8.1. Information distribution

Citizens are only able to effectively engage and drive participatory democracy when they have at their disposal all the necessary information. It becomes a challenge when only the government official have the relevant information and the citizen are expected to engaged from the position of ignorance. Citizens should not rely on government and the market to provide this information. The danger is that this information could be open to be manipulated to serve the interests of government and business. Citizens need to have own independent access to information. In this way citizen have time to interrogate and engage with the information.

It is therefore a fair assumption that business and government cannot be trusted to supply information required for democracy. Any meaningful democracy should have informed citizens who independently source information. A nation that rely on others to provide it with information is at the risk of been given misleading information. In worse scenario they are at

the risk of being starve with information. Citizens and the public that is ignorant cannot be expected to assists in building democracy. When citizen are not participating then democracy is weak. Those who have the information are empowered to manipulate the others. It is therefore logical that that the state should ensure that the citizens have independent sources of acquiring own information (Webster, 2011).

The constant developments of the internet have brought visible changes in information distribution. Today's organisations are embracing the benefits of Web 2.0 technologies, especially social media and social network tools. The second-generation social media which is powered by Web 2.0 allows user to create, share information, collaborate, make changes to content by using social networking sites. It is very much possible in today's world that is driven by technology. The state can use social media technology to ensure that the citizens have the necessary information they need to support democracy. Citizen when supported could independently source the information from internet. The state should empower the citizens to source information through internet. The citizens should be capacitated and supported to produce own content, edit and share it. This is all possible with the use of social media technology (Webster, 2011).

Averweg (2011) opined already in South Africa everything that is done is being transformed by social media. These technological platforms are increasingly becoming integral part of the South Africa society changing everything. Information technology is influencing the way that South Africa do things. Averweg (2011) suggest that any public service that aim to improve the communities need to utilize internet technology to improve quality of service, efficiency and effectiveness to the public. The City of Cape Town has created many social media

platforms, the study will investigate their effectiveness in distribution information for the purpose of building participatory democracy.

3.8.2. Consultation

It is an international practice to use consultation process by governments. This is crucial in order to allow the involvement of the citizens in the democratic processes. Through consultation governments are able to understand the wishes of the citizens (Lewis et al 2005). Through consultation government is able to get the views of the citizens before the policy decision can be taken. This is also a way of ensuring that citizen take part in matters that affect their lives and it bring government closer to the people. Consultation has to be conducted in a manner that builds participatory democracy. Residents when they are consulted should be given an opportunity deliberate and influence policy. Consultation has to be conducted in a manner that builds participatory democracy. Residents when they are consulted should be given an opportunity deliberate and influence policy. (Morrison, 2016).

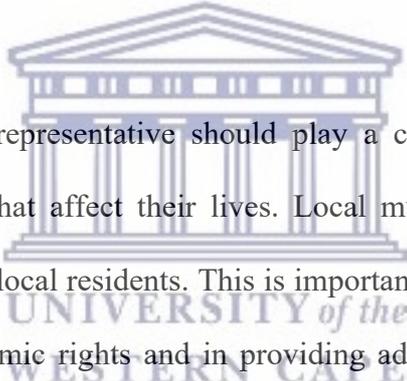
In this modern day of digital age social media is an important engagement tool. Consultors can no longer hide behind traditional forms of consultation such as public meetings and surveys as conversations are moving online at a very quick pace. The study will look at the extent at which the City of Cape Town uses social media technology to conduct consultation in a manner that build participatory democracy (Remmert, 2016).

3.8.3. Active participation

Active participation by citizen in the affairs that affects their lives creates an opportunity for influencing policy and decision making. Social media technology has a potential of enabling the citizen to participate in local governance. Local governments around the world are using social media platform to encourage citizen to participate governance. Over the last sixty years,

participation has evolved into standard rhetoric in urban planning and has become mainstream feature of governance in many parts of the world (Lemanski, 2017, Nabachi and Leighninger, 2015).

However, state led participatory schemes often do not provide spaces for communities to actually influence development processes and local government policies. Reasons for this are manifold and include lack of political will, weak state capacity, technical limitations or access to barriers for participants (Cooke and Kothari, 2001, Cornwall, 2008, Huxley and Yifrachel, 2000). In informal settlements like Langa social media technology can be utilized to support local government overcome these difficulties in building participatory democracy. The study looks at how the City of Cape Town uses social media technology to support active participation.



Local communities and their representative should play a central role in the making of decisions about development that affect their lives. Local municipalities must be directly managed and controlled by the local residents. This is important to ensure that local residents make decisions on local economic rights and in providing adequate resources for peoples' political activity (Modise, 2017).

3.9. Conclusion.

The theoretical framework chosen based on processes required for participatory democracy incorporating EDD provides useful tools for this study. The South African government has developed legislative frameworks especially at the local level for the provision of participatory democracy. In Langa there are two ward committees which has a potential to be vehicles for facilitation of involvement of local civil society organisations in developing participatory democracy. The ward committee also presents a space for the City of Cape Town and civil society organisations to practice EDD. The theoretical framework provides for a tool to look

at the role that is played by government in supporting the use of social media technology. In order to be able to achieve this it is important to apply appropriate research paradigm which will inform the methodology and data collection tools. This is discussed in the following chapter.



4. CHAPTER FOUR: THE RESEARCH PARADIGM, METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION TOOLS.

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explains how I have conducted this research and discusses the rationale behind the research paradigm, methodology and data collection tools I have chosen. The chapter discusses the constructivist paradigm that is used in the study and the research design. This is followed by the qualitative methodology discussion relevant for this research. The chapter also discusses the data collection tools that have been used in the study which is interviews and focus groups. The chapter then discusses research participants and outline the ethical considerations, followed by a conclusion.

4.2. Constructivist paradigm.

The constructivism paradigm has been chosen because it is sensitive to the community history and their values. Constructivism paradigm recognizes the problems that the community are faced with are holistic, multiple, integrated and socially constructed. The basic assumption guiding the constructivist paradigm are that those who are being researched have a way of constructing knowledge. They construct knowledge based on their social circumstances. Therefore knowledge is socially constructed from the lived experiences of those who are being researched (Guba and Lincoln, 1985).

Langa is affected by unemployment, inequality and poverty. As Jones (2020:1) puts it, the lack of investment in the manufacturing sector, historically low wages and the neglect of certain communities by their municipalities led to these social problems. All these multiple issues have been socially constructed and will require a holistic approach to effectively deal with them. This paradigm is best suited because it allows for an understanding that there is a context within which the Langa residents operates. This context is informed by the country's history and how democracy has developed in South Africa.

In conducting this study it was important to understand the research participants' understanding of the world they live in. This then required me to find a research paradigm that allows to understand how research participants construct knowledge. The constructivist paradigm gave me tools for understanding that knowledge that research participants have is socially constructed and influenced by the contextual situation they live in. This knowledge that the research participants have is not cast in stone, it varies and can be influenced. The researcher has interacted with own world view and understanding. This was transformed, adjusted and developed through the study.

The constructivism paradigm allows for a research methodology that is able to base itself on experiences of people in the community. The constructivism paradigm played a significant influence in deciding on a qualitative methodology. The qualitative methodology works very well with the constructivism paradigm. This makes it possible to use data collection tools such as focus groups and interviews. These data collection tools put people at the core of the research process and allow them a voice (Guba and Lincoln, 1985).

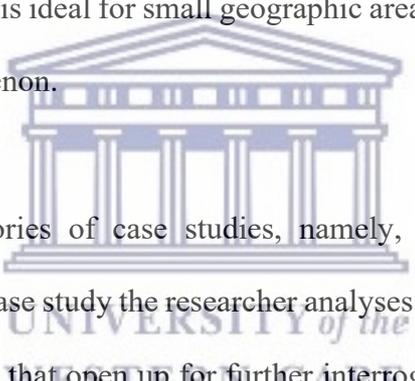
I was born in Langa and actively participate in the local structures like the Residents Association. The community of Langa is dynamic, evolving and the researcher interacted and was inseparable from this process. This reality then informs the choices made in choosing the research design. This paradigm incorporates qualitative research methodology .

Robins, Cornwall and Von Lieres (2008:1069) insist to research democracy effectively, the researcher must base their approach on how citizens are experiencing participatory democracy in their daily interactions. They maintain too that in the current context that is historically based on post-colonial and authoritarian experiences there is still oppressive and unequal practices

still remain although the spaces that are democratic is opening up. Most of the engagement with the state is through a mediated public sphere that does not allow for citizens to acquire new political identities by claiming their democratic rights.

4.3. Research Design: Case study

The study of this research is based in Langa Township in the municipal wards called ward 51 and 52. This is because ward committees are the formal structures legislated by the Local Government Act (2000). The City of Cape Town is mandated by the constitution of the country to work with the ward committees. There is therefore an opportunity created by a legislative framework to use ward committees to build participatory democracy using social media technology. This process could engage the entire community through building partnership with the civil society organisations. The case study is a perfect tool to investigate data within a specific context. The case study is ideal for small geographic areas, it explores and investigates contemporary real-life phenomenon.



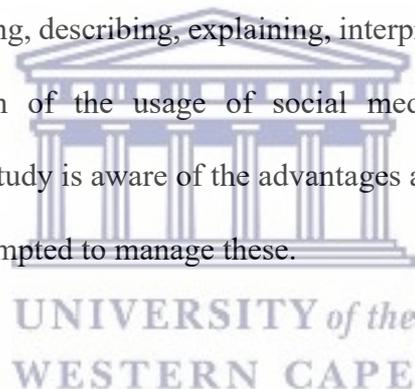
Yin (1984) notes three categories of case studies, namely, exploratory, descriptive and explanatory. In an exploratory case study the researcher analyses phenomenon in the data. This case study focuses on questions that open up for further interrogation and examination of the phenomenon that is studied. The descriptive case study describe the data that is being presented. The case study describes the phenomena naturally that is in the data. While an explanatory case study investigates the data in detail to explain the phenomena found in the data.

McDonald and McDonough (1997) include other categories of cases studies such as interpretive and evaluative. In the interpretive case study the researcher interprets the data. This is done through developing conceptual categories. The researcher also challenges the assumptions made regarding these conceptual categories. In the evaluative case study, the

researcher evaluate the phenomena found in the data by adding own judgment to the phenomena.

Stoke (1995) also contributes to the debate of the categories of case studies by offering three types, namely, the intrinsic, the instrumental and the collective. In an intrinsic case study the researcher is concerned by investigating the natural, inherent and underlying issues in the phenomena. In an instrumental case study the researcher investigates patterns of behaviour. Finally in a collective case study the researcher uses data from different sources to paint a bigger picture. This is done through generalisation based on the findings.

This study is based on a geographic area of Langa informal settlement and it borrows from various categories of in exploring, describing, explaining, interpreting, evaluating, the intrinsic and instrumental phenomenon of the usage of social media technology in deepening participatory democracy. The study is aware of the advantages and the disadvantages of using case study method and has attempted to manage these.



4.3.1. Advantages of case study

The advantages of case study method is that data is conducted within the specific context (Zaidah, 2003). In this study the data is collected in Langa informal settlement where the phenomenon is being observed. The advantage of case study is also that it can be used for both quantitative and qualitative analysis of data (Yin 1984). This make case study method suitable for this study that is based on qualitative methodology.

4.3.2. Disadvantage of the case study

Case studies are often criticised for lack of rigour in that the researcher is accused of allowing equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the finding and conclusion. Case studies can be seen as not being scientific enough since they use small number of subjects, some are conducted with only one subject. There is generally a scepticism about generalisation from the a single case (Yin, 1984).

4.4. Qualitative research methodology.

Qualitative methodology allows for interaction between the researcher and the respondents. Through this methodology the investigator works closely and in harmony with those who are being investigated. This interactive approach is described as hermeneutical and dialectical. Its efforts are made to obtain multiple perspectives that yield a better interpretations of meanings (hermeneutics). The interpretation of meanings are compared and contrasted through a dialectical interchange. This process involves, juxtaposition of conflicting ideas which force reconstruction of previous positions (Eichelberger,1989)

Through this methodology the researcher is able to study the meaning people attach to their daily activities. The researcher also investigate how the meaning that people attach to activities relates to their behaviour. When the researcher construct the reality, this is done through interpreting the data with the assistance of the people who provided the data. It is therefore important that the researcher conduct a great deal of observation, read documents that are being provided the researched participants. The researcher conducted extensive formal and informal interviews and develop classification and description that represent the research participants (Eichelberger, 1989).

The community of Langa has existed since 1923 and has developed community structures and leadership over time. These structures and leadership are playing a central role and are in control of the processes in the community. The qualitative research methodology has a

potential of not only respecting the role that the leadership of the community plays but is also empowering. When community leaders are put in focus groups and given an opportunity to grapple with the issues, they also develop own strategies and insights. These strategies and insights would enrich the community initiative to deepen participatory democracy and position the usage of social media technology in deepening it.

Langa residents have over years experienced many research projects and have become sceptical. Often the community asks what is the purpose of us being researched and what is the benefit to our development. The qualitative research methodology that has been chosen reaffirms the community through involvement that there is mutual benefit. The benefit will arise from getting the community leadership, through focus groups and interviews, to reflect on their community issues and how these could be resolved. It encourages them to play a meaningful role in articulating local problems and how they could be resolved.

The qualitative research methodology chosen is sensitive, supportive and protective to the residents of Langa. This is possible through working together with community structures and leaders in ensuring that the information and stories gathered are protected. Through a qualitative research methodology the community consent is acquired for the use of information gathered. The leadership that is selected for focus groups is made aware of what will happen to the findings of the research. Qualitative research methodology uses data collection methods such as interviews and focus groups.

4.5. Data collections through Interviews and Focus Groups

The interview method that is used is inspired by Holstein and Gubrium's perspectives (1995, 2004) that view interviews as meaning making process. The manner in which meaning is constructed is seen as being very important. Interviews and Focus Groups are used in the study as data collection methods. The active interview method is used in combination with the

dramaturgical interview approach. The dramaturgical interview approach works because there is relationship base on trust that has been built between the researcher and research participants. This relationship facilitate an honest and credible process where the information is offered voluntarily and willingly by the research participants.

I chose semi-structured interview because it is the middle ground between the extremes of completely structured and completely unstructured. This type of interview involves the implementation of a number of predetermined questions and special topics. These questions are typically asked of each interviewee in a systematic and consistent order. The interviewers are allowed freedom to digress, are permitted and expected to probe far beyond the answers to their standardised questions. It also becomes possible to test ideas, positions, perspectives etc with the research participants. It also becomes possible to test ideas, positions, perspectives etc with the research participants. I have triangulated the interviews with focus groups. I designed the focus groups for small groups of unrelated individuals in discussion (Barbour,2008).

Using this approach, I learned about conscious, semi-conscious, and unconscious psychological and socio-cultural characteristics and processes among various groups (Larson, Grudens-Schuck, & Lundy,2004; Legua et al.,1992; Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook,2006). The focus group discussion allows for intense discussion among the subjects and ability to be more descriptive and analytical. The data collected through interviews and focus group went through stages of data reduction, data display, conclusion and verification. Through this process the patterns were developed, distilled, parallels drawn, comparison made etc. This became an important build up toward drawing findings and conclusions.

I selected 20 key informants to interview. Those who were interviewed came from the street committees, civil society organisations, school governing bodies, community police forums, health committees and the ward committees. The following were also interviewed, GovChat, ward councillors and the City of Cape Town officials. I also organised two focus groups. One focus group was made of ward committee members while the other was made of residents of Langa who are not in the ward committees. Each focus group had a minimum of 5 participants.

The data collected through interviews and focus groups with community members was reflective of views of leaders of Langa who are involved in processes and community struggles that seek to deepen participatory democracy and use social media technology. These are the best positioned people in Langa to answer whether the residents utilise social media technologies in deepening participatory democracy. These are the community leaders who are organising for service delivery, development and interact with local government in Langa. I have also interviewed local councillors who work closely with the City of Cape Town. The officials in sub-council 15 which coordinate development initiative in Langa were also interviewed. The data from the research participants was analysed to draw out patterns and themes. These patterns and themes drawn from the data collected through interviews and focus groups were presented again to the research subjects for them to give an opinion on whether they are reflective of their broad views. I have also used other forms of data collection such as visiting the social media sites created for Langa. I have reviewed the content of these social media sites and platforms. I have also collected information from the City of Cape Town on-line platforms. I have visited local structures such as police stations, community safety patrols, health committees, school governing bodies to gather understanding on how they use social media in their daily activities.

4.6. The research participants

I interviewed 20 participants drawn from Langa civil society organisations, ward committees, Govchat, Councillors and City of Cape Town officials. This includes the two councillors in Langa I also organised two focus groups one by local civic society organisations and the other one by ward committees.

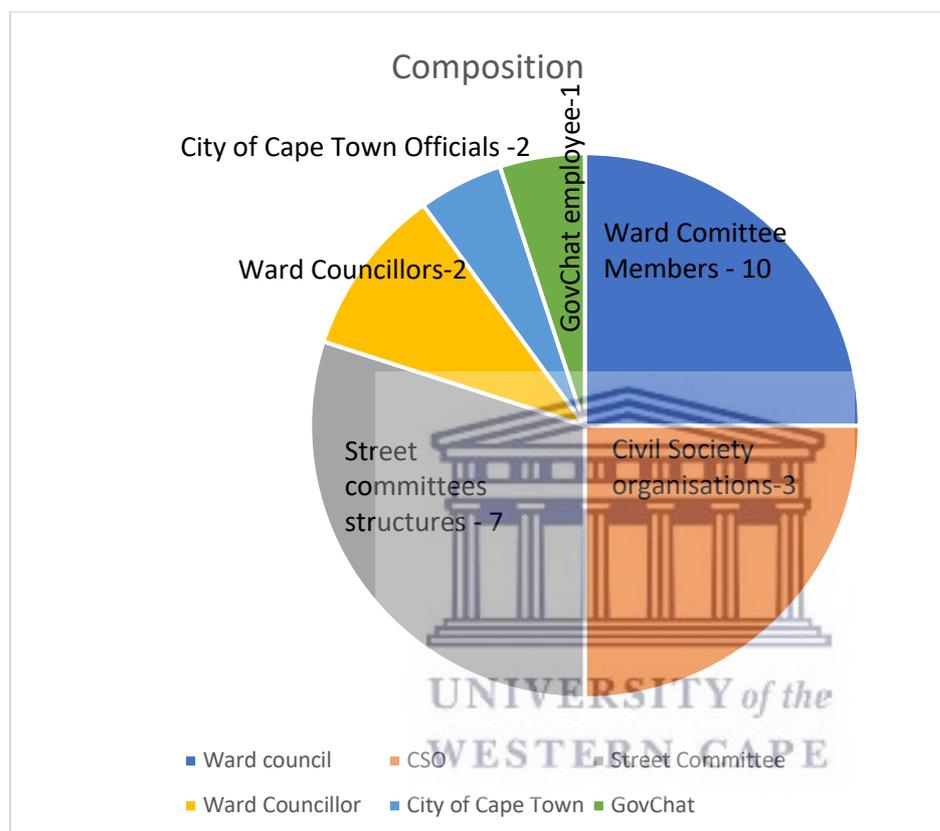


Fig.1: A pie chart presenting the composition of the research respondents.

Ninety five percent of the composition of the participants were from the community with the remaining five percent being ward councillors, officials from the City of Cape Town and GovChat. The respondents was made of sixty percent female and forty percent male and mainly community members. This constitute a female dominated group. The average age of the participants was 40 years. The majority of the participants were residents in Langa owning a council house, renting a backyard room, or living in the informal settlement. They were workers in the surrounding areas of Langa and some were unemployed devoting their time in

community struggles. All the participants interviewed and were in the focus groups lived in Langa for more than 5 years.

4.7. Ethical considerations

Langa as a community has been subjected to a number of research projects and are very sensitive and sceptical to these research processes. I have consulted the community extensively and honestly explained the intentions of the research. It was very important to explain any misunderstanding and misguided expectations. The community leaders through interviews and focus groups released sensitive and confidential information about their struggles to deepen democracy in Langa. I ensured that I receive full consent from them to use this information. The information is protected and the confidentiality is guaranteed.

The community leaders who participated in the research are members of political formation, other work for the local government structure and are in the ward committees. The measures are being undertaken to protect their identity through anonymity. The research participants are leaders in the community, have enormous experience and are being treated with respect. I explained to the community leaders that participating in the study is voluntary and that they have a right not to be part of the study should they believe that it will cause harm to them, their careers or reputation as the respected leaders. The interviews were conducted during the time when it was allowed to physically meet subject to Covid protocols. I adhered to government safety Covid requirements such maintaining social distance, sanitising hands and wearing masks.

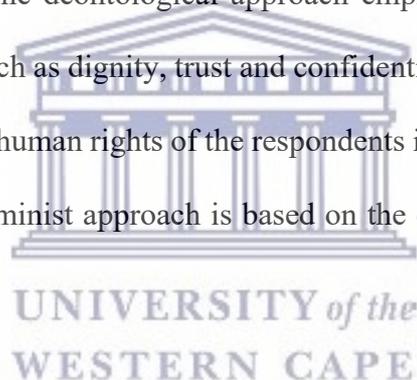
This research was conducted in a bottom up participatory manner. The study understood that the community had struggled with issues of deepening democracy for many years. I have through the study also made a contribution to the struggles that the community of Langa is

faced with. The findings was shared with the community leaders ensuring that they understood how to use the research findings to improve their situation in the community.

4.8. The Use of Social Media data

The collection of social media data from the respondents was guided by the standards set up by the Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR). The AoIR developed guidelines for Internet Research Ethics (IRE). The development of social media technology make the issue of ethics in research complicated. Social media platforms are used by groups of people and it is a challenge to get consent. Confidentiality and dignity of the individuals who use these platforms need to be protected (IRE guidelines 3.0, 2020).

There are deontological, utilitarian and feminist approaches, among others, that the researcher can choose from. The deontological approach emphasises the protection of the human rights of respondents such as dignity, trust and confidentiality. The utilitarian approach is willing to risk the individual human rights of the respondents in order to achieve benefits for the greater community. The feminist approach is based on the ethics of virtue and care (IRE guidelines 3.0, 2020).



The researcher has taken ethical care in using social media data to protect the individual human rights, dignity and confidentiality of the respondents. The information on how residents of Langa use social media was mainly sourced from interviews and focus groups. Those who participated gave consent that the information can be used for the research. The researcher also used Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter platforms used by the residents of Langa. These are group platforms and it was a challenge to get consent from all those in these social media platforms. The fact that the researcher was involved in the creation of some of the sites on the platforms assisted. The researchers acquired permission from the administrators of the sites to use the information. The administrators of these social media platforms were willing to allow

the use of the information for research purposes. The administrators also asked those participating in the sites if they had any objections to the use of the sites and screenshots for research purposes. The researcher who is also a participant on the sites posted request for permission. The response was positive. There is no confidential and sensitive information that was taken from the platforms. The City of Cape Town social media platforms are already in the public domain and the officials did not object to these being used for the research purposes.

4.9. Conclusion

In using the processes necessary to develop participatory democracy as a framework for the study necessitated that I develop my own understanding of how democracy has historically evolved and how social media technology deepens participatory democracy. I have discovered through the literature review that it is also important to understand how community and its leaders construct knowledge and understand about the world their live in.

My own understanding of the world, values and views were influenced by those that are shared by the research participants. I have also influence the research participants through interacting with them and in this study process. This has been a dynamic process when I and research participants had to review, rethink and reconstruct our understanding of the world view and values. I understood that it would not be easy to understand whether social media technology deepens participatory democracy in Langa without unpacking the community knowledge, views and experience of the topic. As a researcher that is active in live and in the community processes in Langa I also hold strong views.

The research methods that are being used are designed to empower the community in the process through creating a space where the respondents are able to assess the state of participatory democracy and use of social media technology to deepen it. This has a potential

of allowing the community leaders to deliberate on how to improve participatory democracy and the use of technology in Langa. The community leaders would be in a better position to understand what is working and what needs to be improved in the process of using media technology to deepen participatory democracy. The community has an important role to play in partnership with the City of Cape Town in building participatory democracy and in ensuring that social media technology is used to deepen it. The City of Cape Town need a strong and empowered community as a partner in the process of building participatory democracy in Langa. The community of Langa and its civil society organisations also need to understand its role in the process of building this local participatory democracy. It is possible for the City of Cape Town to prioritise this work and the constitution of the country supports it. The following chapter discusses findings of the research.



5. CHAPTER FIVE: Situating the Study: The City of Cape Town and Langa

5.1. Introduction.

This chapter discusses Langa within the context of the City of Cape Town. It explores the participatory democracy legislative framework in South Africa. The chapter looks at how the City of Cape Town approaches participatory democracy and the use of social media technology. This discussion assesses how the ward committees, Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) and budget processes are used by the City of Cape Town to build participatory democracy. It then looks at social media platforms that are supported by government. This is followed by a conclusion of the chapter.

5.2. Case study Area

Langa informal settlement is named after King of Hlubi nation, Langalibalele. King Langalibalele fought against the land dispossession in the Natal region. He was arrested and imprisoned in 1873 on the Robben Island in Cape Town. Langa is approximately 14km to the Central Business District (CBD) of Cape Town. It is bordered by Jan Smuts Drive to the west, the N2 to the north, the N7 to the west.



The Municipality Structures Act of 1998 established, Cape Town as one of the six metropolitan municipalities in South Africa. Langa informal settlement falls under the jurisdiction of the City of Cape Town. Langa consists of two wards (51 and 52) which together with Pinelands, Kensington and Maitland (Ward 55, 56 and 57) are clustered into Sub-council 15. Langa forms part of the City of Cape Town and the Cape Flats townships (November, 2021)

The participatory democracy legislative framework.

Langa falls within the jurisdiction of the City of Cape Town Municipality under sub-council 15. The literature that has been reviewed indicates that in South Africa there is a legislative framework for participatory democracy especially at a local government level. The study looks

at how the City of Cape Town supports and builds participatory democracy in areas like Langa. This will clarify how social media is used as an enabler in the process.

The South African constitution (1996) and the Municipal Systems Act 32, section 25(1) (Republic of South Africa 2000), outlines the mechanisms of participation and engagement between the government and citizens. A Constitutional provision was made for the local government ward committees to be introduced in 1999. The ward committees allow participation and engagement of the government at the grassroots level. This local participation and engagement make it possible for the people to take part in running their affairs. The mechanism to give the people an opportunity to inform the government about the needs of the people, and the government to conduct needs assessment, before taking decision about what the people need.

The South African legal framework allows for the building of participatory democracy. The legal framework create opportunities to use participatory tools such as Izimbizo and the Community Development Worker (CDW). Izimbizo project was established in 2001. It is a space at a local or district level where the municipality engage with the residents. The purpose of the Izimbizo is to expose national and provincial executive to the views of the public. The South Africa constitution (1996).

The CDW initiative was launched in 2003. The purpose of the CDW project is to receive direct feedback from the residents and to act as a mutual participatory process between government and the citizens. The participatory process that is promoted by Local Government Systems Act, 32 of 2000 resembles Pateman (1970) definition of a partial participatory democracy. It develop a culture of governance that introduces participatory processes in a largely

representative national democracy. This is through encouragement and creation of conditions for the local citizens to participate in the affairs of the municipality.

A municipality must encourage and create conditions for the local citizens to participate in implementation monitoring and reviewing of the IDP. It must encourage and create conditions for the local citizens to establish processes for the IDP performance management system. The municipality is given a directive to create conditions for the local citizens to participate in preparation of IDP budgets. The local citizens contribute to strategic decision related to the provision of the municipal services. The legislative framework insists that that the municipality must contribute to building the capacity of the local citizens. This is important in order to enable participation in the affairs of the municipality. The councillors and municipal staff are directed to foster citizens participation. They must do this through the use of municipal resources, annual funds allocated in the budget (Municipal Systems Act 32, section 25(1)).

5.3 City of Cape Town and public participation

The City of Cape Town in a document titled *Community driven initiative, principles and procedures, urban planning and design department* (2019), states that a city is made of various stakeholders, social groups, interests and dynamic histories. The future development planning of the City of Cape Town will be effective if it harnesses the energy of community involvement in a manner that is inclusive, fair and equitable. The development governance must encourage communities to drive in a participatory manner the work of the City of Cape Town.

The City of Cape Town goes further to explain that communities must drive the City of Cape Town decision-making processes. It is their right to make demands to the City on the issues that affect their daily lives. The community should co-create development plans with the City of Cape Town. The community is not seen as mere passive recipients of the City of Cape Town

services but as active stakeholder in the shaping of the City plans and future (City of Cape Town 2019).

The City then explains the following instruments by which communities could participate in planning namely, Integrated Development Plan (IDP), Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF, 2018), District Spatial Development Framework (DSDF, 2012) and the Local Area Spatial Development Framework (LASDF).

5.3.1. City of Cape Town participatory democracy process

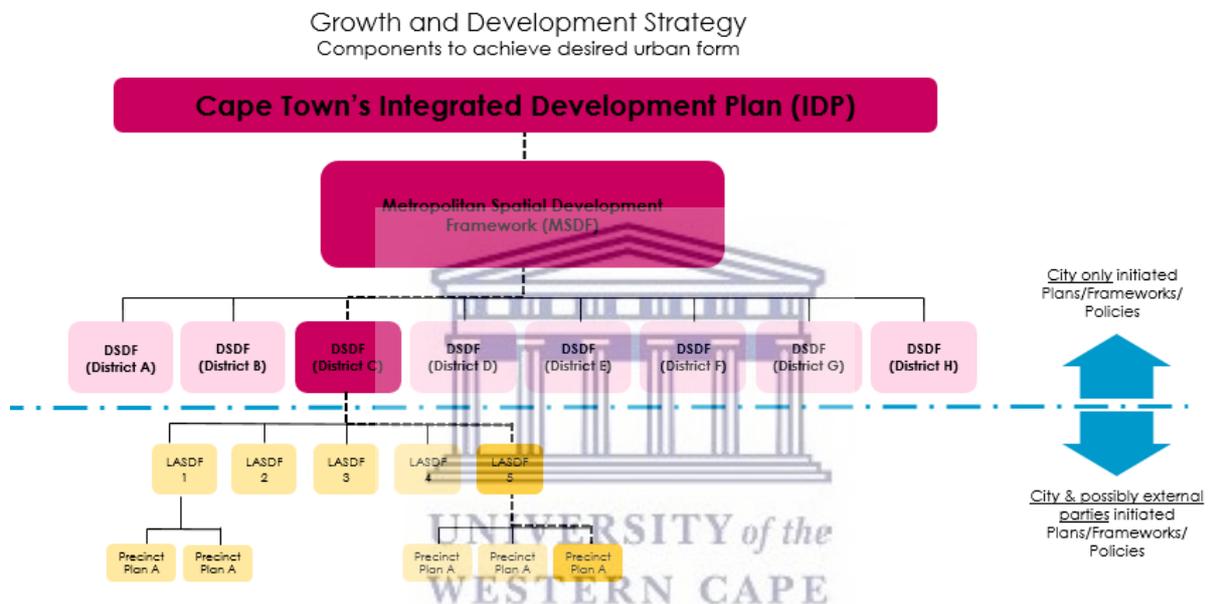


Fig.2, *Source: City of Cape Town 2019*

The mechanism in the above table have been developed by the City of Cape Town to facilitate on-going public participation in planning and policy development work. (City of Cape Town 2019). The IDP review enable the City of Cape Town to collect the needs, priorities and translate them into a development plan. The IDP formulating process and annual review are critical spaces in which the communities participate in determining the planning, development direction and the agenda of the City. Following from the IDP is the MSDF, a further opportunity for the public to identify city-wide planning issues, needs and priorities, this time with a greater spatial focus. (City of Cape Town 2019).

The MSDF are based on the DSDFs which offer community and public opportunity to identify more localised planning issues needs and priorities in line with the IDP. The Local Area Spatial Development Framework (LASDF) are more important for communities like Langa because they are more localised processes and talk directly issues close to the residents. The City of Cape Town (2019) makes a crucial point that the departure point for the administration is to assume the interest of the public and not that of the private sector. Participation at this level gives the administration understanding of the direct needs of the local communities. The Precinct Planning are then for specific character areas within the local areas. (City of Cape Town, 2019)

The City of Cape Town set up Area Co-ordinating Teams (ACTs) in the selected communities. The ACTs were established under these identified sub-councils as part of the Mayoral Regeneration Programme (MURP). The ACTs provide invited spaces controlled by the City of Cape Town for communities, businesses, non-governmental organisations. These invited spaces play a role in ensuring that the citizens are involved in the governance of their city. The City of Cape Town retain control of the ACTs through the power allocated to the sub-council manager who is a convenor. The sub-council manager also plays a role of ensuring that the departments of the City of Cape Town are involve in the ACTs.

This model of participatory democracy through ACT resembles Pateman's (1970) definition of partial participatory democracy. The ACTs are used as consultation tools in a manner explained by Morrison (2007). In this model of participatory democracy the power to make policy decision remains with the City of Cape Town. These structures are used to ascertain the opinions of the citizen while the responsibility of finally deciding policy and decision making

lies with the City of Cape Town. There is no political intention to grant the citizen equal opportunity to influence and change policy and decision making. This is explicit also in the way the City of Cape Town view the role of a ward committees and ward councillors in participatory democracy (Modise, 2017).

5.3.2. The role of the ward committee in working with the community to create positive change.

The City of Cape Town municipality on their web site explain how to conduct community participation in a pamphlet (City of Cape Town, 2019). The pamphlet, under a heading, how a ward councillor works in collaborating with her community to create a positive change, describes the process. The City of Cape Town municipality provides an example of this process, i.e, during a ward meeting, a ward councillor identifies a need for more community gardens in the area that will benefit the poor in consultation with the local authority.

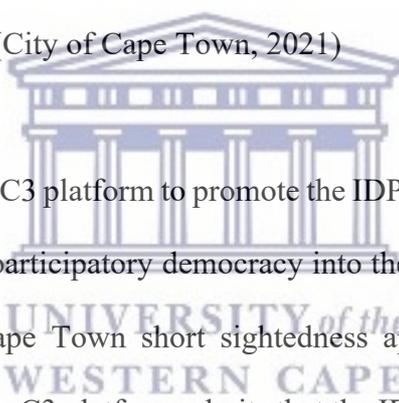
The City of Cape Town intention is to provide food banks through these vegetable gardens. The vegetables are also intended to provide necessary ingredients for community soup kitchens. The ward committee is expected to present this project to the Sub-Council meeting. The process of the City of Cape Town demand that the matter be advertised in the local media for comment. After this has been done then the project is approved by the Sub – Council. The City of Cape Town then brings in the social development department as a partner to assists in the implementation of the project.

The project is announced at a Sub-Council meeting after conclusion of the public consultation process. The project is approved and completed by Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP) workers from the community. Community workers are trained to maintain the community gardens. The community now has access to fresh produce that can supplement their

nutrition. This is how the City of Cape Town describes its participatory democracy process. This is the officially adopted process to guide the Integrated Development Planning (IDP) (City of Cape Town, 2019).

5.3.3. City of Cape Town and the Integrated Development Planning process.

The City of Cape Town on its C3 online platform, publicize submission of inputs for the drafting of the new five year Integrated Development Plan 2022-2027. The C3 is a City of Cape Town social media platform. This platform is available to residents to request services and report faults to the City of Cape Town. The residents can log on to this social media platform to request services such refuse collection, law enforcement, as well as report road and stormwater faulty infrastructure. Through the C3 application citizens can be directed to online municipal services to renew vehicle license, register property building plans, city parks enquiries and maintenance etc. (City of Cape Town, 2021)



The City of Cape Town's use of C3 platform to promote the IDP firstly demonstrates the power of using social media to invite participatory democracy into the IDP processes. Secondly it is an exposure of the City of Cape Town short sightedness approach towards participatory democracy. The article posted on C3 platform admits that the IDP will be the primary strategic plan to guide all planning and development in Cape Town over the next five years and yet the entire process is given only 50 days. The deadline on the C3 social media platform is 26th November -13th January 2022. The legal framework that is provided by the Local Government Systems Act, section 28 (3) explain that the municipality must give notice of the process that it going to follow. This information can be accessed through the C3 social media platform of the City of Cape Town. This is a demonstration of the use of role of social media by the City of Cape Town to provide information to the public (City of Cape Town, 2021).

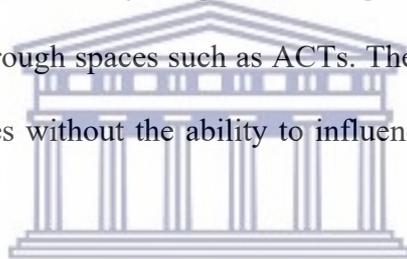
The disappointment is that the C3 social media platform of the City of Cape Town does not describe any engagement process for the construction of the IDP. It only mention that the council is to engage in the five year New Term of Office. The is a requirement for a new IDP. Therefore there will now be process to receive input from communities. It then goes to explain that there will be consultation process to get community development needs and priorities. The City of Cape Town C3 social media platform also post information regarding the review of the previous five year corporate scorecard (2017-2022). It explains the Organisational Performance Management (OPM) system. This system help in developing the new five year corporate scorecard (2022-2027). The South African legislative framework gives clear and bold guideline on how participatory democracy must be implemented by local government.

When compared with the legislated participatory democracy legislated guidelines of the Municipal System Act, 38 of 2000, the City of Cape Town process fall short. He then explains that the any effective participatory democracy process has to be radical and transformative. This is because this process has to challenge power relations. It must be driven by the agenda of the historically marginalised seeking to bring about a better life for all. The contradictions, tensions, conflicts and struggles of both political and economic nature at the local level shape the participatory modes of governance and decision-making (Williams 2006).

Williams (2003, 2004 a,b) relates to the study he conducted on the Area Co-ordination Teams (ACTs) as a mode of engagement in the City of Cape Town to support citizen engagement in development planning in the historically neglected areas on Hanover Park, Heideveld, Mannenburg, Langa and Gugulethu. Williams (2006) observed that any public policy which consistently encourages openness, involves citizen should be welcomed. A policy that brings citizens closely and in a conversation with local government authority is a good policy. ACTs as explained by Williams (2006), resembles the Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD)

model because a space where citizens, community organisation, business, local authority and government officials come together to deliberate about matter that affects the community. But Williams (2006) laments that the ACTs are a disappointment because the matters that are being discussed in these meeting are not bidding to the City of Cape Town. The City of Cape Town staff and the councillors are also not compelled to attend the meetings of the ACTs. This then make these spaces not as effective as they should be.

Williams (2006) concluded that as the result of these problems with ACTs, they are seen by community as talk shops that have no power to transform the relations with the City of Cape Town. This is unfortunate because the opportunity presented by such spaces are missed. Williams (2006) further explains that the City of Cape Town Integrated Development Plans (IDP) will be effective when it is driven by the grassroots organisations and citizens have been given opportunity to engage through spaces such as ACTs. The mere presence of community representative in such structures without the ability to influence and shape decision-making process will result to tokenism.



Williams insists (2006) that the City of Cape Town does not demonstrate the necessary structural and logistical capacity to facilitate community role that leads to incorporation of their views into the planning processes. Part of the problem is that the IDP is driven by a largely dysfunctional, nebulous or nominal Directorates such the Transformation, Social Development and Sub-Council. Williams (2006) observes that the community participation in the City of Cape Town is rather a ceremonial exercise than a planned systematic and structured process of engagement. It is not aligned to the development and the service delivery programmes. But the Municipal Systems Act (2000) supports the idea that the IDP Directorate should ensure effective community participation.

Williams (2006) states that there are no real institutional structures to coordinate, evaluate and monitor community participation of IDPs. The City of Cape Town simply expect communities to support pre-designed IDP programmes without explaining the substantive processes informing such programmes to the citizenry. The public participation process does not seem to receive necessary co-operation from the City of Cape Town Financial Directorate.

The City of Cape Town's approach to the implementation of the IDP is a reflection of the partial participatory democracy as defined by Pateman (1970). The City remains central in policy formulation process where the citizen are being merely consulted. The process is not designed to afford citizen an equal opportunity to influence policy decision making. Such a process would have required investment in community support and empowerment. The City calls for communities to participate in the IDP process to fulfil a consultative requirement when formulating an IDP. It does not describe any support for this and what role the City is playing in building the capacity of the local community.

Evanoff (2012) raises criticism about implementation of participatory democracy in South Africa. Evanoff (2012) further cites that the appointment of the ward committee members and the participation of people through ward meetings. These criticism are based on the following questions such as is democracy even possible?, can everybody reach agreement?, do citizens have sufficient knowledge?, will people make the right decisions? how would disputes between local communities be mediated? , does localism not promote insularity?

A robustly implemented participatory democracy with a systematic and sustained support from the City of Cape Town should be able to managed these challenges. The support that the City of Cape need to provide to the residents in order to make participatory democracy work is important. The current ward committees are not being used in full capacity to build participatory democracy. (Modise, 2017)

5.4. Social media platforms that are supported by the government.

South African government (S.A. Government News Agency:2017) has been supporting the GovChat platform since 2016. GovChat is a citizen engagement platform in partnership with Government Communication and Information System (GCIS), Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA), and the South African Local Government Association (SALGA). It was launched in the following provinces, Northern Cape, Free State, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal.

GovChat platform's purpose is to help government address service delivery issues by trying to make it easier for citizens to interact with government officials and representatives at all levels, especially at the operational level. The platform tries to let citizens use the applications and technologies already familiar to them to engage with government. The GovChat platform allows citizen to rate the services of government and to report the quality of their experiences with public services and facilities such as police services, hospitals, clinics, schools, post office etc. Through GovChat citizen are able to request public services directly from the appropriate units in their local municipalities. Citizens are able to report problems encountered in the delivery of services such as water, electricity, refuse removals, sewage etc.

This is in some ways similar to the he City of Cape Town's C3 system. These applications are useful when citizens are aware of them and are using them to interact with the municipality, government department and elected representative. The purpose of this study is to conduct research on whether the people of Langa are aware of these platforms. It studies how these platforms are being used by the people of Langa and researches the experiences, challenges and recommendations.

5.5. Conclusion.

The legislative framework for the participatory democracy exists but the problem is that the City of Cape Town have not implemented it effectively. The partial implementation of participatory democracy approach adopted by the South African government and promoted by the City of Cape Town limits full use of social media technology. The literature reviewed indicate that the City of Cape Town is content with only using a consultation process that introduces decisions that have been already decided. Instead of engaging the community in a serious participatory process to build participatory democracy that can be deepened by social media technology their process is just a tick a box. This creates a missed opportunity by the City of Cape Town to ensure that the Integrated Development Plan is created by Langa residents who are directly affected by lack of service delivery and development. Langa could benefit directly if the participatory democracy was implemented according to the legislative framework available. The following chapter discusses the findings from Langa residents on how there are using social media technology to deepen participatory democracy.



6.CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the finding of the study. The study asked an overarching research question whether residents of Langa use social media technology to deepen participatory democracy. In order to answer this question, there are sub-questions that have been asked such as which social media platforms do residents of Langa use, why and how are they are using these platforms, what are the challenges that the residents are faced with when using these social media platforms, and what impact does usage of social media make in deepening participatory democracy. The chapter begins with an overview of participatory democracy in Langa, it then presents findings on how the residents of Langa use social media technology in their daily lives. The chapter also presents findings on different uses of social media by youth, women and men. This is followed findings on how residents use social media to co-govern. The chapter then presents findings on how the City of Cape Town uses social media to engage with the residents of Langa. This is followed by use of social media platforms to access government services in Langa, the challenges faced by the residents of Langa in using social media and the conclusion.

6.2. Participatory democracy in Langa

The City of Cape Town is one of the eight metropolitan municipalities which have been established by way of the Municipal's Structures Act 1998. The City has been divided into one hundred and eleven wards to effectively manage service delivery. Langa consists of two wards (Ward 51 and Ward 52) which together with Pinelands, Kensington and Maitland (Ward 55, Ward 56 and Ward 57) are clustered into Sub-Council 15. This Sub-Council together with other 23 Sub-Councils in the City of Cape Town have the purpose of bringing together local government as close as possible with the aim of fulfilling its development mandate. (November:2012)



Fig.3. Map of Langa, Cape Town. <https://google/maps.co.za>,

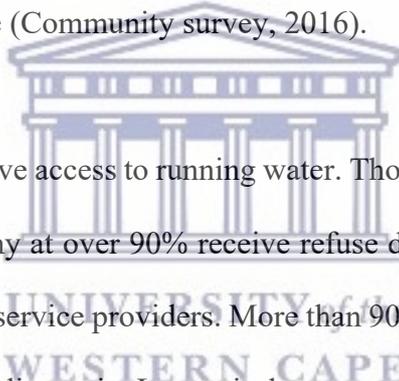
Langa is the oldest black informal settlement in Cape Town. Langa was the first informal settlement to be established in 1923 even before the Group Areas Act of 1950. It is the location of much resistance to apartheid and to systematic exclusion.

Langa has a long history of struggle during the mass democracy struggles. On the 21st March 1960 there were mass killings along the Sharpsville massacre. A monument was erected on the 21st March 1960 commemorating these killing. The informal settlement of Langa is situated between Jan Smuts Drive to the west, N2 to the south and N7 to the east (November, 2012). Langa is named after a Hlubi chief called Langalibalele. He fought against the land dispossession in Natal and was jailed on the Robben Island. Upon his release he was confined to a farm called “Uitvlugt”(November, 2012).

According to Statistic South Africa (2011), the population of Langa is approximately 55 000. The majority of this population is Xhosa speaking originating and migrating from the Eastern Cape. Almost 60% is made of young people with the average age of 38 years. Less than 40%

completed matric. More than 30% of the household of Langa live in the informal houses made of scrap wood, plastic and corrugated iron. About 30% of the informal settlements lack basic services such as decent sanitation. The rest of the informal settlement is characterised by lack of general municipal services such as community facilities, roads and proper houses. Over 40% of the household is headed by women. Almost 50% of the households in Langa is child headed household.

There is over 60% unemployment in the area. The average monthly wages of those who have work is less than the government legislated minimum wage of R3500. The average wage in Langa is R2500 a month. Poverty is serious problem in Langa. There are no entertainment programmes and facilities especially for young people. Drugs and alcohol abuse is the driving force behind violence and crime (Community survey, 2016).



Over 90% of Langa residents have access to running water. Those who have access to the flush toilets form just over 60%. Many at over 90% receive refuse disposal service either from the local government or contracted service providers. More than 90% of school age children are in school. The general service delivery in Langa is however very poor with the municipal sewerage, storm water drainage, roads etc in a decaying state. Langa is the only township in the Western Cape that have a large number of Apartheid designed single sex hostels. Many of these single sex hostels have been turned into family units (Community survey, 2016).

The crime in Langa, looking at a snap shot of the situation between 2003/2004 to 2011/2012, is a very grim and serious situation. The shockingly high contact crimes demonstrated by assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm, common assault, robbery with aggravating circumstances, murder as well as crimen injuria, indicates that Langa is increasingly becoming

a very violent society. The alarming high rate of crime such as malicious damage to property, burglary at the residential premises, theft out of or from vehicles is a living proof that the community is at the receiving end of this worsening crime situation. The crimes are not just happening in the area but are committed against the poor residents of Langa. Poor people of Langa are the victims. The high level of drug related crime is worrying sign. The crimes are committed to feed substance abuse (South African Police Service, 2012).

6.3. How Langa residents use social media technology in their daily lives.

Although Langa informal settlement have challenges such as poverty, low wages, unemployment, hunger, poor health, lack of municipal service delivery etc., many own cell phones (Briggs, 2021). The residents of Langa are using social media in their daily lives through their mobile phones. One of the local leaders in the Focus Group 1 (18th September 2021) explained that with since the callapse of the post office services residents of Langa rely of social media to communicate with family, friend and conduct official business. In this way we are able to use the social media space to create our own communication channels and share our ideas she said. The most popular social media platforms are WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. Many residents are also visiting web pages and internet seeking various kinds of information. Many residents would at least have a WhatsApp and Facebook page. Close family and friends keep close contact through these social media platforms. The residents create and post their own audio and visual content. Social media platforms are used to share photos, pictures, videos, music, graphics among friends, colleagues, family, students, groups etc. The residents are also involved in social media platforms created by various interest groups. An average resident that is on social media belongs to more than one social media group platform. These will be a WhatsApp or a Facebook page by a social club, employer, religious group, family, educational institution, community structure, bank or commercial company, etc. The residents of Langa use WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram etc., to

communicate amongst themselves as family and friends,(Local Activist 8 2021). Local leader concurred that it is normal for a residents of Langa to be in more than one social media platforms because they belongs to on-line groups such a street committee, church or a social club, (Local leader 8 2021).

A local NGO manager (local activist 8 2021) explained that an Internet Service Provider (ISP) called TooMuchWifi which was established in 2017 provides access to low-cost internet. The company claims that users have saved over R340 million in data costs in the disadvantaged and under resourced areas. The company provides packages 5Mbps to 20Mbps line at a prepaid monthly cost between R250 to R350 a month. Another ISP operating in Langa is called Ikeja and is offering 5 Mbps download and upload speed unlimited data at R350 a month.

6.4. Different uses of social media by youth, women and men

The young people who were interviewed and attended both Focus groups explained how young people are using social media as a communication. The younger generation tend to use social media for education, entertainment as well as communication. A respondent explained, he uses social media to do educational assignments, follow his sport teams, musicians, favourable celebrities, role models and look for information regarding entertainment (Youth activist 8 2021). Meanwhile the elder residents are using social media to keep abreast of what is happening in the community, find information posted by local civic society organisations and as a tool to organise themselves. They also use social media to share information about job opportunities, or buy and sell products, explained a local leader (Local leader 8 2021). Women use social media more for community and societal organising than male. They also use social media as a communication tool for stokvels, which are community saving clubs (Gender activist 8 2021). Most of the school governance committee members are women. Male

residents use the social media to communicate among friends, family to check the latest results of favourite sport teams and clubs.

6.5. How residents use social media in co-governance in Langa.

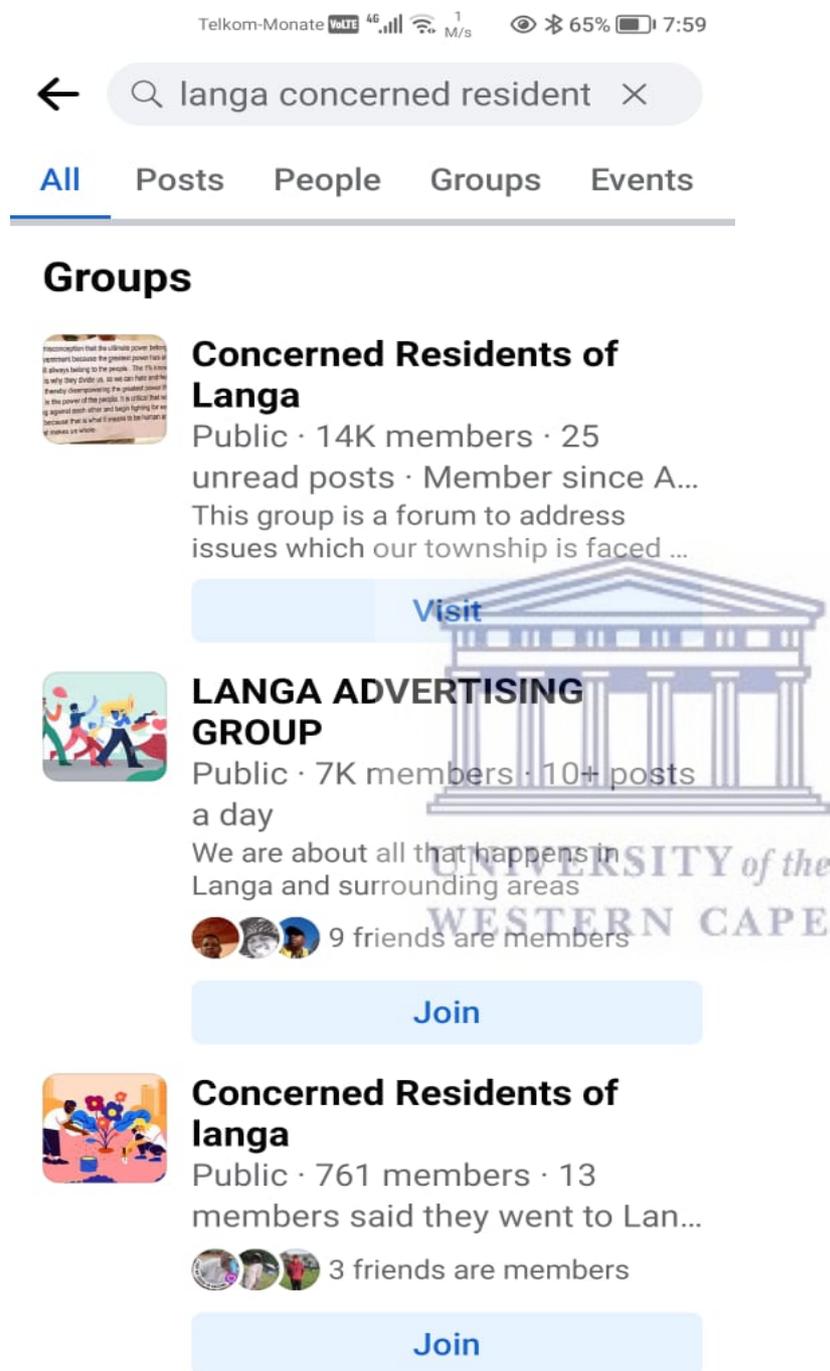


Figure:4. screenshot of Concern Langa Residents Facebook page

← langa police forum ×

All Videos Posts People Groups



Langa Community Police Forum

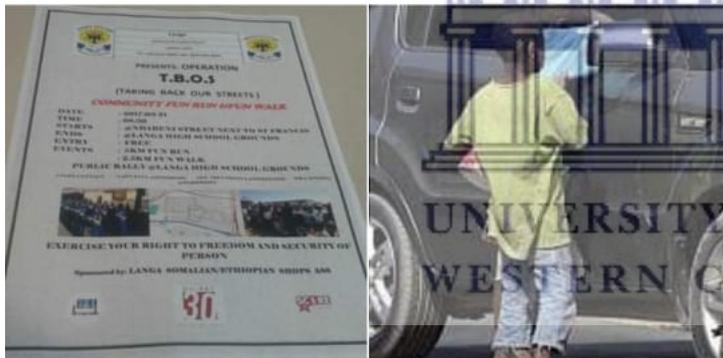
Community Organization · 2.9K followers

i Langa Community Police Forum exists to help our police in eradi...

Following



Photos



Wathes meeting on the 29th June 2022, at 17h00, eJohnson Ngwevela Hall... All interested areas wanting to establish a NHW



See all

Figure:5. Screenshot of Langa Community Police Forum, Facebook Page



Figure:6. Screenshot of the Langa Residents WhatsApp Page



Figure:7. Screenshot of Langa Township, Twitter Page

The residents of Langa participate through spaces created by government to co-manage community facilities such as local schools, clinics and support police in fighting crime. These invited spaces use social media platforms to promote their work and engage the broad residents of Langa. A City of Cape Town official boasted that the municipality takes participation seriously that it encourage residents to be part of management structures schools and clinics (City official 8 2021). I will outline how co-governance through social media works in policing, education and health.

6.5.1. Use of social media in policing

The ward councillor explained that the City of Cape Town has made available bikes for community safety patrollers to use in fight against crime, (Councillor 8 2021) The Community Police Forum (CPF) was established in Langa to permit residents to make their policing concerns known to the police. It is a platform where community members, Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), women organisations, School Governance Bodies (SGBs), other stakeholders and police meet to discuss local crime prevention initiatives. A CPF chairperson explained that they are an elected structure supported by the Department of South Africa Police Services (SAPS), it is legislated under the SAPS Act 68 of 1995,(Safety activist 8 2021). The CPF has a WhatsApp group platform that is used to communicate among members. The WhatsApp platform make it easier to pass on information among members quickly. The platform is also used to discuss important matters of the CPF. The CPF also has a Facebook page. This Facebook page assists in communicating with the broader Langa informal settlement. The residents post crime issues on the page for the attention of the CPF. The Forum works closely with the local Police Station. Together they have established a Langa Safety Patrol (LSP). The patrol has its own WhatsApp group and Facebook page. The WhatsApp platform is used to contact the patrollers when the is crime in the area. This assists with quick response to crime activities in the area. The WhatsApp platform is also

used as communication tool among the patrollers. They use it to call on other patrollers to support when they need more persons to deal with crime in the area. The social media is also used to communicate with the local police station. The CPF also use social media to communicate with the Provincial Department responsible for policing and safety. More importantly CPF use social media to warn the residents of crime spots and dangerous areas. CPF uses social media to warn residents of the criminals and their criminal schemes. It is a practice of CPF to take video clippings of crime scenes and confessions from criminals to warn the general public of Langa on how local criminals operate. The video clippings are posted on the Facebook, WhatsApp and other social media platforms. As an activist explained, “We want to name and shame the criminals for stealing from their own community” (Safety activist, 8 2021).

6.5.2. Use of social media in Education.

A Local teacher explained that the residents in Langa are involve in managing local schools through School Governing Bodies (SGBs). The SGBs are made up of parents of learners, educators and community members at the school. The SGBs are established by the Department of Basic Education (DBE). They are legislated under the Schools Act 84 of 1996, (Education activist, 8 2021). The SGBs ensures participation of the parents of the learners and the community in the governance of the schools. They have their own SGB WhatsApp platform to keep communication among the members. This social media platform is used to pass on important information to SGB members. Meetings are announce through this platform. They also use it to discuss issues between meetings. The SGBs also have Facebook page. This Facebook page is used to announce important decisions to the residents of Langa. The Ward councillor also confirmed that local civil society organisations also use this platform to inform the SGBs of issues that need their attention (Councillor 8 2021). The schools also have their own social media platforms. The schools use these social media platforms for learner education. They use social media technology to keep communication with the parents of the

learners as well. The schools have a WhatsApp group chat of learners to support them with their school work. The learners are able to use these social media platforms to keep in touch with the educators outside normal school hours. This also facilitates support for homework and other revision work done at home by learners. The school also keep in touch with the parents of the learners through social media platforms. A local women also added that the schools also have WhatsApp groups and other social media platforms for parents (Gender Activist 8 2021). These social media platforms are important to facilitate involvement of parents in the education of their children. The educators are also able to provide direct and regular feedback to parents regarding the educational development of the learners. The parents also provide valuable support and expertise in the running of the school.

6.5.3. Use of social media in Health

We are using the structures that the government has created to give our input on how serviced delivery must be conducted in Langa, local leader said in Focus Group 2 (25th September 2021). The residents of Langa active in the health committee that is responsible of advising the management of the local clinic. A local NGO health worker explained that the residents of Langa are involve in managing their clinics through a health committee. The Langa Health Committee is made of ward councillors, community members and the Head of the clinic. The purpose of the Health Committee is to ensure that the community participate in how health services are provided (Health activist 8 2021). The Langa health committee has a WhatsApp platform to keep the members informed. This platform also announced meetings of the health committee. The social media platforms assists to discuss critical matters and take decision outside the meetings. The Facebook page is important to reach out to the broader residents of Langa. The patients and general public also post on this Facebook page challenges they meet when access health service at the local clinic. The health committee also use social media platforms to communicate with the government health department explained the health committee members (Health activist 8 2021).

6.6. City of Cape Town and the use of social media technology

The City of Cape Town uses various kinds of social media platforms to engage the residents of Langa. These social media platforms are the City of Cape Town web page, WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, etc. The platforms are used to invite residents of Langa to engage in processes to formulate the IDP, municipal budgets, governance and policy formulations (City official 8 2021).





City of Cape Town ✓

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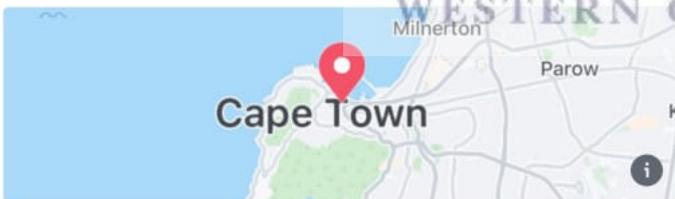
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Figure 8. Screenshot of the City of Cape Town Facebook page. <https://capetwon.gov.za>,

← City of Cape Town ✓
149.2K Tweets



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City of Cape Town ✓
@CityofCT

The City's social media is online from 09:00-18:00 Mon - Fri and 10:00-14:00 on Weekends & Public Holidays. Outside of these times, visit bit.ly/CCT>Contact

📍 Cape Town 🌐 capetown.gov.za
📅 Joined April 2010

1,418 Following 426.4K Followers

🌐 Followed by Safe in the City, ASIGS_ZA, and 62 others you follow



Tweets Tweets & replies Media Likes

📌 Pinned Tweet
 **City of Cape ...** ✓ @City...
⚡ Load-shedding update - 2 October

Figure:9. Screenshot of the City of Cape Town Twitter page. <https://capetwon.gov.za>

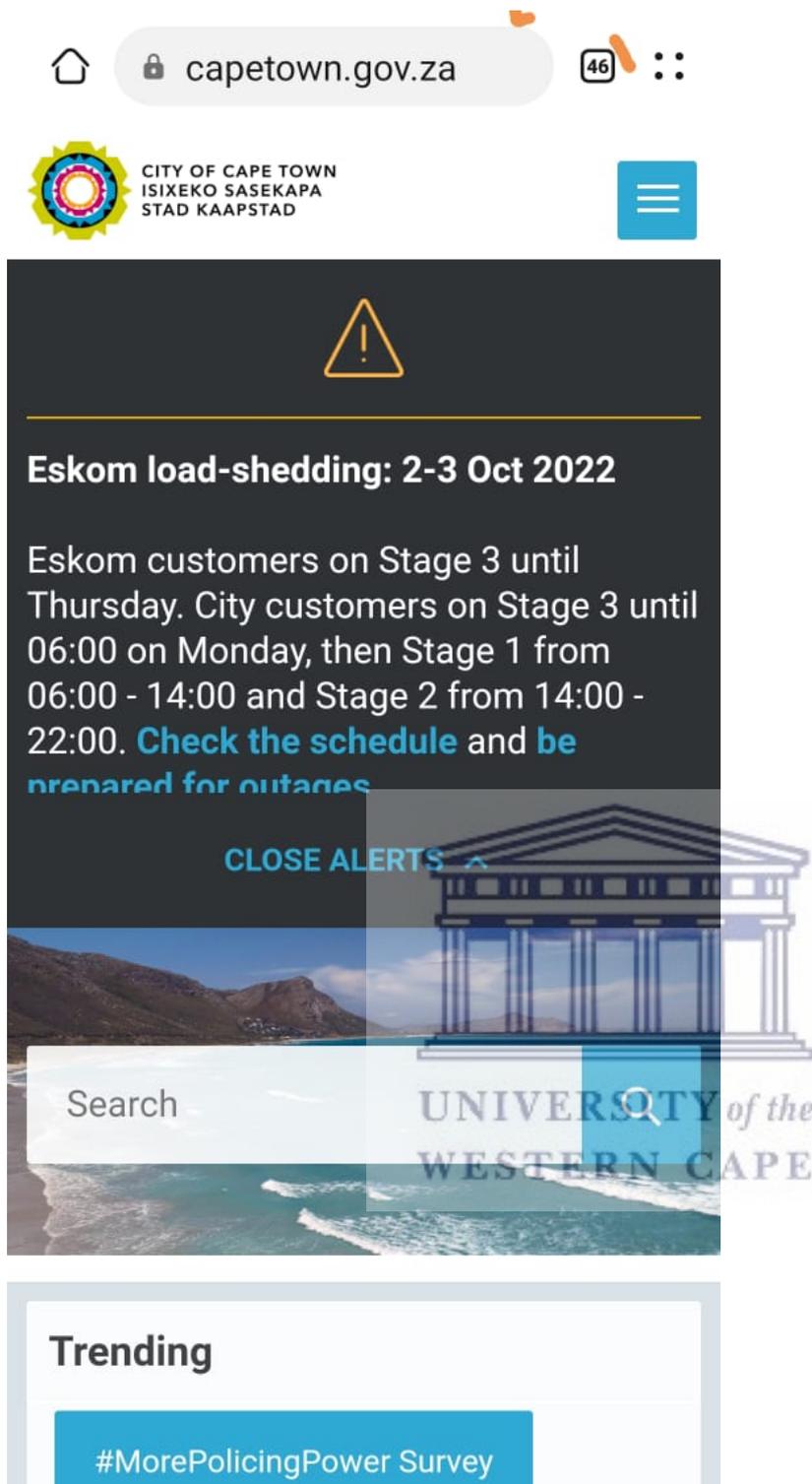


Figure:10. Screen shot of the City of Cape Town WhatsApp page. <https://capetwon.gov.za>

The City of Cape Town use social media platforms and their web page to publish the process to be followed in formulating IDP, municipal budgets and to consult residents regarding governance and policy making. The City of Cape Town conducts consultation meetings to

engage residents in formulation of IDPs and the municipal budget. The social media platforms are used to promote these IDP and the municipal budget consultative meetings. The information shared in the social platforms will be about the dates and the venue of the consultation meetings. After the process of consultation on IDP and the municipal budget is concluded the City of Cape Town formulate the IDP and municipal budget. A ward committee member reiterated that the ward committees are used as tools in the City of Cape Town consultation process. The ward committees collect residents municipal service delivery problems and faults. These problems and faults are forwarded through social media platforms such as C3 to the sub-council 15. They also have an oversight role on community projects approved by sub-council 15. The ward committees also assists in implementing the development and project work of the City of Cape Town officials. The ward committees have the ability through the social media platform to track the progress on the reported problem or fault and report back to the affected residents. (Community activist 8 2021)

6.6.1. Information sharing

At the beginning of IDP and municipal budget formulation process, the City of Cape Town post information on its social media platforms regarding how the consultation process is going to unfold. The information is shared on when and where the consultation meetings will take place. The City of Cape Town also share information on how they will conduct local developments, deliver services and formulate policy. A Ward Councillor shared that the City of Cape Town always post in the social media all the necessary information that the residents of Langa need in order to participate in IDP and municipal budget formulation process, (Councillor 8 2021).

6.6.2. Consultation

A City official explained that the City of Cape Town conducts consultation meetings in Langa to engage the residents. These consultation meetings are promoted through the social media platforms of the City of Cape Town. The consultation process is intense when the IDP and the

municipal budget are being formulated. The consultation process is conducted in order to get the views of the residents in order to inform the formulation of IDP and municipal budgets (City official 8 2021). The views and the opinions of the residents are also sought by the City of Cape Town when designing local development, governing and policy making processes.

The social media platforms are used to direct the residents as to where and when these consultative meeting are taking place. The City of Cape Town also use ward committees to involve residents and to solicit their opinion and views on various municipal matters. A local activist explained how the City of Cape Town conducts consultation during IDP and municipal budget. He said that there is no awareness programme by the City of Cape Town that explains how the citizens should engage with the IDP. The City of Cape Town conducts few poorly rushed, attended consultation meetings. In these consultative meetings attend by few residents City of Cape Town consultants make high level presentation of IDP processes. A carefully moderated brief discussion is held to rubber stamp pre-consived processes. The local activists describe this as the approach generally guiding, local development, governance and policy formulation processes (Local activist 8 2021). A City official, outlined the consultation process and how social media platforms are used by the City of Cape Town social media to promote this process. The official said that a particular City of Cape Town department would have a number of development projects. Each development project would have an implementation plan demonstrating clearly the activities. The department will also have a communication plan and strategy for each development project. The communication strategy of the City of Cape Town uses social media. (City official 8 2021).

6.6.3. Active participation

A Civic leader explained that the City of Cape Town's approach to residents' active participation is through consultation processes. The residents are not treated as equal partners in co-governing and policy formulation. Once the consultation processes is concluded and the

residents have been given opportunity to voice their views the City of Cape Town exclusively finalise the decision making process (Civic leader 8 2021). A City official explained that the City of Cape Town conducts participatory democracy in so far as it does not impede their decision making process. The City of Cape Town has plans with targets and deadlines to meet. (City official 8 2021). A ward Councillor, also confirmed that the City of Cape Town has a constitutional mandate to make decisions, deliver services to the residents. The City of Cape Town implementation approach create spaces to consult the residents, (Councillor 8 2021). They residents are not passively waiting for the City of Cape Town processes. A local leader explained how the residents of Langa use social media platforms as an organising tool. During the time of COVID 19 lockdown social media platforms were the only tools effective to keep the residents organised. (Local activist 8 2021).

6.7. How local structures use social media technology

In Langa there are a number of local organisations organising residents in Civic Associations, in sectors such as informal businesses, youth, women, sports, art and culture, school governing bodies, clinic management, etc. (Local activist 8 2021). A local leader confirmed that at a street level the social media technology has been very effective as a security tool. The street committees in Langa have WhatsApp groups. These WhatsApp groups are used by residents to monitor activities in the streets. The residents use the WhatsApp groups to alert each other of suspicious activities that they have noticed in the street (Local activist 8 2021). The platform is also used to discuss important street committee matters and take decisions. A local activist notes, “This saves us time attending meetings” (Local activist 8 2021).

Local organisations use social media platforms to encourage organic and bottom up processes. The Covid 19 outbreak and the lockdown restrictions that followed forced the local organisations to rely more on social media because they cannot call physical meetings. The physical meetings were replaced by Zoom meetings and webinars. Social media played an important role in sustaining local organisation when it was impossible to have meetings. The

WhatsApp groups allowed the local leaders to share information about meetings, campaigns and generally what's happening in Langa.

Local organisations have Facebook pages such as Langa Township, #What's happening in Langa, Langa On-Line, Safety Patrol, Public Library, informal business, etc (Local activist 8 2021). The national government and the City of Cape Town also see the value in using social media to improve service delivery. The national government and the City of Cape Town support a number of social media applications.

6.8. Use of social media platforms to access government services in Langa

The study discusses two social media platforms that citizens can use to engage with government and these are GovChat and the City of Cape Town C3 platform. The ward committee members and those that work closely with the City of Cape Town were familiar with the C3 platform. This is a social media platform that the City of Cape Town uses for logging of faults and also track progress on how these faults are being attended. The C3 platform is extensively used by ward committee members. The City of Cape Town provides us with training on effective use of the C3 platform (Local activist 8 2021). Most residents in Langa did not have any knowledge of the GovChat application. This is the case even though Govchat is an important government supported platform for accessing services such as social grants, municipal services, and general government information. "I will not lie to you I have not heard of a social media application called Govchat" said a ward committee member (Local activist 8 2021)

A respondent who is a former GovChat staff member confirmed this by saying that Govchat rely on government to conduct an awareness about the platform. She said that it was a pity that the community of Langa did not know about the platform. She explained that the company provides a technology platform and has partnership with government. The purpose is to connect citizens to government she said. This is done through providing a platform for citizens to report

on the government services and GovChat links these reports with relevant government department (Govchat official 8 2021).

6.9. Challenges faced by residents of Langa in using social media

A local NGO worker confirmed that Langa informal settlement have Internet Service Providers (ISPs) such as TooMuchWiFi and Ikeja that provide wi-fi connection at affordable prices to under-serviced areas in Cape Town. Langa will now benefit from a high speed fibre infrastructure that has been installed. The challenges faced by the residents of Langa is that many residents do not have internet connectivity at home. Many use mobile phones to connect to internet and social media. The effective use of social media is constrained by the high cost of mobile data. Many are affected because of high level of unemployment, poverty and low wages (local activist 8 2021).

Many in the community are unemployed and cannot afford the cost of use of social media technology, said an unemployed ward committee member. Both ward councillors of Langa in the interviews said that to avoid a situation where many are excluded from the use of social media technology and deepening of participatory democracy it is important for the City of Cape Town to have an effective and efficient plan of support. What is lacking is support plan from local government institutions and its partners to promote use of social media technology to deepen participatory democracy said the ward councillors (Councillors 8 2021).

As a local NGO leader said many are either not aware that this information exists in the City of Cape Town social media platforms or are able to source it because of the combination of factors cost of data, lack of communication equipment, poor network infrastructure etc. There is therefore a need for support to enable residents to utilize the social media platforms to engage with the City of Cape Town. It is unreasonable to expect informal settlements with a history of exclusion, faced with poverty, illiteracy etc. to engage effectively using social media without support (Local activist 8 2021).

6.10. Conclusion

The residents of Langa are using social media platforms in their daily lives to keep contact with friend, family, social clubs, educational institutions, banking, local structures and more. The residents of Langa also participate in co-governance of local facilities such as schools, clinics, and the CPF. In these co-governance processes, social media platforms are applied. The City of Cape Town participatory democracy processes that are based on information sharing, consultation and active participation are limited. This is because the City of Cape Town approach is based on partial implementation of participatory democracy. This means that the residents are consulted for their views and opinions while the role of making decision is reserved for the City of Cape Town. The residents of Langa informal settlement who are faced with unemployment, poverty and inequality require support to be able to effectively utilise the social media technology to deepen participatory democracy.



7.CHAPTER SEVEN: ANALYSIS

7.1. Introduction.

The research investigates whether the residents of Langa use social media technologies to deepen participatory democracy. This study explore the extent to which social media technologies are used to deepen participatory democracy in Langa.

The findings suggest that the residents of Langa are using social media platforms in their daily lives to keep contact with friends, family, social clubs, educational institutions, banking, local structures etc. The data confirms that the residents of Langa also participate in co-governance of local facilities such as schools, clinics, CPF, etc. In these co-governance processes, social media platforms are applied. The findings also exposes that the City of Cape Town participatory democracy processes are limited. The data further suggest that information sharing, consultation and active participation components are used to support a partial implementation of participatory democracy. The residents are only consulted for their views and opinions while the role of making decisions is reserved for the City of Cape Town. This has also been confirmed by residents in both the ward committee and in the focus groups.

The chapter begins by discussing ward committees as invited spaces. It then provides analysis on information distribution, consultation and active participation. It also provides an analytical approach to the required support. It looks at how Langa residents use social media to co-govern and lastly the chapter ends with a conclusion.

7.2. Ward Committee as Invited spaces

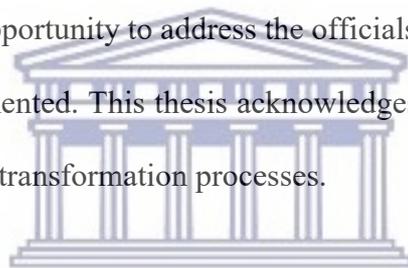
Municipal ward committees are a mechanism of participation and engagement between government and the citizens at local government level (Venter & Landsberg 2011:7). The respondents indicated in the interviews and focus groups that they are using the ward committees to engage with the City of Cape Town and to build participatory democracy in Langa.

The mechanism of participation and engagement between government and citizens at a local government level should be fully utilised for participatory democracy to work effectively. Modise (2017) describes the role that the ward committees play in driving participatory democracy at the local level. The literature reviewed indicate that ward committees are being utilised by the City of Cape Town to implement partially the participatory democracy processes. The City of Cape Town is committed to a process that implements participatory democracy within the system of representative democracy. Participatory democracy is seen as a process to assist representative democracy (Modise, 2017).

There are two ward committees in Langa each having no less than ten members from the local organisations. The ward committees are chaired by the ward councilors. The ward committee members represent social movements, community bases organisations, sports association, faith- based organisations, art and culture structurers, women organisations etc. The City of Cape Town officials, technical support from the provincial government, retired professionals, are sometimes invited when needed by the ward councilor and the sub council 15. The ward committee already deals with tangible development issues of service delivery. The ward committees are a reflection of invited spaces. As literature reveals invited spaces are those public spheres created by government and the civil society organisations are invited to participate. In contrast, the invented public spheres are created outside the government by social movements and local organisations. Invited spaces are often criticized for being

government co-opted structures. The critics of invited public spaces charges that local leaders who serves in these structures are not always accountable to the residents. They do not always seek a mandate for the decisions made in these structures. The invited public spheres are seen as government creation to rubber stamp decisions.

As Lemanski (2017) put it there is critical discussion that invited spaces tend to depoliticize rather than empower participants by legitimizing and mainstreaming the voices of those in power. However, there is another narrative from other scholars countering the depoliticization debate (e.g. Hickey and Mohan, 2004, Williams, 2004, Sinwell, 2010) who while agreeing that there are structural constraints related to power, the invited participatory approaches can be transformative and empowering if implemented within a process of institutional change. Those interviewed and participated in the focus groups concur that being in the same spaces with the City of Cape Town create an opportunity to address the officials and inform them on how local development should be implemented. This thesis acknowledges the role of the invited spaces when utilized within a planned transformation processes.



Many believe that invited public spheres are not transformative because they do not challenge the decision-making power of the government. This is in stark contrast to the invented public spheres. The social movements invent these public spheres in the struggle against the power of the governments. The invented public spheres emerge in the confrontational and transformative struggles. The City of Cape Town's approach which is modeled on partial implementation of participatory democracy makes it difficult to prove the critics who argue that invited sphere serve the interest of the government wrong. The ward committees have not been empowered to build a participatory democracy that transform power relations. The City of Cape Town approach has mainly been to use ward committees as an extension of their consultation processes. At best the ward committees are used as conveyer belts to implement government

decisions. The ward committees are not seen as equal partners for policy formulation. This is the frustration shared by focus groups and the local leaders who were interviewed. The local leaders point to the IDP process as an example of how the City of Cape Town failed to allow Langa community to shape local development. They shared that after the consultation processes the City of Cape Town continue to unilaterally finalize the IDP on their own. The ward committee members in the focus group discussions explained that the space for shaping local development policies has not been created by the City of Cape Town.

However, there are other scholars (e.g. Hickey and Mohan, 2004, Williams, 2004, Sinwell, 2010) who believe that the invited spaces can be useful if they have a transformative agenda. This is the approach that this thesis promotes. The ward committees have a potential to utilize the Empowered Deliberative Democracy method (EDD) to build local participatory democracy. Already the ward committees have local and provincial state officials and professionals sitting together with the representatives of the local people. This allows for the representative of the local people to accurately articulate the development challenges from their lived experiences. The state officials and professionals are then able to collectively work with local people develop appropriate solutions.

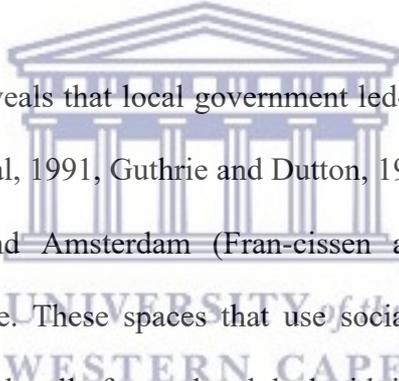
They use of social media technology by the City of Cape Town supports the broad approach of utilizing ward committees as tools for their consultation processes only. The City of Cape Town is implementing participatory democracy within the broad framework of a representative system. This confirms Pateman's (1970) classic definition of participatory democracy that distinguishes between partial and full participation, where partial participation is defined as the process in which two or more parties influences each other in the making of decision but the final power to decide rests with one party only. The City of Cape Town seems to be comfortable

with the partial implementation of participatory democracy. Full participation would mean that power to decide would be equally shared with the residents (Carpentier, 2007). This then means the process has to go beyond consultation.

The study is arguing that the City of Cape Town must adopt a full implementation approach to participatory democracy. The social media technology should be use to involve greater numbers of residents to build a full participatory process. Those who serve in the ward committees would not feel co-opted and drawn in decisions without a mandate from the residents. There will be greater accountability in the ward committee as the residents would through social media technology participate in all the discussions. The ward committees would then not be accused of being rubber stamps for the decision of the City of Cape Town because of the residents' full participation. The use of social media technology in EDD driven participatory process would allow the ward committees to negotiate power relations and contribute to altering power relations. Literature reveals that social media technology has a potential to support the key components of participatory democracy which are information sharing, consultation and active participation. The City of Cape Town approach of implementing partial participatory democracy leads to these components being used to support a limited process. The City of Cape Town is not using information sharing, consultation and active participation to build a full participatory democracy process. Instead, social media application in these key participatory democracy components is used to support a process of consulting residents. The role of making key decisions and policy formulation is reversed for the City of Cape Town.

The ward committees in Langa are well positioned to promote not only e-government or e-democracy but as Misuraca (2006) explain these ward committees can drive e-governance.

This will be possible especially with the strategic support of the City of Cape Town. This will mean that the residents of Langa who are already to some extent involve in co-governance would be fully involved in the shaping of development in their neighborhood. Misuraca (2006) describe e-governance as a process where the residents are playing an equal role together with the authorities in the governance. This equal role in decision-making processes concerning the lives of the residents is made easier through the utilization of the social media. The City of Cape Town should use the self organisation and use of social media technology that is already happening in Langa. The City of Cape Town should then be encouraged that a neighborhood such as Langa with all its historical disadvantages of Apartheid exclusion, underdevelopment, unemployment and poverty is resilient defying all odds in using social media to deepen democracy.



The literature reviewed also reveals that local government led-invited electronic spaces such as in Santa Monica (Dutton et, al, 1991, Guthrie and Dutton, 1992, Docter and Dotton, 1998), Manchester (Bryan, 1998) and Amsterdam (Fran-cissen and Brants, 1998) are more empowering and transformative. These spaces that use social media are empowering and transformative because they are locally focused and deal with issues that affects the residents. The residents are able to work with the local government officials in deliberative democracy to resolve tangible service delivery issues.

The City of Cape Town could follow these examples by focussing on a territory such as Langa and working with stakeholders to develop plans that are informed by residents. These are three examples where the local government led-invited spaces tend to be more pragmatic, less general and focus on real development issues. Through the use of social media technology

residents and their local organisations are empowered in playing a significant role in building participatory democracy.

The residents of Langa are also involved in grassroots invented electronic spaces as described by Swart (1998) and Friedland (1996). Their description of initiative such as Neighborhood on-line and Civic Practices Networks (CPN) resembles the Langa Concern Residents, Toward Umbutho Wabahlali initiatives. These public spheres spaces created by Langa social movements outside government structures are completely controlled by the people and are transformative in challenging power. The City of Cape Town will also benefit in encouraging and supporting these invented electronic spaces. The City of Cape has a constitutional responsibility to support participatory democracy. The literature explains that components of participatory democracy are information distribution, consultation and active participation.

7. 3. Information distribution

The residents of Langa do not always have access to relevant information that is necessary to make informed decisions. The interviewed respondents confirmed that it is not necessarily because the information is absent or distorted but it is because that the poor people of Langa's material conditions make it difficult to get the information as the City of Cape Town social platforms are not zero rated and require data. In an area where there is high levels of illiteracy, unemployment, inequality and poverty the residents are constantly seeking means to survive. In Langa survival could mean looking for a plate of food for your family to have something to eat before they go to bed. As the respondents who have been interviewed and facilitated through the focus groups explain food often takes priority than purchase of data to log on to internet. This then create a potential for residents of Langa to be excluded from utilizing social media to access relevant information. It is not possible to access the social media platforms of the City of Cape Town without data. The social media platforms of the City of Cape Town are not zero rated. Another added problem is that deliberative processes regarding local

governance are technical and complex. It will be very difficult to expect residents of Langa who are largely poor and illiterate to cope without provision of support and information. The City of Cape Town produces various kinds of information for the residents of Langa. The information is fairly accessible in the manner in which it is written. This information is also produced in local languages with pictures and images to make it understandable. There seems to be a gap though for provision of the information for those who cannot read or write at a scale that is necessary. This will include people who have various forms of disabilities that make it impossible for them to read text. The City of Cape Town need to look at how their prioritize packaging of information toiler made for residents with disabilities or those who cannot read or write. The use of social media technology makes it easier for residents including those with disabilities to receive the information they need to engage with local government instantly and in real time. Through social media the residents do not only just receive the information from the City of Cape Town. The residents are able to interrogate, provide alternative, influence, share the information, etc. The residents are not passive recipients of the information but are able to utilize it to empower themselves. The study already indicates that the residents of Langa are accessing all kinds of information in their daily lives. The City of Cape Town possess multiple of information that the residents need in order to build participatory democracy. The City of Cape Town has already built social media platforms through Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter etc. and is using these to disseminate the information to the residents. This is very encouraging and the City of Cape Town should be congratulated.

7.4. Consultation

The City of Cape Town is engaged in various processes of consultation in Langa. During the IDP and municipal budget formulation the City of Cape Town conduct consultation meetings with the residents. The format of these consultation processes are usually public meetings. The consultative public meeting called by the City of Cape Town are often driven by consultants, professionals or officials. They take a form of presentations with some limited time located for

clarification questions. There is often not enough time nor intention for deliberation that seeks to influence the presentation. The residents are often asked at the end of the presentation to throw their questions into a suggestion box. There is usually no feedback to the questions and issues thrown into the suggestion box. This was confirmed by the participants in the focus groups and those respondents who were interviewed. The social media technology has a potential to transform the consultation processes.

The City of Cape Town already has various social media platforms that could be deployed in support of the consultation processes. Through social media technology consultation could involve greater numbers of the residents of Langa. The traditional forms of consultation through public meetings will take too long to cover greater numbers of residents of Langa. A fully attended public meeting in Langa will have to have approximately two hundred people. There are more than 50 000 people living in Langa and it will take many public meetings to get to a point where the City of Cape Town can claim having done a full consultation. The social media technology in contrast has a potential of reaching greater number of residents. The online consultation is not limited by volume or the size of the townhall or the time and day when the public meeting is called. The online and virtual consultation can happen anytime and anywhere. There is no limit to the number of residents who can be reached through social media platforms. The only limiting factor is the access and the affordability of data. The residents are able to interact in the consultative process. This interaction is important because it builds confidence, is empowering and transforms power relationships. The City of Cape Town approach to consultation is through physical meetings. They do not conform to the idea of conducting consultation processes online. The study argues that the City of Cape Town should implement participatory democracy fully and use social media as an enabler. The City of Cape Town is comfortable with a consultation process that only collect views of the views of the

residents while the decision making power is reversed for them. As Williams (2006) explain the City of Cape Town process is not designed to implement participation fully but is a tick a box process.

7.5. Active participation

The policy choice that the City of Cape Town has taken to implement participatory democracy in a partial manner with the system of representative democracy is limiting. The approach of the City of Cape Town is not based on regarding the residents of Langa as equal partners in decision making and policy formulation. The responsibility of making decision and policy formulation is reserved for the government. The residents of Langa are merely being consulted in the processes. There is not political will nor intention to afford them an equal opportunity to influence policy. Williams (2006) confirms this when explaining that City of Cape Town process is done in a haste to get residents to rubber stamp decision that have already been taken. This results in informal settlements like Langa resorting to mass active protests to have their voice heard. The participants in the focus groups when discussing the protests action in Langa alluded to the fact it is when the residents burn schools, post offices, community halls that the leaders of the government respond and visit the area. In Langa we currently do not have a post office as it was burnt in 2017 by frustrated residents demanding houses and service delivery. These service delivery protests have been seen to lead to destruction of public property and infrastructure. In worse cases these service delivery protests have become violent as residents are angry and frustrated. The law enforcement units are called in and violent clashes ensue leading in some cases to arrests and unfortunate loss of lives. If there was a political will from the government to fully implement a participatory democracy the violent protests by residents could be averted. The social media technology has the potential and capacity to provide the City of Cape Town with the opportunity to build a participatory process that is empowering the residents of Langa.

7.6. Required support

Langa informal settlement because it is a construct of Apartheid system suffers from decades of develop neglect. This develop neglect has created an under developed situation in Langa. There is a backlog of houses, infrastructure development, poor municipal service delivery, unemployment, poor health conditions, illiteracy, hunger etc. The residents of Langa are understandably struggling compared to the residents in affluent areas to utilise social media to engage with the local government. The City of Cape Town is needed to design a support plan for the residents of informal settlement such Langa. This support plan should have educative elements to create awareness of social media platforms available that the residents could use to engage the City of Cape Town. The ward committees could be empowered by the City of Cape Town to play a role in implementing such a support plan to use social media to build participatory democracy from below. Although the residents are using social media in their daily lives and to deepen participatory democracy where possible. The absence of a systematic support from the City of Cape Town targeted at promoting use of social media to engage could lead to a situation where informal settlements are left behind. This could perpetuate the historical exclusion that was impose by the Apartheid system. The technological advance would then be an advantaged preserved for affluent areas. It would be unfortunate if social media that has proven to have a potential to deepen democracy is allowed to be a source of exclusion of informal settlement. This support from the City of Cape Town should be based on researching and analysing why residents of Langa tend to use social media more for social and personal benefit than to engage with government. Is this because the residents of Langa has very little trust that the government and City of Cape Town will respond to their requests and demands. Does it have to do with access to technology equipment and data? Once these questions are understood then the relevant and appropriate support could be signed.

7.7. Langa residents use of social media to co-govern.

The study makes a significant finding of the use of social media technology by the residents of Langa in co-governing their informal settlement. The residents currently using social media platforms to play an important role in local policing, safety and security, management of education and their schools, management of public health and clinics etc. This indicates an amazing willingness by the residents to play their part in the invited participatory spheres created by the City of Cape Town. This demonstrates an inspiring self-organisation and maturity on the part of the residents who have historically been subjected to unimaginable neglect by the previous apartheid government. The participation of Langa residents in invited spaces that create an opportunity for co-governance is promising. Through participating in these structures and management committees the residents get an opportunity to meet with government officials and the staff of the City of Cape Town. This is empowering for the residents of Langa because they learn about how the government and the City of Cape Town works. This experience is valuable in educating the residents on how to work with the government and the City of Cape Town. The City of Cape Town can enhance this process by utilising the social media technology. In addition the resident of Langa also participate in their own invited spaces. The residents also organise themselves in civic associations, women groups, youth, sports, arts and culture, religion, informal business etc. These are the spaces that the residents and the local organisations create independently. These spaces are often radical, participatory and transformative. For an example those interviewed and participated in the focus groups narrated stories where residents of Langa have organised and led marches against service delivery, gender based violence, crime, housing etc. There has been also marches to parliament during the national government budget speech. The residents of Langa are aggrieved according to the respondents by the fact that the national and local budgets do not reflect their development priorities. It should therefore be encouraging for the City of Cape Town that the residents are participating in the invited spaces to co-govern their lives. This

creates a base on which to build participatory democracy. The study argue that the City of Cape Town recognise this self-initiative by the residents of Langa and provide support to it.

7.8. Conclusion

The literature review and the findings indicate that the residents of Langa are using social media in their daily lives, The residents of Langa are also involved in City of Cape Town invited public spheres. These invited public spheres are using social media platforms to promote their work and to engage residents. This suggests that Langa residents do to some extent use social media technology to deepen democracy. This process is impeded by many factors such as historical exclusion, unemployment, poverty and inequality that still disadvantage the residents of Langa. The City of Cape Town and the national government approach of partially implementing participatory democracy coupled with the lack of appropriate support also limits the process of use of social media technology in deepening participatory democracy. The City of Cape Town is not using ward committees to build full participatory democracy. The ward committees are rather used as tools to support the City of Cape Town consultative processes. The ward committees are also used to implement development processes and projects that have been conceptualised by the City of Cape Town.



8. CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1. Introduction.

This chapter consolidates the conclusion on various issues raised in the study. It discusses broad results of the study, followed by the significance and the limitations. The chapter also present recommendations and end with a summary.

8.2. The broad results of the study

The study investigates whether the residents of Langa use social media technology to deepen participatory democracy. It explores the extent which the residents of Langa use social media technology in their daily lives. The findings indicates that the residents of Langa do to some extent use social media technology to deepen participatory democracy. This processes is however being constraint by multiple factors. The history of exclusion of informal settlement has created areas with high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequalities. In order to deal with this historical factor the City of Cape Town needs to understand that the residents of Langa will require systematic support to be able to use social media to engage fully with the local government. The approach of the national government and the City of Cape Town leads to partial implementation of participatory democracy and the lack of relevant support further impedes the process of implementing full participatory democracy.

The literature review points to the international cases of social media technology in deepening democracy. Political parties and leaders such as former USA President Barrack Obama have successfully used social media to build election campaigns that has masses of citizens participating. Social movements around the world and especially in the Arab spring have used social media to rally millions of active citizens leading to collapse of governments and regimes. The European governments following the US initiatives have used social media to improve declining representative democracy. The problems faced by the representative democracy can only be effectively be resolved once the government do an introspection into to the root causes

of the failure of representative democracy. These root causes that lead to failing representative democracy must be addressed thoroughly. It is only then that social media technology can play a meaningful role in improving representative democracy.

8.3. The significance of the study.

8.3.1. South Africa and the City of Cape Town adopted partial implementation of participatory democracy.

The literature review and the feedback from the research participants indicates that the City of Cape Town following the national government has adopted a partial implementation of participatory democracy. The South African system is largely based on representative democracy. Participatory democracy is approached from a point of view of making representative democracy work better. This approach to participatory democracy explains the direction of the City of Cape Town in formulating its consultative strategy for informal settlements like Langa. The research participants were all in agreement that the processes of the City of Cape Town are not designed to empower residents to play an equal role in policy and decision making. This role is reserved for the government structures and the City of Cape Town. The partial implementation of participatory democracy approach justifies the City of Cape Town's use of a consultative process to introduce residents to pre-determined policy decisions. The purpose is to allow residents to input on already made policy decisions. The process is not intended to build capacity of the resident to influence and change policy but to consult them on the government controlled policy processes.

The deployment of social media technology in deepening participatory democracy is obscured as the result of the adoption of partial implementation approach. The City of Cape Town use of social media is within this context of partial implementation of participatory democracy. This explain the City of Cape Town approach when using social media . The research participants complained that City of Cape use of social media platform normally reflect

processes that are poorly planned, done in a hurry and without an effective support. This then limit the benefit of the social media in deepening participatory democracy.

8.3.2. Paradigm shift towards participatory democracy

It is important that there be a paradigm shift if participatory democracy and use of social has to be implemented effectively. This paradigm shift must take place at the highest decision making level of the City of Cape Town. This process has to be supported through a robust strategic plan with a budget for participatory democracy. The South Africa constitution (1996) and the Local Government Act (2000) makes provision for the City of Cape Town to move towards this direction.

8.3.3. Political will

Such a paradigm shift with a strategic direction, a plan and a budget will create the necessary political will required to drive the process of participatory democracy in the informal settlements like Langa. The City of Cape Town officials and staff performance must be appraised on the basis of how they are implementing this participatory democracy focus. This also becomes the basis for recruitment, deployment and engagement of external experts.

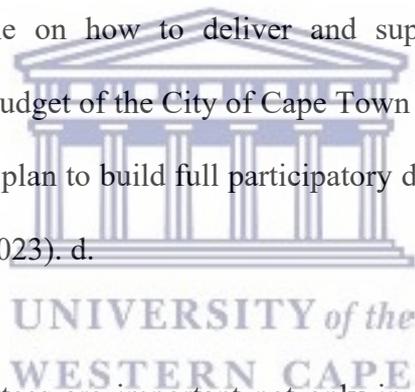
8.3.4. Community support

A well designed community support programme driven from the highest decision making office in the City of Cape will be required. The Mayor of the City of Cape Town becomes both the sponsor and champion of this support programme. The City of Cape Town engagement with the community is based on giving support and empowering the community to be equal partners with the municipality. This will be a long journey of hard work and commitment from all the City of Cape Town staff. A consciously designed support programme for the communities will have targets, indicators and timeframes.

The Mayoral Office of the City Cape Town should be able to monitor and evaluate progress and create a space where the whole municipality learns and grow together with the community during practice and implementation.

The literature and the respondents confirmed that effective participatory democracy doesn't necessary happen automatically. The use of social media technology to deepen participatory democracy will even require more support from the City of Cape Town. The community of Langa is using social media technology already in their community processes. The City of Cape Town will need to link up with these processes and make the necessary connection. Once the community has all the necessary social media support then issue of massive popular education on co-governance, understanding local government, role of community and social movements in development etc.

The City of Cape Town has enough resources to engage experts to support design such education and training programme. The staff of the City of Cape Town should undergo a mandatory training programme on how to deliver and support this programme at the community level. The overall budget of the City of Cape Town is over R60 billion and with a strategic leadership that have a plan to build full participatory democracy funds could be ring fence (The City Budget 2022-2023). d.



The work of the ward committees are important not only in engaging community and the municipal officials to deliberate solution to the tangible issues but to prepare the residents, civic society organisations and community to be central in the governance of their cities. This requires that the community and its representative have information and empowerment to understand how local government works, what are the policies, how to influence and even change the policies, what is the budget and how to make it pro-residents of the informal settlement etc.

All of this will require a massive training and education programme driven by the City of Cape Town. The staff and the officials of the City of Cape Town have to be a backbone of such a training and education with resource and time allocated and monitored from the higher office of the municipality.

8.3.5. Focus on ward committees as vehicles for participatory democracy

The ward committee members work with the civic society organisation and the community to deal with the service delivery issues. This is happening with very little support from the ward councillor and the City of Cape Town. There are already active and committed individuals who are working on voluntary basis as members of ward committees. If we add both wards in Langa we then have about 16 possible foot soldiers to build participatory democracy in Langa. This is a base for the City of Cape Town to work from. The City of Cape Town is also supported by the Local Government Act (2000) to implement effective participatory democracy process that are enhanced by the use of social media technology.

Drawing from the literature review and the respondents, the ward committees have a potential of being vehicles for participatory democracy drawing other civic society organisations and structures. The ward committees create an opportunity for community, City of Cape Town officials and experts to deliberate of tangible community issues and jointly come up with solutions. This process has a potential of being empowering to the community who will draw from the technical expertise of the officials and the officials will also be empowered and learn as the community articulate the tangible community problems because they live with this problems all their lives.

The empowered ward committees backed by technical expertise from the City of Cape Town will be in a much better position to rally around other community structures and formations. The idea should be to get the community to play a meaningful role in determining the City of

Cape Town direction and budget. The social media technology can be supportive once this process is put in place. There will also be required support from the City of Cape Town ensure that the community resolve the data, network connectivity, and other problem associated with the use of social media technology. This framework for participatory democracy would benefit from a clearly defined social media technology based participatory democracy model.

8.4. Limitation of the research study

I have chosen a qualitative research methodology using interviews and focus group as data collection tools. The qualitative research methodology and the data collection tools were the most appropriate for the study, however interviews and focus groups are time consuming. I acknowledge the fact that I needed more time to conduct the interviews, focus groups and analyse the data that was generated. But care was taken to ensure reasonable time was allocated to conduct a quality interviews, focus groups and fair analysis of the findings. The study began a month before the outbreak of Covid 19 and the lockdown regulations in 2020. This meant that the study was conducted online and supervisions were virtual. The lack of physical access to university resources such as library, other fellow students, my supervisor created challenges. This did not make it easy to deal with the researcher experience. However remote study also created an advantage in ensuring that I spend more time doing online research and reading. The choice of a case study was very suitable for the study but there were limitations caused by the fact that I was born in Langa and am still very active in the development initiatives in the area. This causes other dynamics because of the temptation to be subjective and biased in conducting the study. These limitations had to be managed to ensure that the study and findings are reliable and credible.

8.5. Recommendations

The data indicates that the residents of Langa are already using social media technology in their daily lives. The future studies could look into what lessons that can be drawn from these experiences. The current use of social media by residents in their daily lives to provide useful

building blocks for participatory democracy. The findings indicate that the residents of Langa are not effectively using social media technology to engage with the City Cape Town and the government generally. The references are made to the fact that could be a multiple of reasons for this. The reasons could be found in the historical exclusion of informal settlement like Langa from development and democracy due to the Apartheid past. It is therefore recommended that future studies look into why there is little trust between the residents of Langa and the City of Cape Town and the government generally. It is also recommended that future studies should focus on how to get the City of Cape Town and government to conduct a paradigm shift away for partial to full implementation of participatory democracy.

8.6. Summary

The residents of Langa are using social media technology in many aspect of their daily lives. They are also involved and participate in invited spheres to co-govern in their informal settlement despite the difficult material conditions they find themselves. The City of Cape Town has initiated important participatory processes and is using social media platforms to support these initiatives. The study encourages the City of Cape Town undertake a paradigm shift toward full implementation of participatory democracy. The residents of Langa when supported by the City of Cape Town will play an important role in such a participatory democracy journey.

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9.1. Interviews and Focus Groups

1. Local Activists 1. Interviewed on the 13th September 2021, Langa in Cape Town.
2. Local Leader 1. Interviewed on the 16th September 2021. Langa in Cape Town.
3. Local Activists 2. Interviewed 13th September 2021, Langa in Cape Town.
4. Youth Activists 1. Focus Group 1 in Langa held on the 18th September 2021.
5. Local Leader 2. Interviewed on the 17th September 2021
6. Gender Activist 1. Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
7. City official Interviewed on the 12th September 2021, Pinelands in Cape Town.
8. Councillor 1. Interviewed on the 27th September 2021 in Langa, Cape Town.
9. Safety Activist 1. Focus Group 1 in Langa held on the 18th September 2021.
10. Safety Activist 2. Focus Group 1 in Langa held on the 18th September 2021.
11. Councillor 2. Interviewed 13th September 2021 in Langa, Cape Town.
12. Gender Activists 2. Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
13. Health Activist 1. Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
14. Health Activist 1. Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
15. City of Official Interviewed on the 12th September 2021, Pinelands in Cape Town.
16. Community Activist 1. Focus Group 1 in Langa on the 18th September 2021.
17. Local Activist 3. Interviewed 13th September 2021, Langa in Cape Town.
18. City Official Interviewed on the 12th September 2021, Pinelands in Cape Town.
19. Civic Leader. Focus Group 1 in Langa held on the 18th September 2021.
20. Councillor 1. Interviewed on the 27th September 2021 in Langa, Cape Town.
21. Local Activist 4. Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
22. Local Activist 5. Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
23. Local Activist 6. Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
24. Local Activist 7 Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
25. Local Activist 8 Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
26. Local Activist 9 Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
27. Local Activist 10 Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
28. Local Activist 11 Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
29. GovChat Official. Interviewed online on the 27th September 2021.
30. Local Activist 12. Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.
31. Councillor 2. Interview 13th September 2021 in Langa, Cape Town.

32. Local Activists 13 Focus Group 2 in Langa held on the 25th September 2021.



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