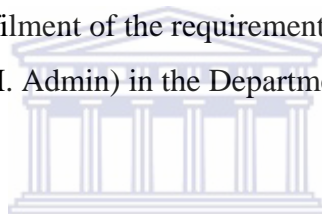# UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

DELIVERY AND DEMOCRACY THROUGH CIVIL SOCIETY? THE VIOLENCE PREVENTION THROUGH URBAN UPGRADING PROJECT (VPUU) AND THE SAFETY SECTOR OF THE PROUDLY MANENBERG ORGANISATION (PMO) IN MANENBERG, CAPE TOWN

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Magister Administrationis (M. Admin) in the Department of Political Studies

By

Monique Lizelle Manuel

Supervisor: Prof Laurence Piper

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KEYWORDS

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Delivery

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Development

Gangs

Local government

Participation

Urban upgrading

Violence prevention

ABSTRACT

Post-apartheid local government in South Africa has significant responsibilities in terms of redressing the socio-economic imbalances of the past, including basic service delivery and fostering local economic development. In meeting the socio-economic and material needs of communities, local government is also required to be democratic by enhancing various forms of public participation in governance and through the election of community representatives for local decision-making. So far as participation is concern, Cornwall (2002), distinguishes between two forms of mechanisms for public participation to include; 'invited spaces' (authorized participation) and 'invented spaces' (unauthorized participation). In the context of local government in South Africa, invited spaces include elections ward committees and public consultation around the annual budget and integrated development planning (IDP) process. While, invented spaces include protest, civil society engagement with the state and social movement activities.

However, the last ten years has revealed that, the promise of effective, responsive and inclusive local governance has not been fulfilled. Rather local government has proven to be unresponsive as revealed by increasing protests over poor service delivery, as well as formal assessments of local government performance. In this context of poor state performance and unresponsiveness, substantial literature points to civil society as a source for deepening democracy and active citizenship. This thesis explores one version of this idea by examining two civil society programmes in the impoverished and gang-ridden community of Manenberg in Cape Town.

More specifically this thesis examines the security programme of the Proudly Manenberg Organisation (PMO) and the infrastructure development programme of the Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading Programme (VPUU). Contrary to the claim that civil society is a source for enhancing democracy and service delivery, this thesis has found that neither of these programmes has yielded much in terms of fostering democracy and service delivery.

In interrogating concerns regarding forms of representation, accountability and participation, it may be argued that in terms of both representation and accountability, the PMO represents and accounts to a certain minority only. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that participation in the safety sector activities reinforces rather than challenging the coercive rule

of gangs (drug lords) in Manenberg. With reference to VPUU, failure to implement the programme has frustrated many potential community allies. Furthermore, inclusion in the VPUU project in Manenberg was only accorded to two NGOs (notably PMO), despite the fact that there are two hundred and thirty NGOs conducting activities in Manenberg. This has limited participation in the first stages of the project to those groups. While, the VPUU project has delayed in Manenberg, its representatives have also been seen to be unaccountable to the community. In short, with reference to Manenberg, the notion that civil society can solve or model alternative solutions to democratic development remains far-fetched.

DECLARATION

I declare that *"Delivery and Democracy through Civil Society? The Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading Project (VPUU) and safety sector of the Proudly Manenberg Organisation (PMO) in Manenberg, Cape Town"* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Monique MANUEL   **November 2013**

Signed:………………………………….

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

DEDICATION

In loving memory of my late sister Lynne Rhonda Williams & Grandmother Alice Williams.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I owe gratitude to God for his guidance and blessings throughout this academic endeavour.
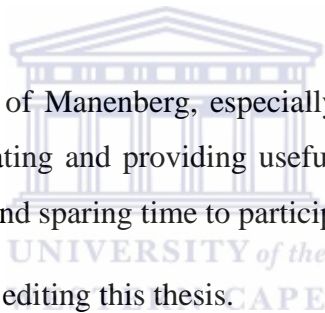
I express my deepest appreciation to my supervisor Professor Laurence Piper for steering me into the right direction. The successful completion of this thesis is a manifestation of his astute guidance.

A special thanks to my parents for their relentless support. I should also like to thank the rest of my family for the motivation and love they have given me thus far.

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I am indebted to the community of Manenberg, especially staff of the Proudly Manenberg Organisation (PMO) for participating and providing useful information in this study. I also thank all participants for willing and sparing time to participate in this study.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANC   African National Congress

CFO   Community Policing Forum

COSATU   Congress of South African Trade Unions

DA   Democratic Alliance

LG   Local Government

NGOs   Non-governmental Organisations

PM   Proudly Manenberg

PMO   Proudly Manenberg Organisation

SAPS   South African Police Service

SS   Safety Sector

VPUU   Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

"*Local Government is Everyone's Business*" (COGTA, 2009, p.3). With the new idea of participatory democracy, post-apartheid local government has created various spaces for local communities to participate in local affairs. It is expected that the re-design of local government (LG) would 'bring people closer to government'. However, over the last decade LG in general has proven to be unresponsive. The increasing protest over service delivery, especially in marginalised communities is a clear manifestation of peoples' dissatisfaction with LG and seeming disjuncture between government and communities. Indeed, a myriad of factors account for the stalemate in LG performance (Powell 2012). Limited financial resource is often cited as a key problem hindering service delivery in municipalities. Even though municipalities have strategies in place to roll out various projects that would provide efficient service delivery to the poor, funds are not sufficient to implement these strategies effectively. This is in spite of the fact that the Constitution makes the following claim:

A municipality must structure and manage its administration, budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community, and participate in national and provincial development programmes (Section 53 of the Constitution).

It is evident from the above statement, that the constitution provides an impetus for the provision of basic services to communities. Yet according to the World Bank (2011), despite efforts by government in passing new policies and setting up institutions to ensure improvements in service delivery, particularly in majority black communities, there remains a massive challenge. Government, including civil society are still grappling with the fact that the huge investment in development especially at the local sphere of government has had little impact than anticipated.

Another common factor responsible for the poor performance of local government is corruption among government officials. The Public Service of Anti-Corruption Strategy (PSACS) defines corruption as, "any conduct or behaviour in relation to persons with responsibilities in public office which violate their duties as public officials, and which is aimed at obtaining undue gratification of any kind for themselves or for others" (Jackson et al, 2009, p.3). The issue of corruption was visible during apartheid and this problem has continued to be a challenge in the new South Africa. Lodge cited in Jackson et al (2002,

p.412-414) claim that corruption was evident in post-apartheid South Africa mostly amongst officials at the provincial level of government. According to the Department of Co-Operative Government and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) (2009, p.10) the cases of corruptions indicates that officials do not adhere to the ethics, principles and values that govern their roles. From the above, it then becomes evident that certain officials disregard the interest of communities and acquire wealth at the expense of the poor communities that they are meant to serve.

In light of the above analysis, sufficient evidence demonstrate that LG to a large extent is unresponsive and thus has failed to fulfil the mandate of effective, responsive and inclusive local governance as enshrined in the constitution. Against this backdrop, this thesis explored the idea of civil society as a means to deepening democracy and service delivery. This was explored by examining two case-studies in the community of Manenberg, namely; the Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) project and the safety sector of the Proudly Manenberg Organisation (PMO).

1.   The objective of the study

This thesis sought to explore the role of civil society in enhancing delivery and democracy through the Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading project and the safety sector of the Proudly Manenberg Organisation as case studies. These two civil society programmes explored in this thesis are suggested to be more effective and democratic in nature, through their 'participatory' approaches in the gang-ridden and poor community of Manenberg in Cape Town.

1.1   The new role and significance of post-apartheid local government

The idea of democracy has become a reality in South Africa after the first democratic elections in 1994. It was then that the African National Congress (ANC) gained power after securing a substantial majority of the votes cast at this first democratic elections. The success of the ANC led to the end of the apartheid regime, and the beginning of a new dispensation. Since this transition to liberal democracy, various changes have occurred in the country, which included the involvement of ordinary citizens in matters of LG that relate to their well-being. The new system of LG implied that various rights and powers were passed on to local

government. Specifically, Schedule 4 of the Constitution stipulates the following: "local government retains the right to tax, mainly through rates- a right not afforded to provinces- and has constitutional powers over matters as air pollution, building regulations, electricity and gas reticulation, municipal planning, health services, public transport and local water" (Barichievy, et al, 2005, p.374).

Furthermore Barichievy et al (2005, p.374) indicate that local government has acquired important new responsibilities in addition to its role as service provider. These new responsibilities are social and economic development as well as the promotion of a safer and healthy environment. In addition to the re-design of LG, civil society have become an important actor at LG level as citizens are now able to make use of participatory mechanisms, including those designed to address specific issues at the local level. However, in reality, citizens in majority municipalities are not given the space to fully participate in public matters beyond asking few questions and making few inputs during deliberations of pertinent issues. This point will be made explicit in the next section which discusses the democracy challenge that local government faces.

In former colonies such as India, and indeed across the global South, the transition to democracy was made possible in part through the activities of popular organisations in what is conventionally called civil society. More specifically, "[c]ivil society is composed of those more or less spontaneously emergent associations, organizations, and movements that, attuned to how societal problems resonate in the private spheres of life, distil and transmit such reactions to the public sphere" (Habermas cited in Heller, 2009, p.4). Furthermore Heller makes the following argument in relation to civil society and how it would be unable to perform certain democratic functions if it is weakened. These democratic functions include: 1) providing a space in which citizens can meaningfully practice democracy on a day-to-day basis; 2) anchoring the legitimacy of political practices and institutions in vigorous public debate; and 3) serving as a countervailing force to the power-driven logic of political society. This therefore means that civil society plays an important role in democracy.

The notion of local government in South Africa appears to resonate with early tribal villages and the system of traditional rule. It is for this reason that Cloete (1995, p.1) claims that local government should be the first tier of government as it is perceived to be the oldest form of

government with a direct effect on citizens. However, in South Africa there are three spheres of government and in practice local government is a distinct third tier of government.

Moreover, LG is envisioned to play a key role in building active citizens as captured in the following assertion.

local government is required to take a leadership role, and to involve and empower citizens and stakeholder groups in the development process, in order to create social resources and engender a sense of common purpose in finding local solutions for sustainability (Mgwebi, 2010, p.1).

In this regard, it should be noted that the current system of LG has been extensively re-moulded in post- apartheid South Africa with the intent to bring people closer to government. By this notion, citizens and communities are expected to be more involved in local matters that affect their well-being as government is more accessible in both spatial and institutional terms.

1.2   The failures of post-apartheid local governance

According to Barichievy et al. (2005, p. 370), not only was local government the last political sphere to be re-designed in post-apartheid but it is also more complex and hence led to new responsibilities. In practice LG has proven not to be as effective as one would expect it to be. This is due to various challenges that LG faces, such as lack of finances, lack of resources, corruption, etc.

Dysfunctionality in local government in South Africa veered from inability to gain unqualified audits, and the political will to make sound appointments, to breakdowns in passing budgets, to failures to be in touch with the needs of communities and to be seen as unambiguously acting to make a difference to the lives of people (Booysen, 2012, p.5).

This section emphasises two key areas which are seen as challenges to local government. These are service delivery and democracy challenges. Each of these challenges is unpacked and discussed in the following.

1.2.1   *The service delivery challenge*

This section begins by defining the concept of service delivery to ensure that its meaning is made explicit to the reader. According to Fox and Meyer cited in Rakate (1995, p.118), service delivery may be defined as the provision of public activities, benefits or satisfactions to the citizens. Also Rakate (2006, p.20), points out that service delivery relate to both tangible public goods and intangible services, and these services can be done by government institutions and organisations including by private companies.

Furthermore, the constitutional basis with regards to service delivery to communities cannot be overemphasised. Chapter 2 of the Constitution refers to the Bill of Rights, Section 26 and 27 relates to rights to services that must be provided to citizens by all organs of the state. These rights include housing (s26), health care, food, water and social security (s27). The Constitution stipulates the following:

26. Housing; (1) everyone has the right to adequate housing; (2) the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right; (3) no one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order from court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions.

27. Health care, food, water and social security; (1) everyone has the right to have access to:

(a) health care services, including reproductive health care;

(b) sufficient food and water; and

(c) social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance.

(2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of each of these rights.

(3) No one may be refused emergency medical treatment (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 1255)

The above relates to the obligations of LG towards its constituencies. Hence, citizens expect LG to meet their service delivery needs. "Local government [municipality] is the sphere of government closest to the people; they are elected by citizens to represent them and are responsible to ensure that services are delivered to the community" (The Education &

Training Unit, nd, p.2). Jackson et al. (2009, p.24) refers to the Business Day and the Cape Times relating to this situation. The Free State's MEC for local government made the following statement: "other important issues such as essential repairs and maintenance, the upgrading of service delivery and the filling of critical key vacancies are not attended to" (Business Day, 7 September 2005; Cape Times, 19 September 2005).

Furthermore, it is important to note that there are many reasons why service delivery remains a huge problem. This problem may also be attributed to a management problem, where government, specifically ward councillors do not serve the public because citizens fail to report matters. According to Fiszbein cited in World Bank (2005, p.4) services are prone to fail when government is not feeling pressure to respond to the needs of citizens. It is the duty of citizens to ensure that they report matters in relation to the services that they receive or the lack thereof.

In relation to ward councillors, it has been confirmed that ward councillors fail to deliver their mandate adequately, and that citizens find it difficult to report matters as channels are unavailable. Dysfunctionality in ward committees means that, on one hand, councillors are likely to neglect their duties because there is no immediate and public pressure to perform and, and on the other hand, residents lack an accessible official channel to report their concerns. In such instances, local issues remain unattended (Jackson et al., 2009, p.29).

With regards to the service delivery debacle, it is evident that addressing the issue of responsible, effective and efficient service delivery requires taking into account various factors. This is because it is not only the responsibility of local government but also the business of ward councillors and community residents through a collaborative effort.

1.2.2 *The democracy challenge*

Public participation has not been practised meaningfully but rather merely going through the process and ensuring legal compliance in most cases. This has led communities to express their concerns through other means they deem appropriate-normally in the form of violent protests over services. Citizens participate in community meetings to ensure that representatives are aware of the needs of communities with the view that their demands will

be realised if they are brought to the attention of officials. However, research shows that, "while all parties seemed committed to the idea of public participation, they lacked the necessary resources to make it work. Hence, the impact of public participation on local governance 'ends at the imbizo'" (Piper et al, 2007, p.3). This matter has the effect of undermining trust, and further alienation from local government.

According to Mathoho, (2011, p.5), many citizens have decided not to participate in government planning and implementation processes and this has contributed to widening the gap between local government and citizens. In addition, this has also led to a tremendous decline in trust that citizens have in their councillors. Mathoho goes further to state that with a bit of luck, an improvement in this matter will be seen once new councillors are elected. In some instances, it is clear that councillors are doing a good job by including communities in matters as they are allowed to consider their points and grievances at public meetings. Yet this mechanism has not proven to be effective in influencing actual decisions, especially the implementation of final decisions as local government anticipate it to be. In line with this view, Piper et al. (2007, p.4) claim that:

despite evidence of support from councillors and officials with reference to the idea of public participation, very little has been done in practice. Indeed, most municipalities surveyed are currently not meeting their statutory requirements. This may well have something to do with the delayed development of relevant policy, but other problems around resources and capacity also presented themselves.

From the above, it can be concluded that even though spaces are made available for citizens to participate in local governance, citizens are still dissatisfied as their demands are not being met. It is for this reason that LG ought to revise existing policies in relation to participation to ensure that mechanisms are more effective, and that citizens see results and motivated to participate in matters. It is also for this reason that this thesis purported to explore the role of civil society in delivering effective programmes and doing so democratically. Perhaps there is something that civil society is doing that local government could learn from. This possibility informs the central project in this thesis.

1.3   The historical role in South Africa and theoretical significance of civil society

Civil society played a huge role in the fight against apartheid. The last decade of apartheid saw the 'defiance campaign' of the Mass Democratic Movement, which resulted in huge protests and uprisings by civil society as a means to end apartheid. According to Nina (1995, p.7-8) civil society in South Africa is seen as unique, due to the significant role it played in the last decade of apartheid. Furthermore, according to Nina, when we refer to civil society, we are referring to popular organisations and movements which also led to popular uprisings against the state in the 1980's. However, it should be noted that these uprisings had two aims. Firstly, the aim was to make townships ungovernable, and secondly, to create an alternative legal system aimed at maintaining order and also as means to solving conflicts in communities.

Civil society prior to 1994 had already caught the attention of citizens due to its role in enforcing rights and liberation of communities. Although, civil society paved the way for the birth of a new democratic state, the confidence that citizens had in civil society in the 1980s enhanced citizens' trust in the post-apartheid government. Hence, legal requirements were laid out in the Constitution, in post-1994, to endorse and foster civil society interaction with the state in the new South Africa. As indicated by Booysen;

opportunities were presented to civil society to participate and drastically affect both the content and direction of policy, thereby impacting governance. After the period of widespread contestation and mobilisation around policy issues in the 1980s and early 1990s and the institutionalisation of democratic government, the bulk of participatory initiatives started shifting onto the new government and state (Booysen, 2009, p.19).

Moving forward from the apartheid regime and civil society's role at the time, post-apartheid civil society generally remained committed to providing support to citizens. Civil society adopted and endorsed various participatory mechanisms to ensure that citizens gain social and economic rights that were promised to them by the new government. According to Govender & Reddy (2011, p.73-74) evidence shows that much of civil society in South Africa have embraced participatory processes in their own internal operations too. This has led to citizens making use of participatory approaches to advance social and economic rights through civil society and before government.

More importantly, in a democracy, "civil society is supposed to form an essential link between citizens and the state, be it in support of or opposition to the state" (Klandermans et

al, 2001, p.112). This implies that civil society should take the interests of citizens above all concerns, and thus create spaces through which citizens can actively participate in local decisions. As previously stated, civil societies are organs that are separate from the state, and develop mechanisms to ensure that citizens feel free to participate. In this regard, Ngwane (2011, p.40) looks at the reaction of citizens who are dissatisfied with government because of poor service delivery. There has also been a growing consensus among civil society, especially trade unions and social movements that, neoliberalism is the main problem responsible for government's failure to fight poverty and improve the lives of people (Cosatu, 2010). Being aware of the shortcomings in LG, especially in terms of policy, civil society has taken the onus to create alternative means for citizen participation in local decision-making.

According to Booysen (2009, p.12), civil society as a mode of participation is different from the protest category as it is organised participation, rather than spontaneous mobilisation. Civil society thus makes use of organised protests as opposed to violent and spontaneous protest that dissatisfied communities embark upon. Indeed, protest participation is one of the main ways that most South Africans participate in politics especially during elections. Furthermore, Govender and Reddy asserts that, "participation processes will grow in South Africa given that civil society organisations are known for qualities such as flexibility, collective memory, and thinking and acting in cross-cutting ways, which promote, rather than hinder participative processes" (Govender & Reddy, 2011, p.10). Hence, civil society presents opportunity for both organised and mobilised forms of participation in the wider political process.

In response to the above local government challenges, communities have often embarked on service delivery protests, some which are mostly violent. Service delivery protests are quite frequent as residents use protests as a direct response to lack of service delivery. According to Sebugwawo (2011, p.1), people who participate in these protests are often identified to be unemployed which indicates that majority of protestors are amongst the less advantaged category, although not necessarily the poorest of the poor (Nleya et al., 2011). The next section of this chapter discusses in detail, the consequences of poor service delivery in communities. The important question of whether civil society can remedy the shortcomings of LG in terms of delivery and democracy will be interrogated.

1.4   Local government and service delivery protest

As previously mentioned, LG faces enormous challenges that require urgent redress, in order to prevent further escalation of such problems. This section looks at the consequences that arise as a result of mismanagement by LG, with emphasis on service delivery protest. Indeed, the challenges facing LG relates to the legacy of apartheid in marginalised communities. "The apartheid system favoured the white race against the black majority. As a result the country has been ranked as one of the most unequal societies in the world, and while the country has experienced sustained positive economic growth since 1994, the impact of this growth on poverty and service delivery has been disappointing" (Sebugwawo, 2011, p.1). Similarly, the World Bank notes that:

in 1994, the legacy of apartheid presented the new South Africa with enormous challenges: poverty, inequality and immense aspirations for greater access to basic public services. The government immediately began addressing these challenges by enshrining constitutional rights to services, radically reforming economic and sector policies, and funding ambitious service delivery programs (World Bank, March 2011, p.10).

The Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) refer to similar challenges identified by Municipalities. These challenges are identified by COGTA in its working document published in 2009. According to this document, the service delivery challenges include:

1.   Huge service delivery and backlog challenges in housing, water and sanitation etc.;
2.   Poor communication and accountability relationships with communities;
3.   Problems with the political administrative interface;
4.   Corruption and fraud;
5.   Poor financial management, e.g. negative audit opinions;
6.   Violent service delivery protests;
7.   Weak civil society formations;
8.   Intra- and inter- political party issues negatively affecting governance and delivery; and
9.   Insufficient municipal capacity due to lack of scarce skills (COGTA, 2009, p.4).

As noted by this document, these rampant protests are not only due to the above mentioned problems, but also about the failure of other tiers of government even though LG is the main

target. Citizens are of the view that all service delivery is the responsibility of local government only; hence the reason why municipalities become targets during protests. To some extent, COGTA believes that local government has been made a scapegoat for the problems of governance across the three spheres. In line with this assumption, Yunus Carrim points out that:

many of the protestors are alienated from the state as a whole, not just local government, and not just the whole state, but from society too. Moreover, the protests are also about many issues that do not fall within the competency of local government or are not its core responsibilities. They are also about housing, jobs, health, crime and other issues. The protests are about the failures of service delivery of all three spheres of government, even if municipalities are being targeted (Kunene, 2010, p.2-3).

The above statement relates to service delivery issues that degenerate into protests, which are directed at local government. A key challenge is that, citizens lack understanding of the responsibilities of LG in terms of service delivery roles, and the core responsibilities of other tiers of government. When citizens protest, they direct their frustration at municipalities and do not realise that most service delivery challenges are also the problem of other spheres of government and not only local government.

With reference to protest, Section 17 of the Constitution stipulates that: "everyone has the right to; peaceful and unarmed, assemble, demonstrate, picket and present petitions" (RSA Constitution, 1996, p.1249)1. The constitution states that citizens are allowed to protest, however they should do so in a peaceful manner. Also, if members of a community feel unhappy about the affairs of the community, these members have the right to draw up petitions to ensure that their demands are met.

In line with the constitution, the Regulations of Gatherings Act (Act 205 of 1993) states that: every person has the right to assemble with other persons and to express his views on any matter freely in public and to enjoy the protection of the State while doing so; and whereas

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1Accessed at http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/a108-96.pdf.

the exercise of such right shall take place peacefully and with due regard to the rights of others. (1996, p.1)2.
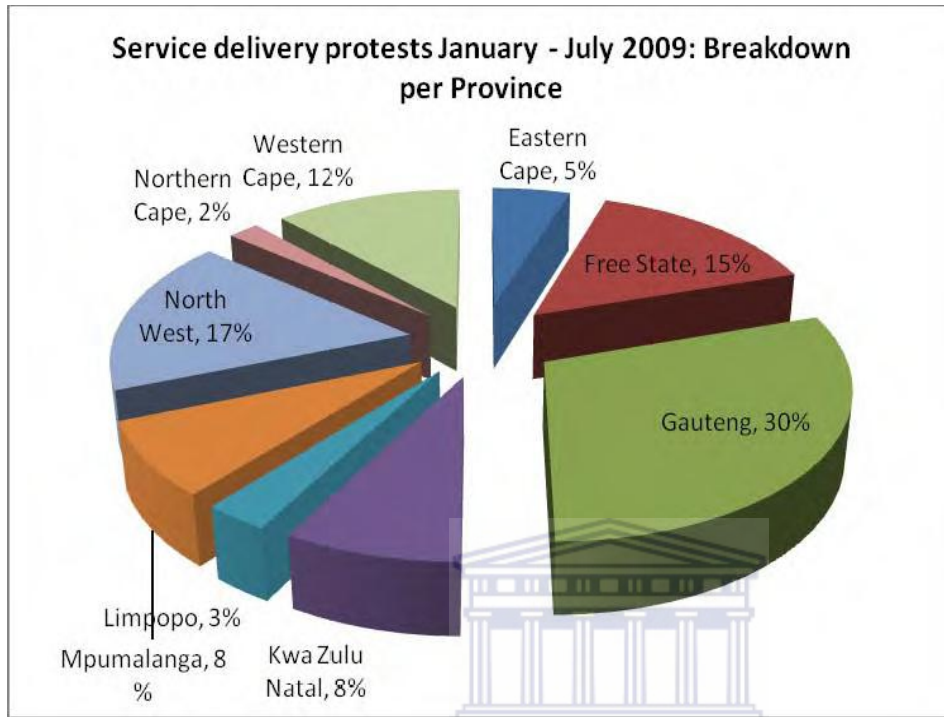
Figure 1: The Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) State of Local Government Report illustrates the incidences, by percentage, of service delivery protests between January and July 2009.

While, the above figure indicates percentages of service delivery protest that occurred in South Africa during 2009, for the purpose of this study, emphasis will be on the Western Cape which shows a 12% service delivery protests during 2009. Research shows that the problem of service delivery persists in the Western Cape. Citizens respond to LG in the form of protest over poor service delivery in their communities, despite the fact that some of these violent protests adversely affect citizens through destruction of state properties and loss of lives.

Government institutions are often criticized for being bureaucratic, slow to respond, inefficient, ineffective and unimaginative. This has led to many communities losing patience,

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2 Accessed at http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/a108-96.pdf).

and ensuing service delivery protest. These protests are characterized by violence, destruction and loss of life (Zubane, 2011, p.1).

Appendix A looks at protests, especially violent protest and recent service delivery protest that have occurred in the Western Cape to illustrate that service delivery protest remains a challenge for local government (Refer to Appendix A).

In light of the failures of LG, the section below looks at two civil society programmes as alternative means to current local government practices. These specific programmes discussed are the VPPU project and the safety sector of the PMO in the community of Manenberg.

1.5 The community of Manenberg

The community of Manenberg was born out of the 1948 Group Areas Act that was prevalent in the apartheid era. Non-whites (specifically the Coloured race) were removed from their homes during the apartheid era and were placed in communities such as Manenberg, Bontehuewel and Hanover Park. The area of Manenberg was built with the intention of accommodating people who were removed forcefully from their homes[3]. This community is well known for its untidy block of flats (courts) and an area prone to unlawful activities. As posited by Zaindeen (2009), "the cluster of crime, lack of security, gangs and drugs recurs as the main problem that needs to be addressed". In view of thus, it is evident that the community is faced with challenges that hinder its development. Manenberg has also been labelled in Cape Town as a dangerous place that is infested with gang violence.[4]

According to Ward (2007, p.5) the genesis of gangs in the coloured community dates back to apartheid especially following the forced removal of people from their original homes. The majority of these individuals are unemployed and therefore resort to gangsterism. Gang leaders promise the youth of Manenberg things that their parents are unable to provide to

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3 The township was created in the 1960s during the apartheid regime, when the government threw non- whites out of the city centre into barren, undeveloped land. (Gross & Grimmble, 2010).

4 Gangs are prominent in Manenberg, and many of the development initiatives that have been implemented in the township over the years have sought to deal with this problem through dialogue and constructive engagement with gang members (SA: PM Article).

them. These kids get involved in drug smuggling and in return they get rewarded by leaders in terms of monetary value:

> How do they say: Life is exciting in the world of crime. It's going nicely, It's going well with the smuggling. You go and sit in hotels, sleep in hotels, eat in restaurants (Andrew Jones cited in Lurie, 2004, p.114).

Education then becomes useless as young kids do not see the value to gain education since they are already making good money, without education. This contributes to the high rate of unemployment, especially among youth, currently in the community.

The appropriate way to gain perspective on the community of Manenberg is perhaps to acknowledge the imperfections that characterise the community. As a resident of Manenberg, the research confirms that Manenberg is the kind of community where the worst things one can imagine happen. The things that parents would not wish their children to experience are exactly the activities that have made the community to be labelled notorious.

Indeed, majority of people in Cape Town know Manenberg because of its high crime rate and presence of many gangsters in the area. The community of Manenberg consist of various gangs. Amongst these gangs include; the Hard Living Gang (HL), commonly known as the HL gang, and its competitor or rival enemy is the American Gang. Also playing a significant role in some of the most dangerous gang related activities is the Clever Kids Gang. These three gangs are the largest gangs in Manenberg, but there is more.

Gangsterism is one of the most dreadful problems that exist in Manenberg. Because of this people residing in Manenberg are often wrongly discriminated by their fellow workers and the outside world (Hendricks, 2000, p.3).

It is important to note that the gangs mentioned above are rivals to one another as their main aim is to gain control of the area without answering to another gang. According to Kinnes (2000) a criminal gang consists of a group of organised members which possess a sense of cohesion, they are, territorially bounded and create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation in the community to exercise control over that space, largely for financial ends. The members also engage in what is known as criminal activities, either individually or collectively. Basically gangs want to gain control over one another to ensure that in the long run they have control over the community of Manenberg.

Given the above negative aspects of gangsters and gangsterism in Manenberg, it is also important to realize that many people are forced into a life of crime to secure their survival. Gangsters act in their own defence and the defence of fellow gang members. The perception of the average person towards gangsterism is completely different from the view of the perpetrator. A story is said to have two sides and below is the side given by a gangster. The story of Rashied Staggie (a man who caused much disruption in the community of Manenberg) will be used. Rashied, who is also the leader of the 'Hard Living Gang', and his brother are well known for dealing drugs in Manenberg.

Rashied Staggie claims that his mother never raised him to become a gangster. Instead, he blames government. During apartheid it was expected of 'them', meaning the coloured race to make the government ungovernable, the disrupted behaviour was all due to what the apartheid government did. Staggie furthermore claims that, "the apartheid government built the concentration camps for the coloureds….to murder each other, rob each other and rape each other" (Lurie, 2004, p.113).

From the above quote, it can be deduced that the mind-set of a gangster differs from that of the average man. These gangs have murdered people, and are still murdering many people. Despite getting rich from dealing dangerous and addictive drugs, they still blame someone else for their wrong deeds. Staggie may be right to assert that the apartheid government placed people together that were in the same struggle, however, this does not justify crime, violence and more specifically gangsterism.

It is important to note that much is being done to rid the community of the destructive activities of gangsters. The South African Police Service (SAPS) is working together with the community of Manenberg to alleviate gangsterism. Besides the help of the SAPS, the community has over the years received assistance from the People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD). The main aim of this organisation was to fight against gangsterism and drugs, although there were other political agendas too. According to Jensen (2008, p.1) Rashaad Staggie known to be one of the fiercest gangsters and drug dealers was shot and killed by PAGAD in front of rolling cameras. Even after this incident, gangsterism has transformed into the biggest problem impeding the development of Manenberg.

1.6   Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading Project (VPUU)

The VPPU programme is a multi-government sponsored initiative that started in 2005. The aim of this project was to build better infrastructure for the community and promote safety in surrounding communities such as Khayelitsha. The programme is an initiative of the City of Cape Town, in collaboration with the German Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development and the German Development Bank, aimed at empowering communities by allowing residents to participation in the project. As indicated by Pollack below;

The goals of the programme are to increase the safety of residents; strengthen measures to reduce crime and violence; upgrade low-income neighbourhoods; provide social and commercial services; strengthen community structures; introduce a model of sustainable community-based management of local service nodes and empower beneficiary population (Pollack, 2009, p.1).

The programme commenced in the community of Khayelitsha as a pilot project, planned to run for five years. The programme aims at creating what is known as 'safe node areas', where each area will cater for 50 000 people. According to Palitza (2010, p.1), the VPUU programme has created 'safe nodes' in crime hot spots, a R400 million five year programme that is aimed at ensuring that members of the community feel safe when walking to the train station and to their homes. Each safe node area consists of a multi- purpose building which has a caretaker flat which allow residents to seek help when they unsafe. The programme received funding from the German Government up to the sum of R100 million and R300 million from the Urban Renewal Programme. The goals of the bi-lateral agreement between the German Government and City of Cape Town in Khayelitsha are: (a) safety and violence prevention, (b) upgrading of neighbourhood facilities, (c) economic development, (d) community development (Haskins, 2007, p.9).

The VPUU programme has made significant changes in Khayelitsha through upgrading of various facilities in the community. Furthermore, Slamdien (2010, p.1) claims that visible improvements in Khayelitsha are evident since the VPUU programme started in the community. Police statistics have shown that during 2003- 2004 crime incidents stood at 16648, however by 2008- 2009 only 5046 incidents had occurred, which suggest a considerable decline in violent crime. In recent times, crime statistics have increased again, leading to the Social Justice Coalition to advocate for a commission of enquiry into policing in Khayelitsha.

The apparent success of the VPUU programme in Khayelitsha paved the way for other similar socio-economically deprived communities in Cape Town to be exposed to this programme. This programme will be implemented in five other communities including the community of Lavender Hill, Delft and Manenberg in Cape Town.

The manner in which the VPUU programme has been designed suggests that it is different from previous programmes that were established to promote participation, accountability and democratic governance. According to Piper (2011, p.7) the VPUU methodology introduces a form of democratic leadership through introducing forms of promissory representation (Mansbridge, 2003), in its implementation phase using public participation. Piper further suggests that the promissory representation model identified in the VPUU initiates various forms of accountability to the public.

The VPUU project methodology follows nine phases:

1) Formation of leadership committee: organisations working in the project area are identified through the help of the municipality. The management conducts an audit of local organisations, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs) and political parties working in the area. Thereafter, potential organisations are selected through the area-based management division. In the next step, potential organisations are invited to nominate candidates who are deemed appropriate for the various available positions on the Safe Node Area Committee (SNAC). The final step occurs at the electoral meeting, where all organisations in the area are invited to nominate as well as vote for each position on the SNAC. The leadership structure, called SNAC, has various positions available, namely three office-bearers and thirteen positions in the workstream activities. However, representatives of government form no more than 50% of the portfolios, and same can be said for NGOs and CBOs which forms no more than 50% of the available positions. In Khayelitsha, since the VPUU begun in the community, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been capacitated in the community. According to Palitza (2010, p.2) several non-governmental organisations that addresses gender-based and domestic violence issues have been strengthened in Khayelitsha as encouraged by the VPUU. Residents have begun to put into good use, services rendered by these NGOs.

2) Training: after the committee has been established, training is provided in which the leadership group acquire training that enable them to handle situations such as conflict. The training involves on-going mentoring of all persons involved in the project.

3) Needs identification and livelihoods survey: a 10% sample survey is conducted in the respected community by the project professional team not only to introduce the project in the community but also identify the needs of the leadership.

4) Visioning exercise: the previous phase identifies the needs of the community; thereafter another leadership workshop is convened to prioritise the identified needs. Michael Krause, team leader of the VPUU programme said that during this phase in Khayelitsha public meetings were held to include the participation of community members. "Through workshops and public meetings, we listened to what the needs of the community are with regards to safety and violence prevention. This has created a sense of ownership by community members who are willing to help manage the development and ensure its sustainability" (Krause cited in Palitza, 2010, p.1).

5) Base line survey: these surveys are done using questionnaires to interview community members to understand where the crime hot-spots in the community are. The idea here is to create a safe place for businesses to operate and a safer place for the community at large. The data collected is then used to create what is known as the 'baseline violence survey' and the 'business survey'.

6) Action plan: a project plan is designed, which indicates the goals of the project. These goals are first approved with the line departments in the municipality and thereafter brought to the attention of the community and finally signed by the Mayor.

7) Implementation: meetings are convened on a monthly basis, where the project team discuss matters of concern and quarterly meetings are open to the public in which the leadership committee evaluates the action plan. The purpose of these meetings is to account for the delivery of the initial goals established at the onset of the VPUU project.

8) On-going monitoring and evaluation & 9) Operation, maintenance and management: these 2 stages are said to be the final stage in the VPUU project. At these stages both the VPUU project team as well as the City of Cape Town are involved in decision-making with

regards to the project. These decisions are usually made at the level of executive management team and done on a one-on-one basis (Krause 2012; Piper 2011; Piper 2012).

It is in this context that, (VPUU) is said to be a model of both a successful development project for urban areas and democratic model through public participation. What may be interesting about the VPUU project is that it is expected to be more effective and democratic than the current local government practice. It is thus crucial to explore its approach to project management and development. The significance of this study lies in the fact that it evaluates the VPUUs' methodology by tracing its implementation in a new case, essentially unpacking it in democratic terms of representation, participation and accountability. The study thus looks at how community participation is enhanced through urban upgrading. Manenberg is a socio-economically deprived community, where poverty is visible with crime occurring on a daily basis. It is quite evident that the community requires change that would lead to improvements in facilities and minimise crime in the community. The study focuses on the objectives of VPUU and thus monitors the progress of the programme to ascertain whether the mechanisms used by management of VPUU will lead to a desired outcome for the community of Manenberg.
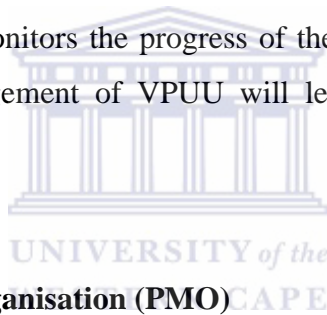
1.7   Proudly Manenberg Organisation (PMO)

The community of Manenberg is faced with various socio-economic problems which hinder community prosperity. Amongst such problems are unemployment, crime and substance abuse. According to an article by Self –Help Manenberg (a non-governmental organisation), police statistics have rated the community of Manenberg as having one of the highest rates of violence within Cape Town.

Proudly Manenberg's chairperson, Mario Wanza, said that after 13 years of democracy, "very little development has taken place in the community" ('Proudly Manenberg' gets premier's nod, 2007).

This therefore poses a challenge to NGOs present in the community, who are expected to deliver developmental projects as well as empower a distressed community. Indeed, Manenberg is a community in which many individuals have become dependent on government's social grants for their livelihoods. A key reason for this is the poor education

system in the area which has led to increase unemployment. It is because of these challenges that Proudly Manenberg was established to promote mechanisms to address these challenges. Proudly Manenberg is a non-profit organisation established in September 2005. *"He wanted to finish school. He wanted to be an artist. He was always drawing"* (Cape Argus, July 2005). These were the words of the mother of late Cheslyn Jones, a student at the Manenberg High School, who was stabbed to death as he left school on the 20th of July 2005. This disturbing event led to members of the community to launch a campaign, which is known today as the Proudly Manenberg Organisation. According to United Nations on Drugs and Crime Perspective:

A group of former anti- apartheid activist decided to help turn things around. All of them grew up in Manenberg, but most have moved out, chiefly for safety reasons, but also because there are few employment opportunities in the community. Their campaign, "Proudly Manenberg", is consciously not "anti" anything. Instead, they want to be positive" (Kinnes, nd, p.17).

The campaign was aimed at creating a more skilled youth while stabilizing crime. According to the Cape Times (September 2005) the death of this Grade 11 student can be said to be the reason for the establishment of the PMO. In this regard, initiatives were taken by the PMO to alleviate not only poverty but also to decrease the crime rate in Manenberg.

Initially Proudly Manenberg started out as a campaign but later turned into an NPO. The growth of this organisation was driven by active community participation and building of organisational structures. The organisation is guided by the following internal structures: an annual conference, executive committee, office bearers and sectors. Furthermore, Proudly Manenberg is also guided by a mission statement. This mission statement refers to building a strong and focused community to contribute towards building a value system which residents can identify with, and to serve as a vehicle of empowerment (Proudly Manenberg Constitution, August 8, 2007).

The following section focuses on the safety sector of PMO as one of the case studies examined in this study. The reason for choosing the safety sector of PMO was due to the visibility of its members in the community. Since the establishment of the safety sector, the community has never felt safer. Undeniably, this organisation has made significant changes

to the community in terms of decreasing the rate of crime and violence in the community of Manenberg.

1.7.1 *Safety sector*

The safety sector comprises of five zones (See map 1) where each zone is represented by a group of members that respond to the needs of each zone with regards to their safety. These people are physically visible in the community every day, even though each member gets to work only eight days a month for a stipend of R400. Members of the safety sector range from twenty to thirty members in each zone.

The duties performed by safety sector members include patrolling the area of Manenberg, being visible in schools in Manenberg during the day, and in the evening in each zone. Some members of the safety sector sit around bond fires, while others patrol the area in the evening. According to an Office Bearer, "we are not the police; we are here to monitor situations. It is our duty to phone the police when we see unlawful things happening in the community" (Respondent 2, June 22, 2010). However, it has been revealed that the PMO has established the safety sector from an initiative that was still pending in government. According to the Director of an NGO in Manenberg:

From the police forums stance the safety sector of PM was a plan that was the brain-child of government-government was going to implement this but PM started the implementation because they were aware of it, it is not something new and creative as PM gets inside information from government and uses it to their own advantage because they will receive funding for it from government (Respondent 4, July 13, 2010).

According to the above respondent there was a degree of opportunism about Proudly Manenberg. Thus, whereas other NGOs in the community develop plans to address the needs of the community through their own strategies, PM uses government's strategies in the hope that they will receive funding from government. In the same vein, respondents from two other NGOs in Manenberg had the following to say with regards to the funding that the PMO receives:

The PMO's initial goal was to serve as a coordinating structure that will promote development of Manenberg as a whole. The organisation was then perceived as a marking arm and through which funding will be distributed to all the other organisations working in Manenberg. It was never intended for PM to invest in their own projects as they allocated all funding to themselves (Respondent 5, July 15, 2010).

The initial aim of PMO was to be an umbrella organisation, and was required to distribute funding to other organisations. When PMO receive this funding, they use it for their own personal projects by creating their own sectors and this was not the initial idea (Respondent 6, July 19, 2010).

The funding that PM receives from government elevates and separates them from other NGOs in the community as they are able to pay members of the community for participating in their activities, something other NGOs are unable to do as they do not duplicate strategies of government and the amount of funding that they receive is not as much as PMO.

In sum, even if PMO was successful in reducing crime, a claim that must be evaluated closely, there is evidence to suggest that the organisation has not necessarily operated in such a transparent and inclusive manner as it promised. These issues are further explored in Chapter five.
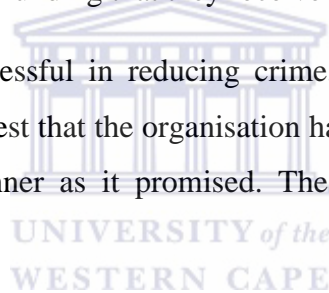
The key research objective of this study was to examine both the delivery and democracy claims of these civil society projects. There are two specific objectives in terms of delivery and three in terms of democracy. Thus:

In delivery terms, the study seeks to identify:

1. The forms of delivery found in the VPUU project and the PMO safety sector in Manenberg?
2. The manner in which delivery takes place in the VPUU project and the PMO safety sector in Manenberg?

In democracy terms, the study seeks to identify:

1. The forms of representation in the implementation of the VPUU project and the PMO safety sector in Manenberg,

2.   The forms of accountability in the implementation of the VPUU project and the PMO safety sector in Manenberg,

3.   The forms of participation in the implementation of the VPUU project and the PMO safety sector in Manenberg,

4.   The relationship between these different forms, and if they can be said to enhance local democracy.

With regards to the research questions, in terms of delivery the questions were:

1.   What are the forms of delivery in the case-study?

2.   On what basis is delivery done?

3.   Through which mechanism(s) does delivery occur?

4.   How is the representative held accountable in the process of delivery, and to what extent is this effective?

In terms of democracy:

1.   Representation:

1.   What are the forms of elections, and how are leaders elected to represent others in the case- study?

2.   On what basis is representation done? (group, issue, particular skill of an individual),

3.   Through which mechanism(s) does representation occur?

4.   How is the representative held accountable, and to what extent is this effective?

5.   Accountability:

1.   What are the forms of accountability in each case-study?

2.   Who is accountable to the community? (civil society, political representatives)

3.   Through which mechanism(s) does accountability occur?

4.   How is the representative held accountable, and to what extent is this effective?

5.   Participation:

1.   What are the opportunities for participation in decision-making in each case- study?

2.   On what basis is participation done? (group, issue, particular skill of an individual),

3.   Through which mechanism(s) does participation occur?

4.   How do participants feel about their inclusion? Is it empowering?

5.   Assess the relationship between the different forms, and whether they can be said to enhance local democracy.

1.8   Research methodology

This study employed a qualitative methodology with emphasis on a case-study approach to address the objectives and questions. This approach was chosen because it is more apt for this type of the study. The qualitative tools such as interviews and focus group discussions are flexible and thus allowed the researcher to ask open-ended questions in order to elicit detailed responses from participants. "Qualitative data are empirical and involves documenting real events, recording what people say (with words, gestures, and tone), observing specific behaviours, studying written documents, or examining visual images" (Neuman, 1997, p.328). With regards to case-study approach, Bakter and Jack define a case-study as a qualitative approach that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources. This ensures that the issue is not explored through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses which allow for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood" (2008, p544). Furthermore, the case-study approach involves collecting a wide range of information and analysing the data collected. In addition to these tools, observation was also used. The use of observation required the researcher to be physically present, to observe the progress of the VPPU project and also the activities of the safety sector of the PMO.

### 1.8.1   In-depth interviews

This constituted the basic form of data collection. Interviews were conducted after the researcher had secured consent from the participant and discussed the purpose of the project to the participant. Participants who formed part of the study include participants in the VPUU

project in Manenberg and members of the safety sector of the PMO. In-depth interviews are done individually, involving the researcher and the participant. This type of research method allows for information that is gained during the interview process to remain confidential. In-depth interviews are also a more useful means of gaining relevant information as participants are mostly people who are directly affiliated with the project at hand.

In the case of VPUU, three groups of respondents participated in in-depth interviews. These included: (1) the professional management team of VPUU, (2) members of civil society participating in VPUU, and (3) local government officials and politicians involved in VPUU. While with PMO safety sector, interviews were conducted with four NGOs (including the PMO) and the SAPS in the community of Manenberg. Two senior members from each organisation participated in the study. These participants have busy schedules, hence they were informed ahead of interviews the intentions of the researcher and what to expect.

Interviews were conducted with individual participants with clear questions, lasting at least sixty minutes. Responses were recorded. Participants signed consent forms before interviews were conducted. The researcher respected participant's wishes to remain anonymous, unless requested otherwise by the participant.
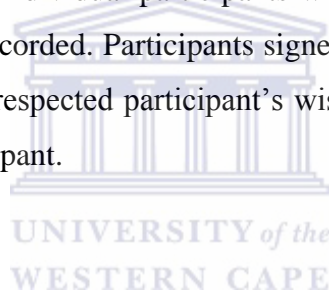
1.8.2 Focus group discussions

The focus group discussions were conducted with key constituents, especially community groups who participated in the case-studies. Two focus group discussions were conducted for each case-study, involving 10 people in each focus group. However, participation in these focus groups discussions was voluntary and members who wished not to be part of the discussion could withdraw from the discussion if they felt the need to do so. Participants signed consent forms which also bind them from revealing the identities and information offered by other participants.

1.8.3 Observation

The VPUU programme in Manenberg hold monthly meetings, people attending these meeting are mostly those who manage the programme, government officials and politicians, including

civil society organisations and residents in Manenberg. In order to gain understanding of the aim of the VPUU programme, the researcher deemed it vital to attend these monthly meetings. In addition, public meetings are also conducted every quarter with the aim enhance community participation. These meetings provide a platform for residents to participate in the programme. By attending public meetings, the researcher got the chance to observe the attitudes of residents, thereby gaining the necessary evidence to determine if these public meetings were strategic and effective. With respect to these meetings, the researcher was unable to attend such meetings of the VPUU as they did not take place in Manenberg, due to absence of the VPUU project in the community. In terms of the PMO's safety sector, the researcher observed the work done by the safety sector members. The researcher achieved this by joining the members at bond fires in the evening to talk to them.

1.9   Reflections on methodology

The researcher had no problem in terms of access to participants. Everyone who participated in the study was very eager to do so. In the case of the VPUU project, the researcher had an interview with the Project manager, Alastair Graham in which the project manager confirmed the project's commencement in the community of Manenberg, which was June 2012. In this interview, Mr Graham revealed that money was made available for the VPUU project in Manenberg, but at the moment, the VPUU team focused on the community of Hanover Park due to gang violence which prevailed in the community at the time. Furthermore, the project manager gave the researcher all the information collected during fieldwork in Manenberg by the VPUU project team. The researcher intended to use all three methods for both case - studies. However, due to the VPUU project not continuing in the community of Manenberg, observation as a method was not used.

Fieldwork with regards to the safety sector of the PMO was successful because all three research methods used achieved the desired results. The safety sector members of the PMO and other NGOs in the community did not neglect to answer any question. In fact, they revealed additional information regarding matters that the researcher was unaware of.

Likewise, the community of Manenberg is filled with people advocating for change as members of the community are involved in various NGO activities with some given stipends,

while others do it for free because 'they want to make their community a better and safer place for all to live in'. The study's fieldwork revealed that civil society within Manenberg is trying to make a difference but their attempts are not quite successful. There are many reasons why they are unsuccessful in improving conditions in the community. An important factor at play is community perception towards change. In effect, in order to create change the community must first be willing to change. Despite efforts by civil society to improve the situation, members of the community themselves are completely committed to the change process within the community of Manenberg.

1.10   Structure of dissertation

The dissertation is structured into the following six chapters;

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter constituted the introductory chapter and covered among others; the failures of local government, background information of the community of Manenberg, the VPUU project and the PMO's safety sector. This chapter also presented the research methodology, research plan and a structure of the dissertation. Before discussing the failures of local government, the chapter explored the idea of local government and the re-design-which suggest the need to 'bring people closer to government'. Local government is said to be unresponsive as citizens' needs are not being fulfilled. Hence, the notion of civil society as an alternative means to deepening democracy and delivery.

Chapter Two: Literature review

The second chapter of this thesis focused on the literature review which shed light on the key features of the study. The literature review provided background information on the research problem and its context, as well as concepts that are important to the research topic. In this study the concepts such as democracy, representation, participation, accountability and civil society have been discussed. These concepts are essential to the study as it is in these terms that the researcher evaluates whether these specific programmes (VPUU project and the safety sector of the PMO) have the efficacy to deepen democracy and delivery.

Chapter Three: Participation and popular mobilisation in South Africa

The third chapter discussed participation and popular mobilisation in South Africa. This chapter is divided into various sections. It begun by discussing the idea of 'invited spaces' and the legal framework stipulated in the Constitution for such spaces in South Africa. Mobilisation prior to 1994 has been analysed in order to understand the history of mobilisation. Mobilisation is referred to, in this thesis, as 'invented spaces'. This chapter is important to the study as it examines whether the two case-studies can be regarded as being more democratic through the 'participatory' approaches used in these programmes. Hence, the question of whether these civil society programmes can be regarded as enhancing participation in the community of Manenberg is evaluated.

Chapter Four: A case-study of the Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading Project in Manenberg

The fourth chapter explored the first case-study: the Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading Project in Manenberg. The information gathered from fieldwork with regards to this project served as findings that have been used to evaluate whether or not the VPUU programme is more democratic in nature than what is being practiced currently by local government. This was done by examining the forms of representation, accountability and participation in terms of delivery and especially, democracy within the programme.

Chapter Five: A case-study of the safety sector of Proudly Manenberg Organisation (PMO) in Manenberg,

This fifth chapter focuses on the safety sector of the PMO as a case-study. In this chapter, the researcher evaluated whether or not the PMO can be considered as empowering. This was evaluated through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and observation. Similar to case-study 1, case-study 2 evaluated whether or not civil society can be regarded as being more democratic than current local government practices. The chapter thus sought to look at

the notion of delivery and democracy and exploring the latter in terms of forms of representation, accountability and participation.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This final chapter presented the conclusion of the study. In this chapter, a summary has been drawn on whether the outcomes of the study addressed the expected objectives of the study. The conclusion also presented the opinion of the researcher and suggested ideas that civil society in Manenberg could consider.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter explores theories of democracy, unpacking the concepts of representation, participation and accountability, as well as civil society in order to enable meaningful analysis of the two case-studies. Furthermore, the concepts of representation, accountability and participation in civil society are discussed to demonstrate how these terms can be evaluated within a civil society context.

The first section of this chapter explores the notion of democracy beginning with a definition of the concept and thereafter delves into the distinction between two forms of democracy. The forms of democracy discussed in this study are representative democracy and participatory democracy. These terms are used interchangeably with terms such as indirect democracy, referring to representative democracy and also direct democracy referring to participatory democracy. Furthermore, these two forms of democracy relates to specific democratic concepts, for the purpose of this thesis the democratic concepts used are representation, accountability and participation. This chapter further explored the idea of civil society. This thesis understands civil society in the South African context to comprise of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs) and also social movements. For this reason, each of these types of organisations is briefly discussed to give an idea of the overall definition of civil society in the country. An example of how civil society has been successful in changing policy implementation is made with the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) in South Africa. Lastly, looks at participation with the view that participation by ordinary citizens should lead to their empowerment and development.

2.   Democracy

What is meant by democracy? The concept of democracy has a long history and it derives from ancient Greek. According to Harrison (1993, p.2), the word 'Democracy' refers to a Greek word that means: 'rule by the people'. According to Karl & Schmitter (1991, p.76-77) there are various forms of democracy, however the form of a democracy in a country is in accordance to a country's socioeconomic conditions, its entrenched structures and policy practices. Furthermore, the most essential element of any democracy is that it is valued by its

citizens. As Rousseau (1923, p.48), puts it, the most important law of a country is the law that is written on the 'hearts' of the citizens.
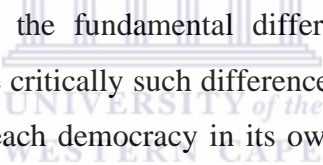
In addition to the above, it is imperative to consider free and fair elections when discussing democracy, as theorist such as Schumpter suggests that it is the most fundamental characteristic of a democracy. Working in his tradition, Dahl argues that, democracy requires four things, namely, universal suffrage, elections that are free and fair, more than one serious political party and lastly an alternative source of information. (Diamond & Morline, 2004).

In relation to the element of elections, it should be noted that elections are not the only means of creating a successful democracy, but yet are considered as being the most sufficient condition for the survival of democracy. According to Karl & Schmitter (1991, pg.78), the largely accepted definition of democracy is associated with elections. The practice of allowing citizens to participate in the election process generates a sense of participation, hence allowing citizens to choose who they prefer to represent them it matters concerning their day to day lives. Plokte (1997, p.20) further suggest that the Western regimes understood democracy as described by Schumpter, known as the minimal democracy. " the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote" (Schumpter in Plokte, 1997, p.20).

Finally, it is evident that there are many interpretations of what is meant by the concept of 'democracy'. However for the purpose of this research the term democracy can be understood with the interpretation given by Jones and Weale who defines democracy as: "a system in which important public decisions of law and policy depend, directly or indirectly, upon public opinion formally expressed by citizens of the community, the vast bulk of whom have equal political rights" (1999, p.14). The success of democracy depends greatly on the participation of citizens; as democracy allows for citizens to participate in decision making process provided by government. Here, it should be noted that with the various forms of democracy there exist various forms of participation and for the purpose of this study we will take a look at community, citizen and political participation. Citizen participation in public

affairs then become essential for the sustainability of the democratic process, but can only become a reality if government make spaces available for such involvement.

How does one then differentiate systems of democracy? "Democracy is the most valued and also the vaguest of political terms in the modern world, yet the word only starts to mean something tangible in the modern world when it is prefixed with other political words, such as direct, representative, liberal and parliamentary" (Robertson cited in Trueman, 2000, p.1). The word 'direct' and 'representative' are both associated with democracy. The most visible difference between these democracies is that direct democracy allows for citizens to be directly involved in decision making whereas representative democracy appoints specific persons to represent citizens in decision making. However, it is vital to realize that even though these democracies have a basic difference, it still share some interest in the sense that both share similar features of democracy as a whole.

Below is a brief discussion on the fundamental difference between the two types of democracies. However, to analyse critically such differences one should be mindful that they also share similarities. Even so, each democracy in its own right is associated with various criticism – in short each term has its strength and weaknesses. For example, by allowing representatives to speak on behalf of citizens, government retains a substantial degree of power in that government decides whether or not the particular concerns brought to their attention by the representatives should be adhere to. According to The Co-Intelligence Institution (2003), direct democracy has been adapted by many states in the form of referenda, as it allows any individual or groups to initiate a law and if they get enough citizens to vote on the certain law, the law gets voted on by the entire electorate. At the same time, Truemann questions how feasible a direct democracy is. Thus, (a) direct democracy requires the full participation of citizens, but question is how many people are able to attend these meetings? (b) How many citizens are aware or fully understand the issues that are being addressed by the meetings? (c) To ensure that citizens understand the issues at hand they need to be informed about them, but who will inform them and will this information be correct or bias? (Truemann, 2000, p.2). The questions proposed by Truemann suggest that direct democracy is not the most practical democracy that a state can implement.

2.1.1   Indirect (representative) democracy

The term indirect democracy is also commonly known as representative democracy. Long associated with large populations, this type of democracy is now common all over the world; more importantly for this study it is important that it is also the form of democracy being practiced in South Africa today. With the above reality in mind, the views of representative democratic theorists such as Dahl and Schumpeter will be discussed. Schumpeter suggests that democracy can be defined as follows:

The democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good by making the people itself decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will (Schumpeter, 1992, p. 250).

Power is then seen as being granted to individuals as they are at liberty to vote for those whom they deem suitable to protect their interest in a manner that will lead to carrying out the opinions of the people.

The concept of polyarchy (another term used for representative democracy) was first introduced by Robert Dahl in which he emphasises the importance of power that should be vested in three or more people, a form of government that creates spaces for all to participate in government and hence their interest are taken into consideration. Dahl talks about the several functions of representative democracy: "it must confer political influence on the demos, it must ensure the political stability of the system, and it must prevent the demagogic manipulation of majorities in order to dominate the minorities" (cited in Hirst, 1990, p. 48). It is therefore a necessity that the person who represents the citizens should share the same interest as the citizens to ensure that the representative makes the best possible decisions on behalf of citizens. Furthermore, Dahl (1989, p.233) claims that the power surrounding governmental policies are vested in elected officials. These respected officials are chosen and are also removed in free and fair elections, as it is the citizens that are given the privelledge of voting in these types of elections.

Dahl argues, that we find the key contrast between polyarchy democracy and dictatorship, which "is not discover-able in the clear-cut distinction between government by a majority and

government by a minority [but] between government by a minority and government by minorities." Polyarchy is neither pure majority rule nor unified minority rule. It is an open, competitive, and pluralistic sys-tem of "minorities rule (Krouse, 1982, 443).

How does this then all happen? In South Africa, citizens participate primarily through the electoral process. This process occurs every five years in South Africa in which citizens get to vote in elections. According to Diamond & Marlino (2004, p.10) Firstly, no regime can be said to be a democracy if it does not grant all of its adults citizens the right to political participation. Secondly, a good democracy must ensure that citizens are aware and also that citizens are able to make use of the formal rights given to them. Following from this then, participation also means being able to make use of rights such as engaging in public debate or protest.

More specifically, South Africa makes use of Proportional Representation Elections (PRE), a specific type called Party List Voting. Aside from Party List Voting, other PR Election types are also in existence such as, Mixed-Member Proportional Voting and Single Transferable Vote. However, South Africa is identified as a Party List Voting System and this type of voting works in a certain manner as suggested by Douglas (2005, p.2):

Legislators are elected in large, multi-member districts. Each party puts up a list or slate of candidates equal to the number of seats in the district. Independent candidates may also run, and they are listed separately on the ballot as if they were their own party. On the ballot, voters indicate their preference for a particular party and the parties then receive seats in proportion to their share of the vote.

The type of PR Election System used in South Africa today is different to the electoral system that was introduced during the apartheid era, both in the sense that previously only whites could vote, and in the sense that under apartheid the constituency-based electoral system was used. According to Southall (2009, p176), the type of electoral system used in apartheid South Africa was one which had led to decisive outcomes which provided clear- cut winners and losers – as is typical of constituency systems in general. However, the disadvantage of this system was that the process disregarded representation in a manner that left out 'third parties' and caused a disproportional representation of at most two competing parties within a given legislature. Furthermore, given the electoral system use in the apartheid era compared to the electoral system used in post- apartheid, it is evident that the latter serves

as a superior form of system as representation of all parties in the sense that seats allocated in parliament more directly reflect the popular will.

2.1.2 Direct democracy

Historically, various kinds of models can be found in democracy, namely classical democracy (Athens), protective democracy, developmental democracy and direct democracy. David Held in his book: *Models of Democracy* (2006) refers to the above mentioned classical models of democracy. Classical democracy originated in Greece, as the concept refers to the 'people rule'. This form of democracy initiates the direct engagements of citizens in decision-making through assembly democracy and hence encourages political equality. A speech delivered by Thucydides during the Peloponnesian War stated: "our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people". Lastly, the notion of direct democracy refers to citizens being allowed to participate in government without the mediation of representatives. Direct democracy creates a sense of self-regulation as government allows citizens to express their opinions in a manner that would lead to their needs being recognized by the state.

This form of democracy allows all citizens to partake in decisions and the making of laws regardless of their gender, religion, etc. However, not all people are necessarily citizens. In ancient Greece citizenship excluded women and slaves – in the region of 90% of the population. Today too, there are residents of a state which are restricted from citizenship. This includes foreigners, the legally insane and (often) those who have violated criminally the state which they live in. According to Trueman (2000, p.1), citizens over a certain age ought to attend political meetings and vote to ensure that a decision will be reached which is in favour of the majority. Such a decision must then be accepted by all citizens. Direct democracies therefore ought not to discriminate against any citizen's gender, beliefs, sexuality. However, those who took the liberty of going against society are excluded of such a democracy. Another example of direct democracy can be found with the New England town meeting, as this meeting allows for citizens of the town, once a year, to debate and vote and on town policies including local taxes.

It is stitched into the fabric of the New England and dominates the patchwork of its public past. It occurs in each New England state at a set time and in a set place. It is accessible to every citizen, coded in law, and conducted regularly in over 1, 000 towns (Bryan, 2004, p.3).

Furthermore, it can be said that direct democracy is a form of democracy which allows citizens to make decisions by means of voting on policies or laws which they have to abide by. Bryan (2004, p.3- 4), claims that real democracy occurs only when all eligible citizens are regarded as legislators which are called to meet in a deliberative, face-to-face assembly and to bind themselves by laws which they regard as being beneficial to them.

2.2   Representation

The concept of representation leaves much for debate as there are disagreements amongst theorist as to what the correct definition of this concept is. Nevertheless, as Pitkin (1967, p.4) notes, John Stuart Mill who wrote a whole book about representative government did not find it necessary to define representation. However, Hobbes on the other hand, offers an early and general account of representation as 'standing in for' others in some sense, and thus that every government, even a hereditary monarchy, is a representative government as it represents its subjects and this view is also shared by various other writers.

Representation today more commonly refers to a process whereby elected public officials serve the public by means of representing citizens. Citizens are given the opportunity to vote for a particular representative who would adhere to their concerns pertaining local demands. "In democratic local government, citizen concerns are formally expressed through elected representatives (Lemon, 2002, p.26). With representation, it should be noted that it does not merely involve the process of who gets to represent citizens but whether or not representatives takes into consideration the interests of citizens. To ensure that representatives convey concerns of citizens decorously, it is required of citizens to speak freely of any important matters at meetings that are held by representatives for communities. However, for such consultation to take place sufficient opportunities for participation by citizens must be made available.

Taking the above into consideration, how can representation be defined? According to Pitkin (1967, p.2-3) the concept representation implies both a process of authorisation – that is a process by which some individual or group can be said to 'stand for' a larger group – and a concomitant process of accountability – that is a process by which the larger group can hold their representative to account. In system of elected office elections play both crucial roles, but other mechanisms of accountability exist too, especially including public scrutiny and criticism of elected officials through the media. Hirst suggests the following to describe what is meant with the term representation:

Representation guarantees that the legislature express the will of the people, who cannot wish to harm themselves, and the doctrine of the answerability of the executive to the legislature ensures that the delegated power of government is not abused (Hirst, 1990, p. 25).

Representation is a tool used by the state to ensure that citizens are able to participate in government affairs through their designated elected representatives.

For South Africa, the idea 'representation' was born out of the notion of democracy, referring to post-apartheid era.

The dawn of democracy in South Africa enabled the consolidation of representative government. A negotiated settlement between old and new political and economic elites created new forms of commercial and political representation that ensured against economic stagnation and political turmoil (Hamilton& Viegi, 2009, p.194).

The apartheid regime left South Africa with economic challenges and to ensure that such fiscal mismanagement was repaired, it was then imperative to stabilize the economy of the new South Africa. To create an improved economy that would shed South Africa in a good light that would enhance its relations with foreign investors.

The choice made in 1994 saw economic discipline as a way to consolidate representative democracy. In doing so South Africa has structured its economy in a manner that gives rise to an increase in its creditworthiness. One of the main indicators of accountability and credibility for financial investors is the existence of consolidated institutions of representative democracy (Hamilton&Viegi, 2009, p.202).

A representative democracy in South Africa then meant that not only does those who govern get to express the views of the people but also that economic and other appropriate policies would be created to ensure that the country's socio- economic conditions coincides with the ideal of what constitutes a representative democracy.

1. **Mansbridge's forms of representation**

Jane Mansbridge (2003) discusses the various forms of representation as actually practice in North America. Here she identifies 'promissory' representation as the model that describes the assumed form of representation by elected officials, that is, candidates for public office are chosen and held accountable in terms of the promises they make to their potential constituencies. Hence, "the normative understanding of accountability in promissory representation is that the representative is "responsible to," "answerable to," "bound," and even "bound by" those voters" (2003, p.516). In reality, Mansbridge continues, 'promissory representation' does not capture the actual practice of electoral representation in the west. Instead, she identifies a variety of other forms including 'anticipatory', 'gyroscopic' and 'surrogate' representation (2003, p. 516- 524). Anticipatory representation is when representatives act in a manner in which they assume how voters will choose in the next election – even if this contradicts what they promised voters in the previous election. Gyroscopic representation refers to a representative that will pursue a particular cause (eg environmentalism) regardless of the changeability of public opinion. Lastly, surrogate representation is a form of representation that allows officials to represent citizens outside of their district, for example, when female politicians might champion the interests of women in general even though they were not elected on this basis.

Conversely, there are still other forms of representation that may exist, including in participatory systems as that of the assemblies of ancient Athens. A good example here would be the kind of representation that occurs in the form of debates. "All citizens of the polis were entitled to come and participate in its famous Assembly. The collective citizens itself was the seat of power in the city. Every man was entitled to speak, but only the Council could introduce agendas to be discussed" (Sparrow, nd, p.1). Yet, not everyone speaks and not everyone speaks equally. This is because only those who feel confident enough to raise their opinions speaks out, hence not all citizens speaks equally.

Moreover, there are probably a limited number of reasonable positions of any question far less than the number of citizens in the assembly; and certainly that align with the interests of the various social groups represented. Inevitably then, some views will be articulated that 'represent' those of a larger number of citizens who remain silent.

2.3   Accountability

As noted above, for Pitkin accountability is intimately related to representation through the process of authorisation. Further, as Mansbridge shows (2003) the empirical character of representation informs the empirical character of accountability. In the mainstream representative democracy of today, accountability can be defined as "the obligation of elected political leaders to answer for their political decisions when asked by citizen- electors or other constitutional bodies" (Diamond& Morlino, 2004, p.14). Accountability then serves as a mechanism that protects citizens from unlawful or unpopular activities of political officials. Citizens have the right to question representatives and evidence of official misconduct can be scrutinized by various institutional actors who are legally obligated to take action if the information is credible. Below, an explanation of the forms of accountability will be discussed in more detail which will shed light on what has been said with regards to the misconduct of public officials.

The practice of accountability gives a community some sense of surety that if and when representatives are not following their designated mandate, that specific representative is sure to undergo public scrutiny. Thus, according to Chawatama (2009, p.6) "accountability ensures that actions and decisions taken by public official are subject to oversight so as to guarantee that government initiatives meet the needs of the community they are meant to be benefiting, thereby contributing to better government performance". The lack of accountability prevalent in the work of representatives is a matter of concern for citizens as this may be an indication of poor governance.

What does the concept accountability initiate? Accountability implies both a measure of answerability (providing an account for actions undertaken) and enforceability (punishment or sanctions for poor or illegal performance). Producing accountability is thus fundamentally

changing the power relationship between citizens and governance institutions" (Mohanty cited in Bandyopadhyay&Vaishnava, 2011, p.28).

Chawatama in his paper: 'Political Accountability' refers to a few of the functions of accountability that enhance citizen power in respect of elected officials. Thus, accountability should be designed:

1) To enhance the integrity of public governance in order to safeguard government against corruption, nepotism, abuse of power and other forms of inappropriate behaviour.
2) As an institutional arrangement, to effect democratic control.
3) To improve performance, which will foster institutional learning and service delivery.
4) With regards to transparency, responsiveness and answerability, to ensure public confidence in government and to bridge the gap between the governed and the government.
5) To enable the public to judge the performance of the government.
6) To promote compliance with responsibilities and commitments.
7) To deter the future violations by individuals through the likelihood of punishment or other detriment.

The functions that are mentioned above are promoted to ensure that public officials are accountable to those whom they represent. More specifically, it is a mechanism used by government to prevent corruption which can easily occur. Accountability is also a tool used to bring the 'people' closer to government, if this tool is properly used citizens get to evaluate public officials and also gain some form of trust and feel the need to not only participate in public affairs but also to be supportive of government decisions.

Diamond and Morlino in their paper: 'The Quality of Democracy' discusses two forms of accountability. These two forms of accountability are known as Vertical Accountability and Horizontal Accountability. The former is a mechanism that enables voters to hold representatives responsible for the decisions taken on citizens' behalf. However, it is also expected of the voters to participate in elections to ensure that a large number of voters participate in the electoral process. In a manner that would suggest that citizens who do not

participate by voting should not have expectations and therefore refrain from making demands if they are not willing to also bring their part by voting. On the other hand, the latter refers to the rights that institutional actors have to investigate public officials. If actors are able to find credible evidence against officials that implicate officials to wrongdoing, actors are legally authorised to take action against the guilty party.

The very nature of vertically accountability refers to the rights that citizens have for holding representatives responsible. This relationship works vice versa as representatives have expectations of citizens, such as expecting them to vote as previously mentioned, "Vertical accountability is that which citizens as electors can demand from their officials in the course of campaigns and elections, and which political and civil society actors can exercise at moments of political controversy" (Diamond & Morlino, 2004, p.14). The right to hold representatives responsible is given to citizens only when there are political disputes and this therefore means that this power cannot be abused by citizens at any given time. The idea of this form of accountability seems to be an essential mechanism as it implies a notion of transparency in government and this will also better the relationship between the voters and the representatives as trust would be formed if voters are given the authority to evaluate the work of public officials.

Contrary to vertical accountability, horizontal accountability refers to scrutiny that office holders undergo by the various institutional actors who are inclined to do so due to the legal authority that these actors retains. Diamond & Schedler et al discuss the various government actors who have the authority to evaluate the conduct of office bearers:

Horizontal accountability is usually manifest in the monitoring, investigation, enforcement and independent functioning of a number of different government institutions (which sometimes overlap in their authority): the opposition in parliament, specific investigative committees of parliament, the various tiers of the court system, including, crucially, the constitutional court, audit agencies, a counter- corruption commission, the central bank, an independent electoral administration, the ombudsman, and other bodies that scrutinize and limit the power of those who govern (Diamond & Morlino, 2004, p.17).

Even though it is said that these above institutional actors monitor the conduct of public officials, if actors discover that an offence has occurred this then means that the offence needs to be addressed. Furthermore, Diamond & Morlino (2004, p. 18) claims that scrutiny

for public officials is not sufficient. If there is evidence of misconduct this matter needs to be dealt with seriously and there must be institutional means that allows punishment to be enforced on the offender. However, it should be noted that institutional actors are not always aware of the misconduct of officials and it is for this reason that the public is encouraged to come forward with any information that they might have of any official who abuses their power. This information will be in the best interest of the public as such information will correct matters and hopefully the official in question will be replaced with someone more trustworthy.

In the context of South Africa, accountability can be distinguished in two main categories namely, parliamentary oversight and direct accountability. According to Chawatama (2009, p.3-5) parliamentary oversight is a form of accountability that is practiced through the various portfolio committees. Various mechanisms are used by these committees, such as calls for submissions and petitions from the public to ensure the effectiveness of accountability. On the other hand, direct accountability is affiliated with elections that are held in South Africa every five years, in which citizens do not only choose their President but also the public officials that should represent them at local government level.
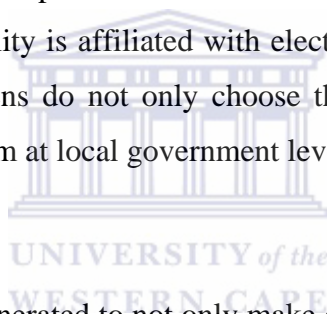
The following policy has been generated to not only make certain that government reveals all matters to the public but also to enhance citizen participation within government. The policy below is discussed in a paper by Dorasmay (2010, p.2089):

The 1996 South African Constitution created the platform for an accountable, democratic government characterised by transparency, political stability and transformation. Experiences during the apartheid era made citizens aware of the threats of a government that was neither accountable nor transparent. Accountability and transparency require active citizen participation to ensure that government pursues the general interest of society. The 1996 South African Constitution therefore, highlights the need for a transformed public service within the milieu of good governance. (Constitution of Republic of South Africa, 1996).

In South Africa, accountability can be regarded as a tool created to correct past discrepancies. Given the above provisions made in the RSA Constitution with regards to accountability, there remains a lack of accountability in South Africa's democracy. This lack of

accountability has amounted to numerous problems including jeopardizing the relationship between representatives and voters. The relationship that develops between representatives and voters are essential for a democratic government. "Without accountability, democratic government is impossible and the relationship of service between elected representatives and the voters is broken. Despite the strides taken by South Africa towards a fully- functioning democracy since 1994, we still face a deficit of accountability" (Chawatama, 2009, p.1).

2.4   Participation

The notion of participation relates to active inclusion of citizens in the decision-making process of government. According to Tembo (2003, p.24), the concept of participation is defined in different ways, however the central point is that it concerns the involvement of citizens in government affairs. In representative systems this might be understood in terms of voting for representatives and public scrutiny and debate of government, in direct democratic systems this might be understood in terms of attending, debating and voting in the decision-making process of government. On any view, the process of participation can be viewed as a learning process that facilities some form of change. With this in mind, we will look at the definition of participatory practice in a more social development sense of the concept as it applies to local governance in South Africa:

Greater involvement of local people in defining local problems, identifying solutions and implementing them, ensure that the resulting programmes are more effective and sustainable…. A process whereby local people are given the capacity and power to make their own analysis, direct the process, grow in confidence and take their own decisions' (Gueye cited in Tembo, 1991, p.1).

However, it is found that in some instances many people do not make use of their right to participate for various reasons. One of such reasons is that citizens are not fully aware of their rights nor are they aware of the participatory process. In such cases, the participatory process comes across as being a feeble mechanism in a manner that suggests it is not working. However, in some instance we find that citizens have no interest in the participatory process; hence Dr. Louw in Thompson (2007) makes the follow assertion:

People participate when things go wrong. When things go right they want you to get on with the job. You cannot force people to participate. You are talking about people, not things. Remember, in the new South Africa you cannot order people around!

Past processes have proven that the participatory process of South Africa has failed its citizens in one way or the other. A typical example of citizen participation could be identified in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). "Whilst the state of affairs is all too typical of developing societies in transition, the South African case is of interest because the failure to realize participatory democracy appears, at face value, not to be a consequence of political neglect on the part of the ruling party or of the state itself" (Tapscott in Thompson, 2007).

How can we say that people are participating when the majority of citizens are not able to influence the decisions that affect their lives? Hence, it is important to take the following into consideration: "It should be known that participation does not necessarily result in visible or desirable results, as it is often reduced to a mere ceremonial presence of participants in local institutions. It is only when people claim or demand power to achieve concrete goals (such as implementing a specific plan, project or programme) that presence, participation and voice assume experiential significance at the local level" (Williams in Thompson, 2007, p.31). Furthermore, one can suggest that if people make use of the power given to them (which is the right to participate in local affairs) to participate, then the participatory process can be considered to be a reality. Until then, the idea of participation in local governance will remain an idea unless otherwise used effectively by citizens.

2.4.1 Forms of participation

Defining the concept of participation does the notion no justice without discussing the various form of participation that enhances the concept by giving meaning to it. For this specific study, three forms of participation will be discussed namely, community, citizen and political participation. Important to note is that public participation also referred to as popular participation (for the purpose of this thesis also known as popular mobilization). However, this term will not be dealt with in this section as the chapter which follows will focus on the notion of popular mobilization and how this process occurs in South Africa.

The question that begs answer is; how far does citizen participation go? For example, can it be said that citizens participate in the implementation phase of government policy-making? To answer these questions, we take a look at Raymond Geuss in his book: History and Illusion in Politics (2001), which refers to the concept of politics as being decision-making for a community. He breaks decision-making into three components; (1) debate, (2) decision, (3) implementation. Unpacking participation in terms of these phases of decision-making, in the case of ancient Athens it can be found that an assembly democracy in which citizens participates directly in debates and decisions and also in rare occasions participate in the implementation – such as when citizens debated going to war and then took up arms and went to the boats.

1. Community participation

It is important to clarify what is meant by the concept community before looking at community participation. The popular use of community in contemporary South African public discourse is of a spatial area that accommodates a number of people who exist (usually) in some kind of solidarity with each other; it is the living space in which homes are built. For a more general term of the word community, we will take a closer look at the definitions provided by the Universal Dictionary. Various definitions are provided by the Universal Dictionary, however only two of these definitions best describe the concept (1) " -a group of people living in the same locality or under the same local government" (2) "- a social group or class having common characteristics (1987, p.324). In South Africa elements of both definitions seem entailed in popular discourse, with both a common space and a common social identity of race usually implied.

Evidently, the common mistake people tend to make is to associate the concept of community with the characteristics of an individual. However, a community is not an individual, and it may not even cohere to the extent of a formal organisation. "It is an entity, sometimes described as "superorganic" that transcends the individuals that compose it at any one time" (Bartle, 2010, p.). In saying this, Carys (1970, p. 92-93) refer to two guises in relation to a community that enables one to understand the concept better.

Firstly, a community is viewed as being an object and is seen as an independent system with regards to neighbourhoods, interest groups and political parties. In being an object guise, a community is not assumed to act even though it is an object of action by groups within the community. Secondly, a community plays a role of acting, when members therefore engage in activities that make decisions in the interest of the larger group. Therefore, when referring to a community, it is referred to as a group of people that share the same interest, which lives in the same area.

Given the above, it is evident that when referring to a community, the term refers to people who live in the same area and in many instances these individuals share a common interest. However, that does not necessarily mean that every community is the same as there may be differences due to socio- economic status that varies in communities. As mentioned in chapter one, the community of Manenberg was created under what was termed the 'Group Areas Act', where people were forcefully removed from their homes and were placed in various other communities. Lastly, in relation to the above and also the community of Manenberg the suitable explanation would be the one suggested by Jonker. Jonker, et al makes the following claim: "that individuals are not able to provide for all their needs by themselves and for this reason they need to live in a community, for some form of a support system" (2001, p.242).

In relation to the above discussion surrounding the definitions of what a community is, the concept of community participation is discussed below. What is community participation? The Municipal Structures Act devotes a chapter to community participation. In relation to community participation, Chapter 4 of the Municipal Structures Act states the following:

The participation of citizens in the structures will…revolutionise the way that local governance happens at the metropolitan level. Individual municipalities will be empowered to decide what is best for their situation; with the guidance of national legislation that permits a variety of forms of local participation" (RSA, 1998b).

Williams further states that the City of Cape Town (CCT) acknowledges community participation as a legislative requirement and that it should form part as a vital mechanism for governance in the CCT (Williams, 2003, p11).

How does the ideal participating community look like? Reid (2000, p.2), makes the following six claims with respect to this question. These include; (1) Many people are involved in the activities of what is referred to as a participating community, also business are not the work of the elite only but of all the people in the community. (2) Within a participating community power is decentralized and therefore all groups are allowed and also encouraged to get involved in activities. (3) Persons of the community should be well informed about matters of the community and that is why all issues at hand should be conducted in an appropriate manner which leads to transparency. (4) Members of the community should take the liberty of expressing their ideas as there is no thing such as a bad idea. All ideas that are made should be treated with integrity and also be welcomed at all times. (5) Any person is allowed to participate regardless of their race, age or colour. Due to past events, namely apartheid, it is obvious that people are hesitant to participate in matters and for this reason mechanisms should be used to reach out to marginalized groups of people to encourage them to participate. (6) No single organization or elite is in control of matters of the community, all matters are handled openly and with an open mind. To sustain the following mentioned by Reid, it is imperative that communities encourage and also make various roles available to ensure that members of the community participate in the community. From the above, this research claims that community participation serves as a vehicle of empowerment and that with the process of community participation citizens are being empowered. The idea of empowerment used as a tool to enhance participation is furthered discussed in below in the last section of this chapter.

2. Citizen participation

Bekker (1996) proposes a simple definition of citizen participation: "citizen participation may mean different things to different people. Citizen Participation can be defined as purposeful activities in which people take part in relation to a local authority area of which they are legal residents". Bekker also stipulates that: it is imperative to distinguish citizen participation from similar terms such as political participation and also public participation. Nonetheless, the term citizen participation and public participation are by no means similar as the former refers to the person instead of the state in the participatory relationship. However, the term

public participation refers to all the people whether or not they are classified as being citizens of the state (Bekker, 1996, p.133-134). Furthermore, before defining the term 'citizen participation', it is prudent to first identify those classified as 'citizens'. Who are the citizens? "Citizenship is not bestowed by the state, or by a set of legal norms, rather (or in addition); it is attained through practice, based on different identities and struggles around concrete issues" (Gaventa, 2006, p.24). The idea of citizenship is that not everyone living in a specific community is regarded as being citizens of a state. We find that in many communities diverse groups of people reside in it but all of them may not necessarily come from the same state. Due to socio- economic and political challenges that people experience in some countries, some people immigrate to countries where they bear no historical citizenship. Citizen participation therefore is narrow than public or community participation as it refers to a smaller group of residents or members of a place.

3. Political participation

"Political participation is defined as: 'taking part in the processes of formulation, passage and implementation of public policies. It is concerned with action by citizens which is aimed at influencing decisions which are, in most cases, ultimately taken by public representatives and officials" (Parry cited in Gaventa, 2004, p.11). This thesis will embrace a narrow conception of political participation as expressly linked to the formal processes of policy-making in the state. Different to the previous forms of participation discussed in this paper, with the above being the definition of political participation it is evident that this form of participation includes the participation of the representative instead of the citizen in formal systems of representative government. However, it is also vital to note that the participation by representatives is done so on the request of concerned citizens.

"The right to vote is probably the only political right exercised by the majority of the world's population. An election is the predominant formal mechanism of political participation in the modern world" (Jonker et al, 2001, p.110). We do not participate in elections merely because it's available nor because we like experiencing voting, on the contrary we vote as we believe that it will serve as a good means. (Geuss, 2001, p. 113). Even then much of the time political participation does not live up to even the formal, representative ideal:

...the political participation of ordinary citizens falls far short of their democratic ideals which say that citizens should be interested in and informed about politics, should participate actively in political parties, and election campaigns, and should try in any way possible to make their voices heard as political decisions are being made. (Milbrath & Goel cited in Bekker, 1977, 145).

Voting, more specifically the election process allows citizens to participate is viewed as being the main means of power that citizens have. In order to classify any society as being democratic, the citizens need to participate in the election process that is at their disposal.

The next section in this chapter explores the idea of civil society, how it is understood in the South African context. In this study, the concept is defined in relation to non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs) and social movements. In this regard the section also explores the case of the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), as an example of how civil society deepens democracy. Furthermore, this section looks at the ideal outcome that participation should have. With respect to the notion that participation should lead to the empowerment and development of citizens. Hence, concepts such as empowerment and development is discussed in which the idea of a development state is also unpacked.

2.5   Civil society

2.5.1   Defining civil society organisations

In South Africa civil society comprises of a range of organisations which perform a specific role of mobilizing communities. Thus, the concept mostly refers to non-governmental organisation (NGOs), community-based organisation (CBOs) and social movements in this context. Therefore, to gain clarity on the concept of civil society organisations, concepts such as NGOs, CBOs and social movements needs to be discussed.

Non-Governmental Organisations also commonly referred to as non- profit organisations (NPO's), are established internationally and the main objective of such organisations are to provide opportunities to various disadvantaged communities. The name NPO/NGO speaks for itself as it gains no profit and is not part of government.

A non-profit organisation is defined as: a trust, a company or other association of persons which is (a) established for a public purpose and (b) the income and the property of which are not distributable to its members or office bearers except as reasonable compensation for services rendered. (www.welfare.gov.za, accessed 17/10/12).

Due to the fact that NPO's do not receive profit for their services, the registration of such an organisation is free of charge. The framework regarding rules and regulations of such an organisation are stated in Act no 71, 1997 non-profit organisation Act 1997. In mentioning the above, it is evident that a NGO is independent of government and also meaning that it is politically independent. However, for this specific research, I will be concentrating on a definition produced by the World Bank in relation to NGOs:

Private organisations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development (Shah, 2005).

The primary objective of NGOs is to develop a community through protecting a community by means of provide basic social facilities and by promoting the interest of a community. These means then lead to the development of a community. Williams discusses a theory of

development by France Cleaver that suggest that a community is capable to accomplish anything, however all that is needed for this is sufficient mobilization through institutions. With the support and encouragement of institutions and civil society dormant capacities will be released in the form of interest of development (Williams, 2004, p.561).

Community-based organisations (CBOs) are structures that exist within a community to ensure that all goals of a community are attained. The main aim of such an organisation is to enhance the capabilities of community members, by strengthening community members to a point where they are able to help themselves. According to Minkler & Wallerstein (2002), the term CBO involves a process by which the organisation help community members to solve problems faced within their communities, by means of creating strategies that will lead to intended goals of the community. Furthermore, it should be noted that for a sense of community to exist, it is imperative that structures such as CBOs are created.

Moreover, when defining the term social movements one has to consider that there is no clear-cut definition that can be used to explain the term. The concept can be identified with other concepts used in literature which views it as a phenomenon; due to the fact that such terms have diverse meanings and the correct definitions of those terms are debatable. However for this study, the definition by Eyerman and Jamison will be considered:

Social movement are…..best conceived of as temporary public spaces, as moments of collective creation that provide societies with ideas, identities, and even ideals (Eyerman & Jamison, 1999).

In South Africa, social movements are associated with a more radical popular politics, both ideologically, strategically and tactically, in the sense of being mass-based, popular organisations of and for the poor and marginalised, willing to use more confrontational tactics than much of the rest of civil society. So when referring to civil society, it is evident that it is an arena that comprises a plethora of voluntary civic organisations.

Social movements are independent from the state, and are prevalent in disadvantaged communities. Citizens turn to civil society organisations as a means of participation, this happens when citizens feel that the state is not fulfilling their needs. Civil society participatory mode seems to be more effective than spaces made available by local

government, this section then touches on an example of a campaign which was successful in achieving policy implementation called the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC). Moreover the TAC, Booysen (2009, p.12) suggest that various civil groupings have been established and their main aim was to create a change in policy through contra- hegemonic rather than consultation. One of such successful organisations are the TAC who worked on a policy implementation through campaigning for the use of certain HIV- positive drugs for pregnant mothers to prevent mother to child transmission. How did this association gain change, and what were their means of getting government to adhere to their demands?

The TAC was established on 10 December 1998, International Human Rights Day, when a group of about 15 people protested on the steps of St. Georges Cathedral in Cape Town to demand medical treatment for people living with the virus that causes Aids. By the end of the day protesters had collected over 1000 signatures calling on government to develop a treatment plan for all people living with HIV (Robins & von Lieres, 2003, p.8).

People who were in need of this drug were the disadvantaged black community. These people were the unemployed and working class citizens who were unable to get results from government in relation to the drugs they needed. However, with the help of protestors, mothers were then provided with the much needed treatment. Furthermore, the TAC 's main aim was to encourage government to make provision for HIV infected mothers by providing them with the treatment needed to prevent their unborn children from getting the virus. With this in mind, the TAC has also managed to address other issues in relation to the HIV- Aids virus. According to Robin & von Lieres (2003, p.12) in addition to lobbying for treatment for mothers infected with the HIV-Aids virus, the TAC has also addressed other matters including that of the cultural politics of Aids, race and identity. This means that the TAC has taken on matters that go beyond the conventional limits of public health. However, for this section we will not look into these matters as this section makes use of the TAC as a means to provide an example of the success of social movement protests and participation in South Africa.

Local government in South Africa is meant to be democratic and indeed more democratic than other spheres, yet as argued in chapter one it appears to be the least democratic as it is ineffective and unresponsive. It is obvious that the initial objectives of local government to

reform have not been fully accomplished to date. Evidently in practise, Booysen in her paper: 'With the ballot and the brick: the politics of attaining service delivery', stated that it is the responsibility of representatives to report back to the community on matters of concern that has been brought to the attention of the representative by the community. However, in many instances it is found that councillors are not residents of the respected community which they represent and therefore fail to report back to communities on matters. Furthermore, South Africa does not have the much needed model in place that allows for feedback from representatives. Booysen also indicated that councillors were often in a position that left them powerless as they were unable to report back to communities as little progress was being made in service delivery.

"In order to enhance the interface between councillors and their constituencies, ward committees were created" (Penn in Booysen, 2007, p.24). Even after the establishment of these ward committees, little success has been achieved since its establishment (Booysen, 2007, p.21-24). It is evident that in practise the concept of representation and the idea of representatives are not as effective as stipulated in theory as in practise it has proven to be unsuccessful.
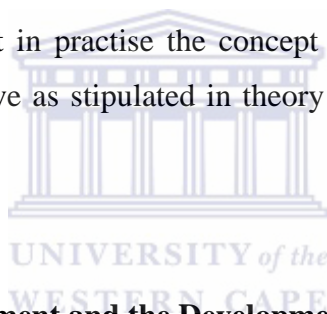
2.6   Participation, Empowerment and the Developmental State

The following focuses on the ideal outcome that participation should have in a community. The main focus will be on empowerment, community empowerment and also development. According to Chambers, the idea of participation is closely linked to empowerment and also development. In that the concept of participation has evolved from a technique into a means of empowerment. Chambers goes further to assert that, participation must be seen as a means of empowerment that will lead to changes in relationships of the 'uppers' and 'lowers'. Where, the 'uppers' (development practitioners and other important outsiders) and local 'lowers' (the beneficiaries/subjects of development programmes) undergo a change which will in turn lead to a mutually beneficial relationship. A relationship that will empower all parties involved mutually and this will in essence reach to development of the people. (Williams, 2004, p.560-561).With Chambers notion in mind, a discussion occurs below in which the concept of empowerment, community empowerment and also development are discussed in connection with the notion of participation.

The concept of empowerment, in turn, has diverse meanings, as there is no one definition that entirely captures the concept. "Empowerment is a construct shared by many disciplines and arenas: community development, psychology, education, economics, and studies of social movements and organizations, among others. How empowerment is understood varies amongst these perspectives" (Page, 1999). Due to the term being diverse, people often use the term without understanding the meaning of the term. However the Universal Dictionary (1987, p.506), defines the concept of empowerment as: to enable or permit. It can then be said that empowerment is a social process, by which people are helped in a manner that allows them to gain control over their own lives. We can then deduce that because people are faced with different problems, diverse solutions are needed to overcome such problems.

Empowerment needs to be based on divergent reasoning that encourage diversity through support of many different local groups rather than the large centralized social agencies and institutions which control resources, use convergent reasoning and attempt to standardize the ways in which people live their lives (Rappaport, 1981, p.19).

The diversity approach of empowerment is a notion brought about with the hope that individuals will come to accept and adapt to the diverse situations that they encounter. For this specific study, the following definition of empowerment will be used which relates to participation: "empowerment is the process of enhancing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes'' (World Bank Organisation, 2003). From this definition; it is evident that the term empowerment refers to a process that allows individuals to be able to be in control of their lives, by making their own decisions. Decisions refer to participating in local government matters, which directly affect the lives of ordinary citizens. Therefore, it then includes the notion of bringing about positive changes in the lives of poor people.

With regards to community empowerment, Bartle (2010, p.5), argues that empowering a community is a social process and therefore it is not something that one can do to a community, it is a process that the community needs to undergo. Empowering communities is a means by which non- governmental organizations strive to ensure that citizens are able to make choices regarding the services that they use.

Community Empowerment is about people and government, working together to make life better. It involves more people being able to influence decisions about their communities, and more people taking responsibility for tackling local problems, rather than expecting others to (Blunkett, 2004).

It is acknowledged that the establishment of civil society organisations can enhance the process of empowerment as non-governmental organizations mostly focus on empowering local communities in a manner that would ensure the self- reliance of community members. Furthermore, community empowerment may refer to the following:

To build the capacities of communities to be self- reliant, to be innovative, to live in harmony and to care for the land and to be productive. We need to exploit the very talents of being human, the innate talents and abilities in people to be creative. These must be made to work for empowerment in such a way that it improves the quality of life and builds a caring nation" (Nkosi, 2005)

The above definition relates to the purposes of non- governmental organisations in communities and how it plays a role in contributing to the empowerment of communities. It further points to the role of participation in this community empowerment process. Therefore it can be said that when a non-governmental organization strives to empower a community, it means that this specific organization wants to democratize the community. According to Gran cited in Roseland (1998, p.24), democracy forms part of the sustainable development process. To ensure that people prosper anywhere they must participate as competent citizens in the decisions and processes that affect their lives. In doing this, the organisation ensures that stability as well as equality is present within the community. For this to work, both the community as well as the organisation has to participate in events that will lead to the empowerment of the community.

It should be stated that the definition for empowerment differ from that of development. When we refer to empowerment we are referring to a process that allows the community to grow stronger. While the term development has to do with growth, when we say a community is developed we refer to the community being at a point where community members are sustained with a decline in the socio-economic challenges in the community.

Development is the possibility open to all of a country's inhabitants to enjoy material and spiritual prosperity instead of being merely on the "treadmill" in the machinery of accumulation. Yes, there should be economic growth, but not at the expense of the survival of the poorest (Editorial "Revista EL SALVADOR", 1989 cited in Friedmann).

On the essence of the concept of development, it can be concluded that development refers to improving the conditions of life, particularly the poor and marginalised. Therefore, the idea of poverty and unemployment can be associated with development. The notion of development was created to rid communities of socio- economic challenges. It is clear from the above that forms of participation that enhances individual and community empowerment can also contribute to the larger project of social development.

The idea of development relates to a developmental state. This section defines what is meant by a developmental state. The notion of a developmental state refers to the desire of government; a desire to participate in free market, to mobilize socio- economic development for its country. It is viewed as a goal of government, a goal which seeks to enhance the skills of citizens. "A developmental state is where government development and industrialization occur, however government also puts in place multifaceted interventions for the upliftment of the people from poverty" (Briefing paper 178, 2007). In essence when referring to a developmental state, it is the mechanisms that government adapt to alleviate the socio-economic challenges facing citizens, like poverty and unemployment.

A developmental state is associated with various characteristics, which enhances the definition of what a developmental state is. According to Gelb (2006, p.1), two characteristics of developmental states include; that of establishing a set of goals as well as a set of policies to ensure that a successful developmental state is implemented. Another characteristic that is importance is that of monitoring the progress towards the proposed objectives. It is evident that when creating a strategy for a developmental state, various mechanisms have to be employed to ensure that the promotion of development is successful. It also follows that, given the link between participation, empowerment and development; a developmental state ought to consider ways on institutionalising public participation as part of the larger

developmental project. Indeed, in many ways the system of participatory governance at local level in South Africa can be evaluated in these terms. This is the task of the next chapter.

2.7   Conclusion

This chapter looked at the notion of democracy and a discussion on the forms of democracy. Two specific forms, namely representative democracy and participatory democracy have been explored. To this end, democratic terms such as representative, participation and accountability are discussed to demonstrate how these practices are initiated within both the VPUU project and the safety sector of the PMO. These concepts are discussed in theory by defining the concepts and contextualising them in South Africa. Indeed, theory gives one the idea of how these concepts should be practiced and here a shift relating to how they are actually practiced in reality was found. The unresponsiveness of local government has led to the idea of civil society which could result in practices that are democratic in nature, and offering alternative practices. Furthermore, the chapter suggested ways that participation can relate to, and enhance, empowerment and development, through the notion of a developmental state.

The next chapter looks at participation in South Africa, through what is termed 'invited' spaces and 'invented' spaces. The former refers to participation that is authorised while the later refers to unauthorised participation. As indicated above, local government falls short of its obligations and hence, the idea of unauthorised participation has become popular.

CHAPTER THREE:

PARTICIPATION AND POPULAR MOBILISATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

This chapter evaluates the participatory spaces, be it 'invited spaces' (authorised participation) or 'invented spaces' (unauthorised participation), available to citizens. The chapter begins by discussing the idea of 'invited spaces' which in the case of South Africa mostly happen at elections, albeit, there are other participatory mechanisms as discussed below. Next is a sketch of the legal framework that underpins participatory governance, with reference to 'invited spaces' at the sphere of local government. This is followed by a discussion on popular mobilisation with focus on the history of mobilisation in South Africa, and thereafter looks at the notion of invented spaces. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that local government is unresponsive and as a result citizens are contesting local government through protests, otherwise popular mobilisation. Hence, the idea of civil society's participatory practices as an alternative means to local government.

3.   Invited spaces: Ballot (elections)

The first local elections in South Africa occurred in 1994, which marked the beginning of democracy in South Africa. Local government in South Africa holds democratic elections every three to five years. Citizens are eligible to vote on the following requirements:

1.   In terms of section 6 of the interim Constitution eligible as a voter for Parliament (i.e. normally a South African citizen over the age of 18 and not subject to the normal statutory disqualifications);

2.   Ordinarily resident within the jurisdiction of that local government , or is in terms of the law liable for payment of property rates, rent, service charges or levies to the local government (this includes students, boarders or residents in informal settlements and absent landlords who comply with these requirements, but not hotel guest, tourist, visitors or contract workers); and

3.   A registered voter on the voters' roll of the local government (Cloete, 1995, p.30).

Furthermore, Cloete indicate that the electoral system for a local government includes both proportional and also ward representation. Also, a local government voter is allowed to only

vote for one local government. However, the election process is not the only mechanism that can be considered as participation because citizens are directly involved in the ballot process, but rather one of many forms of participation. Participation is not only through election process but also through other mechanisms, such as ward committees and public meetings (here referred to as imbizos). Imbizo refer to a Zulu word which means gathering. Historically, imbizos are gatherings of the Zulu people called by the king or a traditional leader.

3.1   Legal framework for participation in South Africa

The legal framework for public participation in local affairs is outlined below. The legal framework is a key tenet of democracy and thus unique to local government in SA. The participation of citizens in local processes is crucial as it provide an opportunity for municipalities to understand the needs of communities. It can thus be said, perhaps meaningful participation in local decisions leads to improved service delivery in communities.
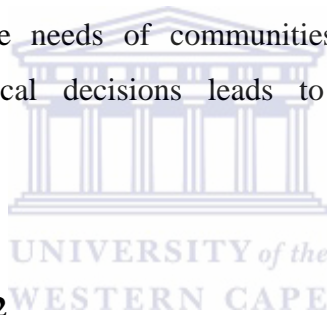
3.1.1   Constitution: Section 152

Section 152 of the Constitution refers to the objectives of local government. Reference to this section has been made in previous chapters. However two of these objectives are stated below with reference to community participation in local affairs. According to Section 152 of the Constitution local government is expected to:

(1) (a): 'provide democratic and accountable government for local communities', and

(1) (e): 'encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government' (Nadvi & Piper, 2009, p.4).

The above mentioned objectives are central to local government. Furthermore, Ndevu suggests that the objectives of local government implies going beyond consulting communities to include deliberation of pertinent issues. This means that citizens are given the right to not only be aware of local affairs but also are allowed to discuss it and contribute in a manner that will amount to favourable outcomes (Ndevu, 2011, p. 1250).

The section below examines participation in municipal processes by first outlining the legal framework and practices of 'invited spaces' for participatory governance. Among the various legislations that provide the impetus for public participation in local governance in SA include the following;

3.1.2   Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000

According to Ndevu (2011, p.1250), section 16 of the Municipal Systems Act makes provision for the participation of communities in local municipal affairs. This act looks at municipal governance with focus on formal representative government within a system of participatory governance. This act stipulates that communities should be encouraged to participate in: (1) integrated development planning (IDP), (2) decisions on the provision of municipality services, (3) monitoring and evaluation of performance, (4) the budget, (5) strategic decisions relating to services (RSA, 2000).

In this thesis, the focus is on municipal service delivery - the basic services that municipals are obligated to provide to local communities. To this end, the *Batho Pele* principles have placed people at the centre of service delivery - with the popular statement; "people first". The eight Batho Pele principles are simply codes of conduct for public servants in particular. It indicates the manner in which service delivery should be provided to the public. In relation to service delivery, it is expected of municipalities to ensure that all citizens are provided with the following basic services such as; water supply, refuse removal, street lighting, sewage collection and disposal, municipal roads and storm water drainage, etc (Education and Training Unit, nd, p.4).

According to Zubane (2011, p.24), public service should reflect both the ethos and culture of the government of the day. The ideology of government should at all times be maintained. The eight *Batho Pele* principles are; service standards, consultation, value for money, increase access to services, ensure higher levels of courtesy, provide more and better information about services, increase openness and transparency and remedy failures and mistakes.

As stipulated by the Batho Pele principles, citizens should be told what level and quality of public services they will receive so that they are aware of what to expect. Citizens should also

be consulted about the level and quality of public service they receive and, wherever possible, should be given a choice about the services that are offered. Public services should be provided economically and efficiently in order to give citizens the best possible value for money. All citizens should have equal access to the services to which they are entitled. Citizens should be treated with courtesy and consideration. Citizens should be given full, accurate information about the public services that they are entitled to receive. Furthermore, citizens should be told how government departments are run, how much the budget is and who is in charge. If the promised services are not delivered to standard, citizens should be offered an apology, a full explanation, a speedy and effective remedy and, when complaints are made, citizens should receive a positive response (Ndevu, 2011, p.1251).

The *Batho Pele* principles represent an integral part of service delivery in South Africa. These principles are a two-way communication that occurs between local government and communities. Public servants are obligated to ensure that communities receive all basic services that are entitled to them. "The principles further enforce the notion that they are simple and transparent mechanisms that allow communities to hold public servants accountable for the level of services they deliver" (Ndevu, 2011, p. 1251).

Furthermore, The Municipal Systems Act places emphasis on the role of ward committees as local affairs need to take place through these structures. Another important aspect that the Act looks at is the need for community participation as citizens should be involved in municipal affairs.

The Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000 elaborates the issue of community participation in municipal affairs and encourages municipalities to establish alternative forums in localities where no municipal structures for community participation exist. The Act specifies that these forums are to be representative of the different interests within communities. These forums also need to enhance community participation in the integrated development plan (IDP) processes (Naidu, 2011, p.281).

The Act emphasises the role of ward committees and especially their central role in communication and mobilisation between municipalities and its electorate. In addition to the importance of the presence of ward committees, the Act looks at public participation and how fundamental it is at local level. According to Madlala (2005, p.1) section 5 of the Municipal Systems Act is explicit about the need for public participation. Among its provisions are:

- The right to contribute to the decision- making process of the municipality;

- The right to be informed of decisions of the municipal council; and

- The right to the disclosure of the state of affairs of the municipality (Section 5, Municipal Systems Act).

3.1.3 Local government Municipal Structures Act, No. 117 of 1998

The aim of this Act is to foster participatory governance through key players such as ward committees, councillors, community members and other stakeholder in communities. Govender & Reddy (2011, p.61), point out that the Local Government Municipal Structures Act, No. 117 of 1998, mandate municipalities to create mechanisms to encourage community and civic involvement in local governance. This type of governance is seen as one that compliments representative democracy as participation is being enforced.

Furthermore the Municipal Structures Act "provides for the structural, political and functional institutions for metropolitan, district and local municipalities, with the latter two tiers sharing jurisdiction over rural areas" (Powell in Booysen, 2011, p. 15). The Act also makes specific references to communities and how ward committees should facilitate relations between communities and municipalities in a manner that allows for the participation in local affairs. According to Buccus (2011, p.246), section 44(3)(g) of this Act requires the involvement of both communities and community organisations in the affairs of local municipality. More importantly, the act requires the establishment of ward committees as a means to enhance participatory democracy in local government. In addition to this, section 72 of this Act refers to the functions and priorities of ward committees and also indicates their role as vehicles for communication, through which committees should communicate with local municipalities.

3.1.4 Local government Municipal Finance Management Act, No. 56 of 2003

Municipal finances should be planned in that a budget should be allocated for municipal funds and this should be done in a transparent manner as it is the business of the public. This implies that communities should be aware of municipal expenditures. It is for this reason that consultation is important before the budget is approved by council. In relation to

participation, community members must be informed of municipal budgets. With this in mind, this Act "provides for the comprehensive reform of municipal finance management systems and aims to regulate the budgeting process, financial accounting, auditing, reporting and borrowing. With regards to participation, this Act stipulates that a council must consult the community on the annual tabled budget" (Govender &Reddy, 2011, p.61). The formation of the municipal budget is important as it sets out the activities that need to be financed and more importantly, the income for these expenses is specified in the budget. According to the Education and Training Unit (nd, p. 6) due to the complexity of the municipal budget it makes it impossible to be discussed in consultation meetings. Even so, it is vital to identify budget items as it should be debated with communities and also stakeholders. The municipal budget should be approved by council before the new financial years begins. However, before the budget can be approved it needs to undergo proper planning and consultation with ward committees and also with other stakeholder groups in the given area.

3.1.5   The Draft National Policy Framework for Public Participation

The Draft National Policy Framework for Public Participation consist of various elements, such as, the creation of ward committees and also supporting of local activities through a cadre of community development workers (CDWs) (Govender & Reddy, 2011, p.62). The two elements mentioned here are briefly discussed below. A ward committee consist of 10 people and the main duty of ward committees is to assist the ward councillor. A ward committee is established in communities to enhance community participation.

A ward committee has no executive powers, but is expected to serve as an independent, advisory structure for the ward councillor and the municipal council. Members of the ward committees are envisaged to represent the interests of residents in the ward through interest groups or associations that serve the community, and therefore, have a direct interest in municipal affairs (Buccus, 2011, p.247).

It is important to note that even though a ward committee plays an important role in communities by articulating local problems, the fact that they do not bare executive powers

should not be overlooked. Moreover, CDWs, according to Education and Training Unit (nd, p.2) are aimed at ensuring that people are able to access government services through CDWs working in communities. These are individuals that normally know the community well and have good relations with organisations in the community. CDWs are expected to give advice and help people with their problems.

In addition to these two elements, Govender & Reddy (2011) sets out the basic assumptions underlying public participation; which is promoting the values of good governance and human rights, acknowledging the fundamental rights of all people to participate in governance systems, narrowing the social distance between the electorate and elected institutions, recognising the intrinsic value of all people, including the participation of individuals, interest groups and communities. At the community level, ward committees (own emphasis), ought to play a central role in linking up elected institutions with the people, and other forums of communication; reinforcing these linkages with communities like the *izimbizo* (public forum between a governmental authority and the public), roadshows, and the *makgotla* (an adaption form of popular rural justice) is imperative.

The idea of 'invited spaces' in South Africa is meant for the use of citizens. These are spaces made available through which citizens can register their grievances with public officials. This type of participation normally takes the form of public meetings in which citizens have one on one discussions with their elected representatives. However, in practice these spaces tend to be ineffective. "The poor design of these spaces, a lack of genuine will from elites, and the relative power of social actors means that, in practice, they are either meaningless processes or simply co-opted by political parties" (Nadvi & Piper, 2009, p.1).

In this section, the failure of what Booysen (2008, p.9) terms as 'extended engagement, access and participation' is discussed. In light of this, it has been found that mechanisms for public participation such as ward committees and izimbizos experience implementation problems (Buccus et al in Booysen, 2008, p.6). Furthermore, Tapscott (2006) claims that failure to implement was a result of local government's expectations being too great and the fact that they lacked the capacity to muddle through participatory demands.

Furthermore, in relation to ward committees, Buccus et al (2008, p. 15-16) suggest that despite the promise made by ward committees, they perform poorly. This is ascribed to lack of meaningful understanding of municipal processes and how to integrate community needs into the development planning process. Given this, the fact that no resources are made available for ward committees functions, also contributes to the failure of ward committees. Moreover municipal izimbizo, which was created to bridge the gap between municipalities and communities, with a key objective of addressing poverty and implementing government actions plans (Booysen, 2008, p.14). However, there is evidence to suggest that izimbizos does not necessarily lead to desirable outcomes. With this being said, (Buccus et al, 2008, p.5) makes the following assertion:

Although izimbizo is often addressed by high-level politicians and often draws crowds of thousands, they do not necessarily lead to meaningful deliberation of development challenges and policy options, nor the resolution of long-standing grievances. The problem relates to effective linkage between mass meetings and the planning and budgetary processes of government.
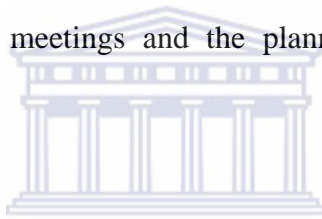
In practice, these policies and laws do not work as envisioned on paper. Mdlala looks at the factors that detracted the value of participatory processes. Mdlala states that there is too much intervention and too little consultation. Furthermore, in its quest to address backlogs in service delivery and promote community participation, the government has designed various intervention strategies without proper consultation with stakeholders and practitioners. Although implemented with good intentions, some interventions fostered resistance and, in some cases, outright rejection. An example is the introduction of community development workers in local municipalities.

In addition, Mdlala also point to the role of traditional leaders. The role of traditional leaders is an extremely sensitive and potentially volatile exercise to forge the co-existence of two diverse and contradicting systems such as modern democratic governance and traditional authorities. In recent years though, municipalities in provinces have increasingly been successful in forging working relationships with traditional leaders. Many of these leaders

have recognised the fact that the development of their communities is intertwined with the democratic processes of local government, such as public participation.

Furthermore, another factor to consider is co-operative governance. Here, Mdlala states that in terms of Chapter 3 of the constitution, national, provincial and local governments have to uphold the principles of co-operative governance. According to feedback from several local authorities, this principle is often watered down, to the detriment of municipalities. Numerous accounts exist of interference by provincial and national bureaucrats in local matters, which is often interpreted as a violation of this constitutional provision. Sustained intervention of this nature can leave citizens with the impression that public participation does not serve a purpose when external officials can override the decisions of local councils (Madlala, 2005, p.1).

The ANC promised to address disparities by making spaces available to citizens to participate in local municipal affairs. This notion involved creating 'invited spaces' such as local elections, establishment of ward committees and public consultation that would not only enhance the participation of communities in local matters but also improve the service delivery challenges in communities. Even though Madlala claims that in practice participation seems to be ineffective, it was discovered that citizens are still make use of the spaces available and through other constitutional provisions for participation. The section below discusses popular mobilisation in practice in South Africa.

3.2   Practices of mobilisation in the new South Africa

As previously mentioned, public participation in South Africa consists of both authorised and unauthorised participation. "In essence, the practice of public participation needs to be assessed in terms of the creation of opportunities for participation, its links with relations of power and authority, and the extent to which this link engenders results" (Booysen, 2009, p.5). In some instances, the opportunities provided for participation does not lead to a favourable outcome for all. This happens due to the fact that social movement organisations in communities lack the capacity to ensure that effective participation is exercised. According to Coelho, et al (2010, p.15), in South Africa (where social movement organisations remain

weak compared to Brazil) spontaneous social mobilisation and protest is evident. Protest form of participation is led by either small or mobilised movements.

3.2.1   History of mobilisation in South Africa

The anti-apartheid struggle of the 1980's was characterised by large-scale mass mobilisations that occurred, as marginalized black citizens took action against the government. This action entailed the use of boycotts as a mechanism of resistance against the government. This form of resistance was used to make the government of the day ungovernable.

It was only in the early eighties, however that internal adult-based resistance, in co – ordination with exile movements reached a pitch of intensity necessitating the declaration of successive "states of emergency" by the government and a response by the black communities in the form of the "ungovernability campaign" – local boycotts of municipal administrations and the disruption of schools and other institutions (Moller & Schlemmer, 1997, p.16-17).

The ANC played a prominent role through the idea of mass 'ungovernability campaign'. Evidently this response by the people led to townships becoming ungovernable. The ANC can thus be said to have played a key role in inspiring the resistance during the apartheid era. Nelson Mandela had the following to say about mass movements:

Without ... a strong revolutionary organisation, we cannot take advantage of the uprisings ... What is missing is a strong underground ANC presence as well as a large contingent of units of Umkhonto we Sizwe. ... The scope, spread, and intensity of our struggle have also thrown up a large leadership corps of our democratic movement. It is important that we pay close and continuous attention to the issue of maintaining close relations with these leaders, educate the masses of our people to understand and accept our leadership on all major questions, in accordance with our position as the vanguard movement of our struggling people (Macdonald, 1996, p.226).

The boycotts and protest marches erupted as a result of citizens' dissatisfaction with apartheid. The ANC ensured that the masses understood that the leaders were fighting for the greater good of the masses. Hence, people were inspired to partake in mass movements as this was empowering to them. Through these movements, people were promised by the ANC

government that they would create a turnaround strategy, one that would see to the needs of the poor. According to Nadvi & Piper (2009, p.3), the struggle period, especially the 1980's was portrayed by popular mobilisation of anti – apartheid activities. It was the United Democratic Front and also the ANC who secured public goods such as education, health and housing. With this being said, another federation who played a prominent role in the struggle against the apartheid era was the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). "As a federation it brought together many of the unions formed after the wave of strikes at the beginning of 1973 which marked a renewal of trade union activity after a decade long lull" (South African History Online: towards a people's history, nd). Furthermore, it can be said that the ANC, UDM and COSATU can thus be considered to be the social movement of the 1980's.

So far as popular mobilisation is concern, the resistance of the 1980's played a significant role to end apartheid. However, the promises that were made to people created high expectations of people in the 'new' South Africa that they would receive better services and would also be allowed to participate in local affairs. Participation was then made legal and various forms of participation were established. Furthermore, the transition to democracy led to the ANC absorbing most civil society leaders into the party and the state at large, demobilising communities. "The political spaces that have opened up should have allowed for an increase in civic and public organisations, but instead, the spaces were often occupied by ANC actors" (Zueren in Booysen, 2008, p.14). This provides understanding of the context of the resurgence of protest and enduring repertoires (traditions) of protest.

3.2.2 Invented spaces: Protest

"Currently the dominant form of mobilisation in South Africa is protest action by citizens" (Coelho, et al, 2010, p. 24). As previously stated, protests are a form of participation that citizens turn to, to show their grievances in relation to the poor services that they are receiving. The practice of protest in South Africa has become a concern following the increased number of protests (as discussed in chapter one). For the most part, protests are a result of inadequate service delivery, or frustrating resulting from the process of engagement between the local state and communities around service delivery. According to Powell, cited in Booysen (2011, p. 23), in addition to service delivery protest, another kind of protest is an

organised one that is directed at local government for with-holding of rates by ratepayers in South Africa.

In view of the above, the popular question surrounding protests is why do people protest? According to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2006, p.6) Democracy's crisis stems from public dissatisfaction in many parts of the world with the inability of some elected governments to deliver economic opportunity for all. Furthermore, the idea of democracy which often results in elite 'capture' promotes personal gains at the expense of the larger community. This may also lead to corruption (See chapter one where corruption is mentioned briefly with reference to South Africa).

The demands of citizens are conveyed to representatives with the assumption that the representative will convey such demands and grievances to the local municipality for redress. Contrary to this idea, it is found that public officials lobby citizens and encourage them to vote for a particular party (in this case referring to the ANC). Hence, it is political parties rather than representatives that should be blamed for unmet promises and needs of people. Taking a closer look at a statement being made by S'bu Zikode (formal local leader of ANC and also founding member of Aahlali baseMjondolo, which is a shack dwellers movement in South Africa. The former local ANC leader, S'bu Zikode made the following statement:

We felt that we have been used – just used to keep the people loyal while they were being betrayed. We have been used by the people in power to fulfil their own ambitions, their own projects. We were used as ladders so that they could climb up over the people to their positions. The way the system works makes it impossible for people to call their leaders into account (Pithouse, 2009, p. 144).

With regards to the above assertion, the activist implies that they were unaware that the promises made to the public during campaigns would not be delivered. So citizens blame their representatives for lack of accountability as they were the ones who conveyed these promises to communities on behalf of political parties.

Community participation plays a vital role in the service delivery process in municipalities. It is imperative to note that even though spaces are made available for citizens to participate does not necessarily mean that citizens make use of such spaces. In some cases, the lack of

participation derives from a lack of knowledge as people choose not to participate in local affairs because they have no interest in the process and because they do not have a proper understanding of what it entails. It is for this reason that von Lieries (2007, p.76) asserts that, firstly, it should be known that participation is a right to every citizen. Secondly, due to the fact that poor citizens are unable to represent themselves it is vital that spaces be made available to such citizens to ensure that they participate. Lastly, people are not well aware of their rights when it comes to participation in local affairs. Hence, sufficient time and resources must be made available for educating citizens around their rights in relation to participation.

According to Ndevu (2011, p.1247) public services rest on the assumption that a necessity for service delivery is community-based participation, as this is an essential component in ensuring efficiency and sustainability. Furthermore, community participation is considered a mechanism that would lead to a desired outcome such as the alleviation of poverty deepening understanding of communities in relation to public service processes and practices. In relation to this view, Ndevu furthermore points out the following: "community participation is one of the cornerstones of effective and accountable governance, and an important practical approach is to establish structures that will allow meaningful participation" (2011, p.1252). The practice of community participation creates a sense of democracy, in which citizens get to hold public officials accountable for service delivery.

Who are the people that protest? Derived from the above it is evident that people who participate in protests are those who are dissatisfied with the manner or the lack of service delivery that is being rendered to them by local government.

On the surface, the protest has been about service delivery and against uncaring, self – serving and corrupt leaders of municipalities. A key feature has been mass participation by a new generation of fighters, especially unemployed youth but also school kids (Alexander, 2010, p.25).

The majority of protestors are those considered to be the poor, marginalised groups or classified as working class. Drawing from Ngwame, Marx (1970) claims that those who are classified as the working class are those individuals who have nothing else to sell but their labour. Ngwane (2011, p12- 13) further suggests that the ideology of the working class protest is based on the premise that the process of protests and strikes represent a collective

effort by communities to engage in matters that would fundamentally lead to change because of its historical and structural location in capitalist society (Grossman, 1985; Marx and Engels, 2005).

3.3   Conclusion

This chapter introduced the notion of 'invited spaces', otherwise known as authorised participation. Furthermore, the legal framework for participation in South Africa is set out. The ANC till now fail to deliver on the promises made to citizens, and despite the legal framework in place for participation, participation seems to be ineffective in practice. This chapter has also discussed popular mobilization with reference to apartheid and how this influenced the demise of the apartheid regime. Here, emphasis is placed on the role that the ANC played in mobilisation during the 1980's and also the promises made by the ANC to reform governance. Arguably, the ANC has failed to deliver fully on its promises made to citizens. Therefore popular mobilization by civil society is seen as a means to react to local government's empty promises.
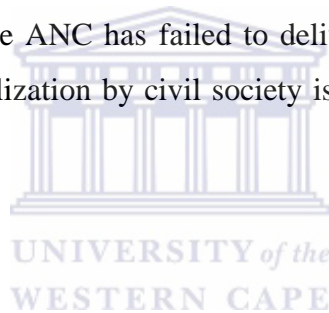
CHAPTER FOUR:

CASE-STUDY 1: THE VIOLENCE PREVENTION THROUGH URBAN UPGRADING PROJECT IN MANENBERG

In response to conventional approaches of the City of Cape Town, the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) project claims to provide an alternative solution/approach. It claims to be a developmental project aimed at building public infrastructure, influencing processes and reducing violence and crime. Furthermore, the VPUU project process is described as participatory and therefore democratic in nature by making spaces available for public participation. This chapter thus evaluate the VPUU programme to date in Manenberg with emphasis on key democratic concepts such as representation, participation and accountability.

The chapter argued that in relation to representation, the PMO have tried to capture the VPUU project to the exclusion of other civil society organisations. However, there is evidence to suggest that the VPUU project leaders co-opted the PMO in Manenberg. Furthermore, participation in the VPUU project in Manenberg was only afforded to two NGOs while there are two hundred and thirty NGOs conducting activities in Manenberg. Due to the delay in the VPUU project in Manenberg, those organisations that participated in the VPUU came to be somewhat unfairly seen as being unaccountable to the community. In this regard, the chapter begins by discussing the progress made thus far by the VPUU project team in the community of Manenberg.

4.   The VPUU project in Manenberg

VPUU project did not properly commence in the community of Manenberg, due to a number of reasons discussed below. Notably, in an interview with the project manager, Mr Graham, indicated in writing that the project was due to commence in June 2012, and nearly a year the VPUU project team is still largely absent in the community of Manenberg. To date, the VPUU project in Manenberg has only reached a third of nine phases in the project process. This third phase is the survey of crime levels in the community. According to Alastair Graham, the main reason for the delay is due to lack of funding;

Since July 2011 the VPUU project reached its third phase. We have applied to the German bank to fund communities such as Manenberg and Hanover Park. In preparation for the project we have done a base line survey which consisted of a business survey and a violence survey (see map 1 and map 2 in Appendix C).

As mentioned in chapter one, the VPUU project has nine phases and has thus far reached the third phase in the community of Manenberg. Phase 1 (Formation of leadership committee): in this phase various organisations in the project area are identified. The management conducts an audit of local organisations, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs) and political parties who work in the area. Thereafter, potential organisations are selected through the area-based management division.

Furthermore, potential organisations are invited to nominate candidates who are appropriate for the various available positions on the Safe Node Area Committee (SNAC). The final step in phase 1 occurs at the electoral meeting, where all organisations in the area are invited to nominate as well as vote for each position on the SNAC. Phase 2 (Training): Training is provided in which the leadership group gain skills that would assist them in situations such as conflict. Phase 3 (Needs identification and livelihoods survey): a 10% survey is conducted in the respective community by the project professional team not only to introduce the project in the community but also to identify the leadership's needs.

The findings mentioned below are a reflection of what has been accomplished by the VPUU project thus far in Manenberg. For this study four specific themes were highlighted, namely; representation, participation, accountability and the democratic impact on citizenship that the VPUU project had in Manenberg. These following themes are discussed below. With reference to this specific study, two research methods were used for data collection. These include, in-depth interviews with ten members comprising of three NGOs in the community of Manenberg, members of the VPUU project team and ward councillors in the community of Manenberg. The mentioned participants participated in this study because most of them formed part of the Manenberg Co-ordinating Structure (MCS) which is a local version of phase 1 of the VPUU project- discussed in more detail below. The MCS is a stakeholder forum which consists of representatives of various organisations in Manenberg. The second tool used for data collection was focus group discussions. Two focus group discussions were

conducted with members of the Proudly Manenberg Organisation (PMO) who also participated in the VPUU survey process.

4.1 Representation

In early 2009, the VPUU project team consulted a few NGOs in Manenberg including the PMO, the Self-Help Manenberg Organisation, The People Centre, etc, for a two day workshop in relation to the Manenberg's VPUU project. This workshop was held over a weekend; the 29 – 31 May 2009 (see VPUU workshop report in Appendix B). It was decided at this workshop that the various NGOs gathered will all form part of a stakeholder forum which will represent the community in relation to the project, this forum was named the Manenberg Co – ordinating Structure (MCS).

The City of Cape Town together with the province decided to hold the two day workshop to gain perspective on the key stakeholders in Manenberg. It was from this consultation process that the stakeholder forum was formed. However, it was decided at the workshop that a new forum would be formed which would be a representative forum of the community, leading to the creation of the Manenberg Co-ordinating Structure (Respondent X10, August 24, 2012).

We had monthly meetings in which we discussed the research and its processes. I serve as a representative on the Manenberg Co-ordinating Structure and therefore attended these meetings (Respondent X9, July 18, 2012).

One of the initial activities in the VPUU project in an area is to check if there is an existing forum that represents all the interested parties in the community. If there is one the project team works with the forum as they prefer to work with a single channel to ensure that NGOs in the community participate in the VPUU project. According to a work stream leader for social crime prevention, the VPUU team prefers to work with a single forum; however, if a single forum does not exist in a community the VPUU project team gathers the community and request that NGOs in the community form a forum (Respondent X6, May 31, 2012). It was then agreed at the workshop that NGOs will work together to ensure the success of the VPUU project in Manenberg.

When we went to Manenberg we followed the same method and essentially we found that there were two groups operating, and one was called the Proudly Manenberg Organisation and at the time the other was called the Manenberg Development Forum. We then approached the two groups and asked them if they are willing to work together as a representative structure. There was then an agreement to do so and from that we selected what is called a steering committee (referring here to the MCS) (Respondent X6, May 31, 2012).

NGOs in Manenberg agreed at the two day workshop held by the VPUU project team to form a structure that would represent the community in the VPUU project. Hence, the expectation of community members was that, the MCS team was required to make contact with the VPUU project team when there was no sign of the project commencing in the community. As the MCS served as a representative structure for the community - this was a form of representative democracy that was being practised between the VPUU project and civil society in Manenberg. The MCS was regarded as the representatives of the community in relation to the VPUU project in Manenberg.

Representation is a tool used by the state to ensure that citizens are able to participate in government affairs through their designated elected representatives. According to Hirst (1994, p.35) representative democracy is a process of two way communication that occurs between a public power (the state) and an organised social group that represent the interest of those they represent. In the case of the Manenberg VPUU project, the state would be the VPUU project team and the latter which Hirst refers to as the organised social group is the MCS. As indicated above the MCS claims that the VPUU project did not communicate with the forum during the period of their absence. However, in light of the above, Respondent X3 (May 01, 2012) claims that there was communication with the MCS with regards to the lack of funding and we are not sure if the message was conveyed to the community (Respondent X3 formed part of the leadership support of the VPUU project)

The VPUU was clearly trying to provide an alternative to what is being experienced by communities that form part of the Cape Flats. It is for this reason that the VPUU project manager makes the following claim in relation to the objectives of the project:

It targets safety, quality of life, tries to break down exclusion which are basically the legacy of apartheid , which means that communities that form part of the cape flats are not properly provided for as they do not have an economic base. There remains a high level of gangsterism and crime in these communities. What this programme is doing is trying to target those things in a comprehensive and integrated manner (Respondent X7, June 01, 2012).

Resources are scarce and therefore NGOs are forever competing against each other to obtain the necessary resources that are needed to address the various socio- economic challenges in the community of Manenberg. With this being said Zaindeen refers to some of the main challenges facing the community of Manenberg. Some of these include drugs, gangs and crime (Zaindeen, 2009). However, the idea of the VPUU project and the funds associated with the project has given NGOs hope, which leads to more tension between NGOs. This tension is observed by outsiders as well and this is not good because it jeopardises future economic and social investment in the community.

My hope is that it can become a project that not only brings physical investment into the community but also serves to restore cohesion amongst the civil society organisations. I have worked in both Manenberg and Hanover Park and people shoot themselves in the foot because there is constant jostling for resources and people see the VPUU project as a carrot that is dangled there and everyone wants a piece of it (Respondent X3, May 01, 2012).

The behaviour of desperation by NGOs in the community indicates that NGOs are not attending to community needs, but more specifically they are driven by finance. NGOs advance their own interest instead of the community. This point was made during various interviews with public officials working in the area of Manenberg. With this being said the assertion of Klandermans et al with regards to civil society is important to note: "civil society is supposed to form an essential link between citizens and the state, be it in support of or opposition to the state" (Klandermans et al, 2001, p.112). From this assertion it can be deduced that civil society should consider the interest of the people which they represent. It is evident that NGOs need to have a good working relationship with one another and get to a point where they can make the best decisions in the interest of the community as a whole and not include their personal feelings or vendettas that they bear with one another.

4.2   Participation

Regarding the survey component of the VPUU project, members of the PMO organisation were employed by the VPUU to do the fieldwork process for the project in Manenberg; this was done door-to-door with questionnaires and through focus group discussions with various individuals groups. The survey process looked at the rate of violence as well as the amount of businesses in the community. The former and the latter relate as the aim of the fieldwork was to draw a connection in terms of how violence in Manenberg affects business. However, the problem with this process was that the individuals who were used to do the fieldwork for the VPUU project in Manenberg belonged to only two NGOs who formed part of the MCS. This therefore meant that not all NGOs formed part of the MCS participated in the fieldwork process.

Members of the community were used to administer door-to-door questionnaires from which they earned a stipend. At first the VPUU project team only had relations with the PMO as they were under the impression that this organisation was the 'umbrella' organisation in the community. A member of another organisation said the following about the fieldwork process:

Initially only two organisations in Manenberg were part of this project as they had contacts within the VPUU project team. These organisations were the Proudly Manenberg Organisation and the Self – Help Manenberg Organisation. Proudly Manenberg was chosen because they have created a People's Charter and this gave the VPUU project team the impression that this was the organisation that would provide them with all the answers. Therefore it was these two organisations that were chosen to do the fieldwork process in the community. It was assumed that the Proudly Manenberg Organisation was the umbrella organisation in Manenberg. (Respondent X10, August 24, 2012).

With the above in mind, an employee at the PMO confirmed the statement made above by Respondent X10 which indicates that people who were involved in the data collection process were mostly people working for the PMO. The employee from PMO had the following to say: "I was initially part of recruiting people (field workers) and getting the information together. It was also my duty to organise community meetings in relation to the project and to organise these meetings with organisations in the community and more

specifically the community. I had to collect all the fieldwork from the fieldworkers and it was my responsibility to capture the information" (Respondent X4, May 08, 2012).

Moreover the aim of the fieldwork process was to gain perspective of where gang related activities, drugs, crimes and rapes etc. occur in the community. According to Respondent X3, the information that was found with the questionnaires was intended to be used to reduce crime levels and also enhance the business activities in the area. Evidently the idea was to create a safe place for businesses to operate instead of the area being a hot spot for crime. This process lasted for three months and after that the information was gathered and the VPUU project team used the information collected during the fieldwork process and created what was known as the Baseline Violence Survey and also the Business Survey.

In addition to the questionnaires, focus group discussions were conducted with various groups consisting of teachers, taxi drivers, pensioners, health sector etc. Similar to the questionnaire process these individuals in these groups were used to identify where they think most crime occur in the community. NGOs (who form part of the forum known as the MCS) other than the PMO revealed that, the problem with these individuals was that it was not random people selected from the community; but were rather employees of the PMO.

This is a problem, as other NGOs in the community of Manenberg claim that the information gathered during the focus group discussions is not a true reflection of all community members in Manenberg, but a reflection of a certain group of members in Manenberg. A member of an organisation who forms part of the MCS said that the research done is seen as invalid for the following reason:

The research that was done in Manenberg is not a true reflection of the community as the people who participated in the focus group discussions were paid employees of the various sectors of the Proudly Manenberg Organisation. Individuals were used (sic) to represent various sectors and therefore it was individual views- because they spoke in their own capacity and not the views of people in the community. Besides majority of the people were workers of the Proudly Manenberg Organisation. It is then obvious that the input that these participants gave in the study were issues that have been discussed at the Proudly Manenberg Organisation (Respondent X10, August 24, 2012).

The community as a whole had no idea of the project and what it was about, and therefore they did not have the choice to participate in the project. This led to allegations that the PMO wanted to monopolise popular representation in relation to the VPUU project. In this regard, Reid makes six claims of how a participating community should look like. One important aspect that Reid refers to is that 'persons of the community should be well informed about matters of the community and that is why all issues at hand should be conducted in an appropriate manner which leads to transparency' (2002, p.2). The community as a whole were never involved in the fieldwork process and therefore was unable to make their own decisions.

Derived from the above, participation in the VPUU project in Manenberg was evident even though it was limited. That is, not everyone in the community got to participate in the project and more specifically only certain organisations participated in the project. Even though the VPUU project team and the representatives (MCS) were supposed to enlighten the community about the project and also the survey process, this information was not properly advertised and widely conveyed. Members of the community participated in the survey as they were under the impression that the project was beneficial to them but did not understand the purpose of the project. Thus, it was members of the housing sector at the PMO that conducted the fieldwork, respondents automatically assumed it was for a housing project.

People working for the housing sector of the PMO did the door to door surveys in the community. This then gave the community the impression that the surveys were conducted as part of a housing project and therefore the community did not hesitate to participate in the surveys (Member of the PMO, June 21, 2012).

Due to the close relations that community members have with each other, people are aware of who works for which sector of the PMO. According to Respondent X9 (July 18, 2012), monthly meetings took place in which the two organisations involved in the process together with the VPUU project team discussed the progress of the research process. This evidentially indicates that not all organisations that formed part of the MCS got the opportunity to be involved in the survey process.

4.3   Accountability

The survey process took place in the community of Manenberg during the year 2009. This process lasted for three months before the data was captured and compiled into reports. Since this fieldwork process in 2009, the VPUU project team has been absent from the community of Manenberg. It has only recently been brought to the attention of the public that the VPUU project team will return to the community of Manenberg to start with the actual project which they intended to do three years ago. There are various reasons for the delay in the project, although finances are clearly a key one, as all parties involved have different views as to the delay of the project. The findings below are an indication of how the delay came about according to both the VPUU project team and the community of Manenberg.

The VPUU project team initiated the VPUU project in Manenberg in 2009 with the idea that the community will welcome this project and it will be beneficial for the community. According to Slamdien (2010), the same project started in Khayelitsha in 2006 and was reported to be very successful in decreasing violence and crime in Khayelitsha. Given that these two communities share similar features it was assumed that this project will have the same effect on Manenberg. However, the community of Manenberg appeared to be in a different stage than Khayelitsha in relation to the progress of the VPUU project as the project ended at the survey stage in Manenberg. According Respondent X9 (July 18, 2012), the VPUU project stopped in Manenberg after meetings and presentations had been held by Alastair Graham (Project Manager). Ever since the survey process, the MCS has tried to get a hold of the VPUU project team but nothing was achieved from these efforts. A public official who was involved in the initial stage of the VPUU survey process in Manenberg mentioned that:

Well if I speak specifically about Manenberg then I feel it was premature of us to do the survey process in Manenberg without having a guarantee of receiving further funding for the project. It raise expectations in a community especially with the questions which we asked during the fieldwork process as people lose confidence when you do not follow up with your research and survey with the necessary problematic action (Respondent X3, May 01, 2012).

From the above it can be deduced that the VPUU project team did the survey process without surety of receiving funding to do the actual project in the community. It is obvious that civil society as well as the community as a whole did not know about this important information as they thought after the survey process the project will commence. Therefore the absence of the

VPUU project team was a surprise to the community. Manenberg being one of the first places where the project was planned to start did not happen, as funding from the German Development Bank was used for the VPUU project in Khayelitsha. Later it was decided that Manenberg was also a community in need of the project so to get the wheel rolling, the City of Cape Town in collaboration with the South African Development Bank initiated the start of the Manenberg project in the hope that funding will be received from Germany after the survey process.

At the time that the project was in Manenberg, it was only funded by the South African Development Bank to do the survey process with the idea that after this is done funds would be given from the German Development Bank to fund other projects beyond the one in Khayelitsha (Respondent X3, May 01, 2012).

The miscommunication between the VPUU project team, representatives of the community and the community occurred as the financial situation was not conveyed to all parties involved. The VPUU project team left with all information received during the fieldwork process and compiled two surveys and never returned to the community. No explanation was given to the community as to why the project could not progress. There is still no surety that this project will commence this year in the community as the City of Cape Town has not made funds available for the project. Members of the community are confused and angry as to the success of the Khayelitsha project and the poor attempt for the same project to commence in Manenberg. With this being said, during focus group discussions, members of the PMO had the following to say:

"I always just ask myself the following question: when is it Manenberg's time?"

"I am not discriminating against anybody, but why did the VPUU project have a success in Khayelitsha? The could have start in Delft as those people need it more than Khayelitsha"

"We expect nothing from the VPUU project team" (Member of the PMO, June 21, 2012).

It has been reported that the Khayelitsha project was successful, whereas the Manenberg project has come to a standstill. This shows a clear lack of accountability from the VPUU project team and also in some instances from the MCS. With this in mind, we look at the notion of accountably and what it entails. "Accountability can broadly be defined as a social

relationship where an actor feels an obligation to explain and justify his or her conduct to some significant other (Chawatama, 2009, p.2). The significant difference between these specific communities is that the Khayelitsha project is partly German funded, whereas the Manenberg project is a City of Cape Town funded project. A member of the VPUU project had the following to say about the funding of the Manenberg Project:

Well in Manenberg it depends if we go further in the community as the baseline survey was done two years ago and nothing has happens since then in the community. It is a city funded project and the city has not made the money available. In other areas where the project is funded by Germany progress had been made with regards to the project in those areas (Respondent X6, May 31, 2012).

Contrary to the above assertion, Project Manager Alistair Graham made a statement that the Manenberg project will also be receiving funding from the German Development Bank as the paper work has been signed by all the necessary parties to ensure that the funding will be given to start the actual project in the community of Manenberg. Yet, it is evident from the interviews and focus group discussions with NGOs and community members that they have no knowledge of this transaction between the VPUU project team and the German Development Bank. The interview done with the Project Manager clearly indicated that he is of the perception that the project will transpire in Manenberg and very optimistic that it will return to the community. On the other hand, community members do not share the same sentiments as they have lost all hope and do not trust the VPUU project team. A member at Proudly Manenberg had the following to say, when asked about his expectations of the VPUU project in Manenberg:

The VPUU project is history; it is dying as it was never meant to be a public participating project. It was meant to be something controlled by the rich, by the Democratic Alliance, by public officials. The VPUU was in Manenberg and they left and in the interim life in Manenberg went on and organisations went on (Respondent X2, April 30, 2012).

During the focus group discussions many people indicated that they have no expectations of the VPUU project as they were made promises which they never delivered. Lastly, taking all the above into consideration, it is obvious that there was some form of miscommunication as the community never received any further information about the project after the survey process, whereas the VPUU project team claimed that they were in contact with the

representative structure (MCS) and was unaware that the information was never communicated to the community.

As representatives of the community in development projects, and before government, NGOs serves as decision-making bodies in the community and therefore the community should play a vital role in such decisions through participation. It is for this reason that representatives should be accountable to those they represent. Booysen in her paper titled: 'With the ballot and the brick', makes the following claim with regards to participation in practise: "in relation to service delivery, it is the responsibility of representatives to report back to the community on matters of concern that have been raised by the community" (Booysen, 2007, p.21- 24).

Initially when it was decided that the VPUU project would commence in Manenberg, even with the fieldwork process, the community was not aware of the project or what it entailed. This was evident as some participants were unable to answer questions regarding the VPUU project in Manenberg. This was the fault of the MCS as it was their duty to convey this vital information back to the community. The community participated in the process as some people were used as fieldworkers while others was used to answer questionnaires without having any idea of what the aim of the VPUU project was.
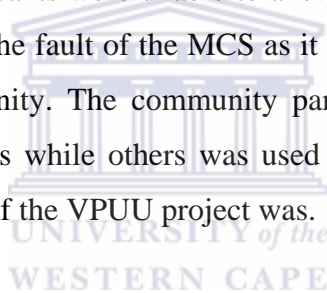
4.4   Democratic impact on the community

The perceptions of the people differ as the interviews indicated that only selected NGOs in the community are aware of the VPUU project, whereas while majority of community members who participated in the focus group discussion were aware of the existence of the VPUU, they did not actually have any sense of the aim of the project. It is evident that the PMO is against the return of the VPUU project as they are against everything that is initiated by the City of Cape Town. Members of the PMO share the same sentiments as the management of the PMO but a few of the members still have some faith in the VPUU project as they claim the visible changes in Khayelitsha is a clear indication that the project can bring about meaningful changes in the community of Manenberg. However, it was found that members of other NGOs in the community do acknowledge the absence of the VPUU project but are willing to work with the City officials if it means visible changes in the community will occur.

Members of PMO expressed their views during the interview process and focus group discussions. Considering the various feedbacks given by these members, it can be deduced that the PMO has no desire to participate further in the VPUU project as they do not want the project to return to the community of Manenberg. Here, are two of the comments made by both the management and members of the PMO when asked about their involvement in the Manenberg VPUU project and what their expectations were if the project returns to the community:

We do not want the VPUU project to return to our community, they can do so only if they are willing to get on board with the plans that the Proudly Manenberg Organisation has for the community (Member of the PMO, June 21, 2012).

The city is deceitful and they are trying to break us and it's a set of two value system that is clashing but we are wining. It's that system of the clever people of the white people telling the coloured people what is good for them and that we cannot think for ourselves and that we need them to think for us (Respondent X2, April 30, 2012).

Some of these members were not working at the PMO at the time that the survey process was conducted but still remain prejudiced about this issue. This is a clear indication that these members were fed with stories that have led them to a point where they have objections with the VPUU project team. More specifically, the interviews and the focus group discussions indicates that the PMO have a personal vendetta against the City of Cape Town and therefore also have an issue with the VPUU project as it is an initiative of the City of Cape Town. This feeling stems from larger politics between the chairperson (Mario Wanza) of the PMO and the Western Cape Premier (Helen Zille) and not necessarily about community needs.

An incident involving Mario Wanza and Hellen Zille involved the faeces war in Cape Town which Wanza participated in. According to the *Cape Argus Online* (June 11 2013, p.2) which reported on the faeces war that occurred on Monday the 10th June, 184 protestors were arrested in Woodstock on their way to the provincial legislature. These protestors wanted to dump human waste outside the office of Premier Helen Zille. The protest was led by former ANC councillor and suspended youth league member Andile Lili. However, the arrest of these protestors did not stop another group of protestors who were led by ANC proportional

councillor and youth league member, Loyiso Nkohla. This group of protestors emptied portaloo tanks full of sewage in the foyer of the provincial government offices in Greenmarket Square. Amongst these protesters was Mario Wanza, from the Proudly Manenberg Organisation (PMO). The PMO member claims that he was approached by various informal settlements that were using portaloos. Wanza furthermore stated that the emptying of these contents of portaloo containers is to send out a message to Premier Helen Zille that "we will find other ways to carry our message across". Wanza has been harassing public official of the City of Cape Town and also people contracted to work for the City of Cape Town. This situation has escalated to a point where Wanza is now facing a court interdict preventing him from further harassing these people (Cape Argus, June 11 2013).

Furthermore, a discussion regarding the success the VPUU project had in Khayelitsha was mentioned. After the discussion a few members then had a different perception of the project and warmed up to the idea of the return of the VPUU project team. Two members of the PMO then made the following comments:

Manenberg's people are poor as they are jobless, however our people have the skills and therefore we would like the project to create jobs (Member of the PMO, June 21, 2012).

The only time Manenberg's name is mentioned is when there is gang violence and I do hope that the VPUU project will work together with us. I always just ask myself the following question: when is it Manenberg's time? Even so, I do think that the project will have an impact on the community because it did positive things in Khayelitsha (Member of the PMO, June 21, 2012).

From the fieldwork work conducted, it is evident that most people have lost hope and do not trust the VPUU project team and therefore sceptical about the return of the project. With this being said, two members of the community had the following to say:

The City of Cape Town just gave our community hope and didn't return to fulfil their promises. They do nothing for us, the City of Cape Town do not even give us a broom. We use our own initiative to keep our area safe and clean (Member of the PMO, June 21, 2012).

People will maybe not give information willingly as they did during 2009 as community member do not trust the VPUU project management due to the absence of the VPUU project in the community (Member of the PMO, June 21, 2012).

However, the fieldwork conducted for this thesis indicates that there are still people in the community that believe the project will return and are looking forward to the prospects of the project. The idea of the return of the project has made the community excited as they are open to the positive changes that comes with the progress of the project. A ward councillor in Manenberg had the following to say about the return of the VPUU:

I hope that the vision that is on paper is going to be a reality. The documents indicate that safe houses will be built along the high way and I hope it will be so. I have seen the improvements that the VPUU project has made in Khayelitsha and I hope this is how it will be in Manenberg also. I believe that this project must work in Manenberg, create economic development such as jobs. Interaction of all role players must be visible to ensure that this project will be a success in the community (Respondent X8, July 16, 2012).

In addition to this, other NGOs in the community have suggested that because members of only one organisation participated in the research the information remains invalid as it does not reflect the perception of the people of Manenberg but of a certain organisation.

I am just hoping that the project allows for proper community participation and not only allows organisations to participate. As organisation just cater and also just represent a certain group of people. It will be a good thing if the VPUU project would allow people to use their skills in helping to upgrade the community (Respondent X4, May 08, 2012).

In view of the above quote on 'proper' community participation, the respondent refers to the community being involved in the VPUU project rather than NGOs in the community monopolising the VPUU project. It is for this reason that members from other organisations feel that if the VPUU project commence in Manenberg, the fieldwork process need to be redone before the project can be implemented in the community. According to Respondent X10, a member at an NGO in Manenberg believes the research needs to be conducted all over

again and this time it should be done properly. This research must be done with the consent given by organisations that are 'legitimate structures' in the community, only then will the difference be visible. Given the idea of legitimate structures, the VPUU project team have identified that the community of Manenberg consist of 230 NGOs in the community and this poses a challenge to the community (Workshop Manenberg Baseline Study, 2009, p.3). As stated above, claims are made by certain NGOs that not all NGOs in the community is regarded as being legitimate. However, these allegations were not supported by findings from the current research in the community of Manenberg.

Besides the opinion of Proudly Manenberg and other NGOs, role-players such as ward councillors suggest that this idea is a great idea as they have seen the changes that occurred in Khayelitsha with the establishment of this project. A ward councillor had the following response to the question, exactly what are your thoughts surrounding the VPUU project? "I think it is a fantastic programme, the ground work needs to be solid so that we can build on it. The community needs to agree to the project because if the community do not support the VPUU project it will not work" (Respondent X5, May 08, 2012). However, it is evident that the project can only be a success in the community when the members of the community participate in the project.

I think that this project will be good for the community but only if the community accepts the project. The project should be promoted and should become the community's project, the community should own it. It is no use talking about the amount of money available for the Manenberg project and not allowing the people of Manenberg to be allowed to participate in the project. The project itself will affect all those living in the community therefore everyone should be allowed to be a part of the project, not only certain NGOs or even specific councillors (Respondent X8, July 16, 2012).

To ensure that the VPUU project becomes successful in the community of Manenberg, not only do people need to participate in the project but they must be willing to accept change. To adapt to something new will take time, people need to warm up to the idea, and therefore it is vital that the VPUU project team and the community have a good relationship. For this to happen community members should put aside past events and differences and work in conjunction with the VPUU project team to ensure that the project is a success.

4.5   Conclusion

To date there have been a failure to implement the VPUU project in the community of Manenberg. It is obvious from the above findings that the community of Manenberg welcomes positive changes and was under the impression that the VPUU project would assist in bringing about such changes. On the other hand, the absence of the VPUU project in the community has caused community members (referring to civil society, more specifically the MCS) to doubt the implementation of the VPUU project and also the VPUU project team. These members are sceptical about the return of the VPUU project, and in this regard have given up on the idea of the return of the VPUU project. That said, there still remains hope among community members that the VPUU will continue what they (VPUU project team) have started. This hope remains as violence in the community of Manenberg persists.

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CHAPTER FIVE:

CASE-STUDY 2: THE SAFETY SECTOR OF PROUDLY MANENBERG ORGANISATION

This chapter examines the Proudly Manenberg Organisation's safety programme in Manenberg. This programme claims to be participatory, and therefore more inclusive than current local government practices. Hence, it promises what local government fails to do within the community of Manenberg. This claim was interrogated by conducting a close examination of the safety sector through interviews with NGOs in Manenberg including members of the PMO safety sector.

As mentioned in Chapter two, Chambers cited in Williams (2004, p.560-561) asserts that the idea of participation must lead to empowerment. Chambers furthermore states that participatory spaces should therefore lead to empowerment of the 'uppers' (development practitioners, and other important outsiders) and the local 'lowers' (the beneficiaries/subjects of development programmes). Derived from Chambers notion, the main question raised in this thesis is; 'does the Proudly Manenberg Organisation empower the community of Manenberg? Here the concept of empowerment is important as this will serve as a means to indicate whether or not the organisation can be said to be both effective and participatory. This section attempts to answer these questions by assessing democratic concepts such as representation, accountability and participation. In this regard, the following important sub-questions were posed during in-depth interviews:

- How effective is the safety sector, and why would you say this?
- How does the PMO support the safety sector? (training, resources)
- How well does the South African Police Service (SAPS) in Manenberg do their job?

In relation to the focus group discussion (which was held with the safety sector members), the following sub- questions were posed:

- Why do you participate in the safety sector?
- How effective is your work? (why would you say this)
- What are your strengths and weakness and why would you say so?
- How does PM assist you in your work?

Through exploring the above question and sub questions, the researcher accumulated fieldwork data and has grouped the findings into three groups (democratic terms). In evaluating whether the PMO can be said to be democratic, terms such as representation, accountability and participation were examined. It is argued that, in terms of representation the PMO represents the view of a certain minority rather than representing the whole community. In terms of participation, PMO is said to reinforce the coercive rule of drug gangs in the community instead of challenging these gangs. Moreover, with reference to accountability within the PMO, PMO is accountable to drug gangs in the community and not so much to the community of Manenberg.

5. Crime and gangs

Crime has been manifest in South Africa since the apartheid era. One of the reasons for this high rate of crime at the time was that police focused more on segregation laws. This may have created room for crime to escalate. According to Moller (2005, p.264), the old regime witnessed an increase in crime in the 1990s during political transition in South Africa. Crime has been prominent since the 1980s under the old regime as the police force were preoccupied with containing political violence rather than crime. Furthermore, Moller suggests that crime has become a cause for concern in the new South Africa and can thus be regarded as being a factor preventing South Africa's people from living happily. However, more specifically, the Cape Flats have become a crime infested area where most crime related activities occur.

Cape Town youth are faced with a range of hardships, from violence and violence-related trauma to a disproportionate share of the area's socio-economic crisis, especially on the Cape Flats where most of the city's youth live and most of its crime occurs (Samara, 2005, p.209-210).

Furthermore, during a workshop held by the VPUU project team with various NGOs in the community of Manenberg, it was alleged that the community receives no help from Manenberg SAPS as they are involved with drug houses (VPUU Workshop, 2009, p.2). Given this, "crime serves a legitimate social function by forcing the government to promulgate new laws and regulate existing legislation in order to extend its social control

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capabilities. In this sense, crime serves useful social purpose" (Kinnes, 2002, p.1). Similarly, writers such as Thomson (2004) and Kinnes (2002) claim that crime should be viewed in a social context which fills the gap in the community as violence is used to fulfil certain goals.

In relation to gangs, the community of Manenberg is filled with various types of gangs. According to Kinnes (2002, p.3), the term 'gangs' cannot be limited to one definition, instead there are considerations of prevailing definitions of gangs. In view of this, Kinnes makes the assertion that gang members range from the age of 20 and 40 years of age. Gang activities are motivated by social context and the membership of gangs may include both persons in jail and those outside of jail. Also, gangs may be involved in certain criminal activities either for the sake of survival or in some cases involved in structural criminal organisations. Also, Standing (2003, p.7) refers to the Americans gang and the Hard Livings gang as the primary gangs on the Cape Flats.

Of the numerous Cape Flat gangs, a small number have become much larger than the rest-becoming what we may refer to as primary gangs. The largest at the moment is the Americans gang, which is closely rivalled by the Hard Livings Kids (often referred to just as the 'Hard Livings').

In the case of Manenberg, the study confirmed that these primary gangs are said to be the largest gangs in the community. In a survey on crime, 60% of the community claimed that gangs controlled the community and mentioned the various gangs that are prevalent in the community. Whereas 57% of the respondents referred to the American gang, 29% referred to the Hard Livings. Furthermore, in Manenberg, gangs have caused much disruption in the community as schools and business had to make provisions for gang violence. "The local school is surrounded by an electric fence to keep 'gangsters' out, and barbed wire and bullet-proof windows protect the few inhabited public building" (Standing, 2003, p.3).

5.1   Representation

When we think of crime and violence in a community, we immediately think of the South African Police Services (SAPS) in a specific area. The discussion starts with the Manenberg SAPS to indicate the failure of local government. It is thus claimed that SAPS in Manenberg

is ineffective. Community members have a negative perception towards the Manenberg SAPS and also noted the poor services that the Manenberg SAPS provides to the community. However, the SAPS in Manenberg are regarded as not engaging effectively with the community, thus resulting in the SAPS being perceived as ineffective by community members. The community of Manenberg can be considered to be frustrated already with the Manenberg SAPS because of their late response to calls of assistance from the community. There have been occasions when the PMO safety sector alerted the police of matters of concern in the community and the police failed to attend to such matters.

According to Legget (2004, p.33-35), the public believes that the police in Manenberg is incompetent and corrupt and this fuels the lack of interest the community has in cooperating with the police due to their knowledge of certain unlawful activities in Manenberg. Furthermore, Legget claims that during a survey conducted in Manenberg in relation to crime, the community said that they are eager to work with any organisation in the community even if the organisation uses violent means just as long as it drives gangsters away from the area. The safety sector programme of Proudly Manenberg was then seen as something new. The idea of the safety sector programme was welcomed by the community as the members of the community bought into the programme (Respondent Y3, July 12, 2010). This then meant that 'ordinary' community members worked as safety members in the community. Here, focus is on identity, as the community identifies with people who share their grievances.

Members of the safety sector are unable to approach people as they share relations with these people and therefore feel uncomfortable to do so (Member of safety sector, June 17, 2010).

The above quote gives a sense of solidarity that these members have towards their fellow community members and hence, a sign of unity reminiscent of the apartheid era.

In the case of the PMO, the elected political leaders are the senior members of the organisation, whilst the citizen – electorates are regarded as both members of the community (and in this case also gang leaders) residing in the community of Manenberg. This idea leaves room for discussion pertaining the sense of loyalty that safety sector members have towards community members which questions their credibility. Here the notion of what a community means, is important to understanding the nature of the relationship that community members

have with their fellow members. A common sense of what a community is, can be understood with the definition given by Homan cited in Kirst Ashman (2000, p.29), who defines a community as a number of people, who have something in common with one another that connects these people and distinguishes them from others. It can then be said that community refers to a group of people who share the same interest, and who lives in the same area.

During interviews conducted with two policemen ranked as Captains at Manenberg SAPS, these members claimed that the Manenberg SAPS are not aware of all criminal activities in the community and therefore depend greatly on the information given to them by community members. According to (Respondent Y9, July 29, 2010), the public has to complain so that policemen can take further action. The community have complains with regards to the manner in which the Manenberg SAPS respond to incidents, however in many instances the SAPS are not aware of such incidents even though the community is under the impression that they are.

The job that SAPS is doing cannot be regarded as good, however the community of Manenberg is partly to blame for this as they turn a blind eye to crime and therefore fail to report such incidents to the police (Respondent Y5, July 16, 2010).

Members of the community feel more comfortable to trust those who they perceive as being "one of their own" and therefore they turn to members of the safety sector with regards to information that will be helpful to the police. Allegedly, due to the lack of a constructive relationship between the PMO and Manenberg SAPS, safety members are not eager to share information with the police.

We do not go to the police when we see unlawful things, we first approach the people doing the wrong and if they do not listen to us then we tell the police (Member of the safety sector, June 17, 2010).

A senior member at the PMO (Respondent Y1, June 15, 2010) had the following to say about the requirements of safety sector members. "The mistake that the safety sector members make is to try and solve matters by themselves, which is not required of them". As safety sector members merely serve as a medium between the community and the police, but because of the relations that they share with members of the community they find it difficult to remain objective and therefore give the perpetrator the benefit of the doubt.

When we approach children we do it in a manner like their mothers would" (Member of the safety sector, June 17, 2010).

Because of social links that members share with perpetrators, they are unable to remain objective as they do not view the situation as it is but considers the person in question. Here again it is evident that the sense of compassion that these individuals have for one another may sometimes cloud their judgment. For this study, the definition of a community by Jonker et al., relates to the community of Manenberg. As noted above, the gangs are widely perceived to control Manenberg, and are thus seen to be more powerful than the police (Member of the safety sector, June 17, 2010). In essence, the community of Manenberg does not help the police to solve crime because sometimes they have information that could be of help to the police but they fail to report it to the police.

For example, the community is aware of houses where unlawful activities take place. In fact, it is public knowledge where such activities take place. Furthermore, the community claims that the Manenberg SAPS are also aware of these houses but choose to ignore it.

We told the police about various drug houses but yet nothing is being done about this, by the time the police arrives at the scene we as the safety sector would have already solved the problem as the police do not respond to a situation immediately (Member of the safety sector, June 17, 2010).

The community of Manenberg is divided into three sectors by the Manenberg SAPS in order to ensure that sections are more manageable. The Manenberg police station has about two to three police vans assigned to each sector in the community. However, some areas in the community are more dangerous than others and it is claimed by Manenberg SAPS (Respondent Y10, July 30, 2010) that the number of vans assigned to each sector is not sufficient, if one takes into consideration the amount of crime and violence that needs to be attended to in the community.

The ambiguous relationship between the community, the police and the gangs is reflected in the working of the PMO safety sector. A common saying at the PMO these days is that 'no-one was born a gangster' (Respondent Y1, June 15, 2010). This saying gives hope to the

PMO that they can rehabilitate gang members by offering a skill and a job to them. Notably, this view is a new one in the organisation, and contradicts the view of the early PMO which was not to engage with gangs at all, but to marginalise them in the community. Thus, according to United Nations on Drugs and Crime Perspective:

Proudly Manenberg is taking a different approach by not engaging with gangs at all. Knowing fully well that they are an entrenched part of the community, the aim is to close down some of their operating space and thus start suffocating them (Kinnes, nd p.17).

The early approach however, has changed. Members of the safety sector have revealed during focus group discussions that the PMO require these members to communicate with gangs in the community. Furthermore, many ex-gangsters are now members of PMO, including the safety sector patrols.

I am an ex gangster, the reason for me joining the PMO safety sector is to go and talk to the gangsters; I have got power to sit in gang meetings (Member of the safety sector, June 17, 2010).

The PMO argues that they use their former gang-members to communicate with gangsters to ensure that gang leaders end their gang fights. There is more to this story, however, as some respondents alleged that the gangs had reached the extent of donating money to Proudly Manenberg to keep the organisation going financially. According to one of the safety sector members: "besides receiving money from the famous gang leader Rashied Staggie of the Hard Living gang, the PMO has also received a sum of money from gang members that form part of the American gang, namely Shaun Malan" (information given by a safety sector member during a discussion where other members of the safety sector revealed the relationship that the PMO have with gangsters- in that the organisation receives money from gangs in Manenberg). When the organisation is low on funding, they approach gang members in the community for help.

If in the affirmative, then this kind of practice places the organisation's credibility in question. The PMO's dependency on funds from gangs puts them in a vulnerable position, giving the gangsters the upper hand. Money that the organisation receives from these gangs is considered by the community as a bribe, that the organisation gets paid by gangs (Member of the safety sector, June 17, 2010). Receiving money from gang leaders is a clear indication

that the organisation is aware of who the perpetrators - those people behind the community's bad name. This puts the organisation in an awkward position because one cannot bite the hand that feeds him- revealing these gangsters to the police then means that the organisation will not receive funding from them.

It is unethical for a NGO which is supposed to be an anti-crime organisation to have such a relationship with the main perpetrators of violence in an area. During the focus group discussions, community members felt that the organisation's relationship with gangs in the community was a betrayal. In terms of representation, there are reasons to suggest that the PMO is rather considered as a representative of drug gangs in Manenberg than that of the people of Manenberg as the PMO cannot be expected to represent views that clash with the interest of their "donors", in this case drug gangs.

5.2   Accountability

The PMO has received significant funding to date, however it appears that this has dropped significantly in the last few years. Nevertheless, as a result of this investment, not least by the City of Cape Town until 2008, the PMO was able to develop their organisation into various sectors that contribute to the needs of the community. However, claims have been made that the PMO does not use these funds effectively. The PMO receives sponsorship from Old Mutual, MTN and various other companies. Recent events have shown that the organisation is unable to account for the funds that they have received. According to (Respondent Y5, July 15, 2010) it is public knowledge that the organisation is fraudulent as they are being investigated by a well-known auditing firm called PriceWaterhouseCoopers.

Given the above, senior members of the PMO claim that the financial contributions made to the organisation is not enough to sustain the organisation given the amount of employees in the organisation. The organisation does not receive funding from the local nor the provincial government as they do not support the organisation any longer. The lack of financial support amounts to a situation where the organisation is unable to pay its members the usual monthly stipend that they previously received. The financial crisis has caused the organisation to lose much of its members to other NGOs in the community.

The provincial and local government do not want to support the PMO, as they support the notion of communities not being organised and that is what PMO believes in as we share the notion of an organised community like the national government does, with or without money we function (Respondent Y1, June 15, 2010).

From the above quotation it can be deduced that the PMO does not share the sentiments of the provincial government. Key here is the rivalry between, the DA and the ANC. However, it should be stated clearly that the PMO is not necessarily custodians of the ANC, instead they identify with the United Democratic Front. This politics is about a feeling of being sold out by the ANC, a position that places them firmly to the left of the DA, and further than the ANC. This alienation from government at all levels may have something to do with turning to the gangs for help. Thus, one respondent working for the PMO claimed that, the HL gang has made a donation of R500 000 as a contribution towards the operations of the PMO. Here, the respondent furthermore indicated that this donation was given to the PMO when the organisation was established.

The affiliations that the PMO share with gangs in the community were confirmed in a statement made by the spokesperson of the Community Policing Forum (CPF). According to Kader Jacobs (spokesperson of the CPF) in Manenberg, PMO tend to work on their own as opposed to working with the police and the rest of the NGO's in the area. 'We believe there is political motivation for what they do, rather than community motivation'. Here again, the respondent is referring to the PMO identifying with the political tradition of the ANC. Furthermore, the spokesperson reveals that the CPF has evidence to show that some members of the PMO have cosy relationships with gang leaders in the community ('Power struggle in gang' 18 May 2012).

Thus, such cosy relationships led to an alleged incident in 2010 where the gang leaders called upon senior members of the PMO as they want to know why the organisation is experiencing financial difficulties. Gang leaders felt that PMO should be held accountable as this organisation is seen as being representatives of the community. Furthermore, because of the financial contributions made by these gangs they are of the perception that they are allowed to question the organisation and in this sense insinuating that PMO has to answer to gangs in the community instead of the community at large.

They (referring to the PMO) are using our people (members of the community working at the PMO); they (safety sector members) are not getting paid for the work that they are doing (Respondent Y8, July 23, 2010).

Many of these individuals working in the safety sector view this as a salary and instead it should be made explicit to these safety sector workers that the money they are receiving is in fact a stipend. This is due to the fact that members only work eight days of the month. Even though members of the PMO are not getting paid for the duties that they are performing, it is still expected of them to work. Consequently, the PMO fails to provide its members with the necessary resources required to fulfil the duties they have. According to Respondent Y1 (June 15, 2010), the PMO does not receive funding for each of the sectors that they have developed. Therefore the organisation does not have the means to provide all sectors with the necessary resources. As previously mentioned, members of the safety sector are therefore not easily identifiable to the community as these people do not have uniform that indicates that they belong to the safety sector. This then means that these individuals are not able to perform their duties effectively as they find difficulties within the community of Manenberg, who finds it hard to identify them as from the PMO.

During the focus group discussion, when posed with the question: How does PMO assist you in your work? Two members of the safety sector claimed the following:

They (herein referring to the PMO) never help us
Due to the lack of support that we receive from PM, we were arrested (member of the safety sector, June 17, 2010).

After much explanation, it transpired that the police decided to arrest these members while they were on patrol as they lacked identification as PMO safety sector members. Consequently, they had to wait for senior members of the organisation to come to the police station to verify their identifies. This debacle was the direct cause of the lack of resources that the sector receives from the organisation as they are not being provided with uniforms to indicate that they have the right to intervene in violent situations that are occurring in the community.

Financially we (the PMO) are not being supported by the organisation as we are waiting on torches and sweaters as there are no material for that now (member of the safety sector, June 17, 2010).

Not having torches at hand makes it difficult for members to patrol the area in the evening. As there are evenings where the community experiences black out and the street lights are off. This then makes it easier for gangsters to be perform criminal activities such as robberies as they cannot be identified due to the black outs. Hence, this then defeats the purpose of the safety sector as they are unable to control these situations as they do not have the necessary resources available.

The members are not currently registered with the police and therefore they do not receive training but this is changing as people are being sent away for training (Respondent Y2, June 22, 2010).

The members of the safety sector claim that they are not associated with the police in any way, and that they are not being supported by the police. However, what these members did not know was that the PMO chose not to break ties supported by the police as revealed by interviews with both PMO leaders and the Manenberg SAPS. This position may change however, as, to ensure that the safety sector is recognized by the police as well as by the community, a member at the PMO has recently registered some members with the police station in Manenberg.

In sum, in terms of accountability, the account above suggests that instead of being accountable to the community of Manenberg, the PMO may be at least partially accountable to the drug gangs in the community. In addition to the power that the gangs wield, this accountability relationship is enhanced by the allegation that the PMO have in the past received substantial amounts of resources from drug gangs; and indeed, have been allegedly asked to account by some gang leaders for the lack of employment of local people in the security sector work.

5.3   Participation

During interviews, it was apparent that the community does not view the safety sector as beneficial to the community because there have not been visible changes so far as crime

levels is concern in the community contrary to the PMO's claim. Community members who form part of the safety sector of the PMO have no proof to indicate that they are working for the PMO, as some of them do not even have a uniform. Members of the safety sector have voiced their concerns with regards to uniforms in PMO meetings held by the organisation which allows for community members to make their grievances known. Also, the notion of participation by Williams (2007) can be seen as relevant to the situation relating to participation of community members in Manenberg. "It is important to point out that participation does not necessarily result in visible or desirable results, as it so often can be reduced to a mere ceremonial presence of participants in local institutions. It is only when people claim or demand power to achieve concrete goals (such as implementing a specific plan, project or programme) that presence, participation and voice assume experiential significance at local level" (Williams in Thompson, 2007, p.31). As seen with this specific occurrence, participation of community members within the PMO has not led to desirable changes as the situation remained the same for a long time. People are of the perception that the members of the safety sector are not doing their job properly to make a difference in the community but due to poverty, community members participate as workers in the safety sector programme of PM. With this being said, senior members at two various organisations made the following claims:

The community of Manenberg is still in the survival mode, and therefore they find it difficult to share and care for others in the community. With this a lot of their value systems are being challenged (Respondent Y1, June 15, 2010).

The members of the safety sector is not doing this type of work because it is their passion, but for the money that they are receiving (Respondent Y4, July 12, 2010).

This therefore means that members of PMO's will to change the community is not necessarily the main reason why they participate in the organisation but due to desperation as they are living in poverty. Hence, the presence of safety sector members in the community is motivated by the fact that they receive money for participating in the safety sector. Contrary to members of the PMO, members of the community other than those who form part of the PMO, had the same perception about the safety sector - which was that the presence of the safety sector in the community did not make many visible changes to the violence in the community. Given the perception of community members, it is evident that safety sector

members are less likely to be successful in a context where the community perceives the job that they do to be ineffective. To this end, a member of the safety sector had the following to say about the weakness of the safety sector,

A major weakness that exists in our zone is the relationship that we as members have with one another; we are forever having internal conflict. Majority of our safety sector members do not have a good relationship with each other and this puts strain on our effectiveness as a group (Member of safety sector,   June 17, 2010).

These people have a great amount of internal conflict that they are unable to resolve and this has resulted in them neglecting their jobs.

The community of Manenberg is known for its high unemployment rate. However, PMO has made it possible to employ a lot these members. Indeed, according to a senior member at the organisation, 1500 jobs have been created by the PMO. Assuming the minimum stipend of R400 per month this equals minimum monthly wage bill of R600 000. If correct, it is not hard to see how the financial sustainability of the PMO would always be a challenge, especially without sustained government support. Furthermore, this senior member asserted that these people are unable to find jobs anywhere else as they did not receive a proper education and many also have criminal records. In this regard, it is notable that the PMO does not employ their workers based on their qualifications, as any member of the community qualifies to work for the organisation (Respondent Y2, June 22, 2010).

The PMO claim that they strive to foster community empowerment. According to Respondent Y3 (July 13, 2010) from a general perspective the goal of the PMO is to empower the people in Manenberg, which encourages members of the community to be physically working in the community and also to be visible at public meetings and express their grievances. What then is community participation? The Municipal Structures Act devotes a chapter to community participation. In relation to community participation, chapter 4 states the following:

The participation of citizens in the structures will…revolutionise the way that local governance happens at the metropolitan level. Individual municipalities will be empowered to decide what is best for their situation; with the guidance of national legislation that permits a variety of forms of local participation (RSA, 1998b).

The above definition illustrates what essentially needs to occur in the community. However, community members feel that the organisation does not response to their demands as visible changes are not seen in the community. According to a member at the PMO, in the early days, meetings were held in a manner which accommodated the whole community. However, more recently when the PMO holds public meetings it was limited to certain members within the organisation and the community was not notified about these public meetings. "The meetings were held only with a few members, management knew that these certain members could be manipulated and was willing to side with them even if it was the wrong decisions. Even if these decisions did not benefit the community as a whole but only a certain group of people at the PMO which had hidden agendas" (Respondent Y 11, 11 October 2013).

Notably, many of the community members who have chosen to participate in the safety sector did so to help their fellow residents feel safe:

We participate in the safety sector as this makes the community feels safe as they are able to sleep at night without having to worry about crime and this lessen crimes and this makes Manenberg a safer place (Member of the safety sector, June 17, 2010).

The idea of empowerment relates to helping people to gain a skill to ensure that they are capacitated adequately to help themselves. "Empowerment is the process of enhancing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes'' (World Bank, 2003). This is the approach that the PMO has adopted with regards to their labour force as they employed people living in the community to form part of their various sectors. However, we must acknowledge that for one to be able to perform the duty of the safety sector members, one has to receive the proper training required for the job. According to the members of the safety sector, training was never provided to them and only now changes are being made as they are going to receive training with help of the Manenberg SAPS.

Due to the fact that the PMO employs both ex-gangsters and gangsters, and its financial and accountability ties to the gangs, its seems that the actions of the PMO reinforces the authority of the gangs in the community of Manenberg, rather than marginalised it. Participation, in this sense, has not deepened democracy or reduced crime. In addition, there is evidence to suggest that ordinary members in the community are not given spaces to participate within

the PMO in relation to public meetings. Participation, such as it is in the PMO, appears both limited and captured.

5.4   Conclusion

Since its establishment eight years ago, the PMO has grown quickly with evidence of successfully mobilising resources and people behind a vision of community empowerment and development. However, as illustrated by findings from the safety sector as a case-study, the PMO appears now to be in decline. Especially in terms of financial problems, and conflict with the state and other actors, the PMO seems to have shifted course and is now under significant influence by gangs. This was confirmed by the participation of ex- and current gangsters in the sector patrols, who alleged financial donations by the gangs to PMO, and accounts of the gangs trying to hold the PMO to account. In sum, the evidence suggests that the PMO now reinforces rather than challenging gang rule in Manenberg, undermining any hope of reducing the root cause of crime in the area. Their claim of operating in a truly inclusive and participatory way is thus untrue.
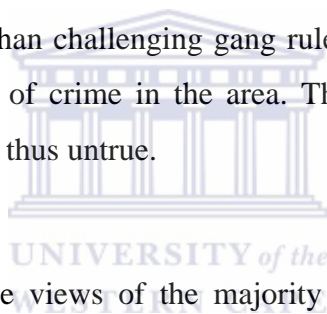
The PMO does not represent the views of the majority in the community, but a certain minority. The decisions taken by the organisation can be considered to be only for the benefit of the minority, in this case leadership of the PMO. The PMO is accountable to drug gangs in the community rather the community at large. Furthermore, participation within the PMO enables drug gangs while ordinary community members are kept in the dark about alarming situations.

The study furthermore identifies that the PMO and the Manenberg SAPS do not have a good relationship, and that communication between these two bodies are not effective. Taking all these constraints into consideration, the PMO does not deserve to take the credit for empowering the community of Manenberg as these people have not seen much difference since the establishment of the PMO.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This thesis investigated the potential role of civil society towards service delivery and deepening democracy through programmes, against the failure of local government with regards to these important roles. This is a localised instance of the larger view in the mainstream literature on democratisation that sees civil society as the primary source of democratic deepening. The findings of this thesis are not especially encouraging for either Manenberg or democracy more widely and generalising beyond the case is not also possible. In the case of Manenberg, civil society neither provided a more effective nor democratic alternative to the community than local government. This was done by evaluating two civil society programmes that claimed to be both successful in reducing crime and participatory in nature than local government.

6.   Overview of VPUU project in Manenberg

The hostility between the Premier Helen Zille and Chairperson Mario Wanza of the Proudly Manenberg Organisation can be seen as one of the reasons why the VPUU project team no longer wants to engage in the community of Manenberg. The VPUU project team was under the impression that the PMO is the umbrella organisation in Manenberg, which is why the VPUU project team initially worked with the PMO as they chose to work with a single unit. After the project team engaged in the survey process (Phase 3) in Manenberg they found out that the PMO was not a representative of the larger community. This is one of the factors which may have contributed to halting of the project in Manenberg.

Not much can be said about the VPUU project in Manenberg due to the fact that the project has come to a stand-still. In view of this, the researcher claims that the VPUU project, in the case of Manenberg could be regarded as a failure (to date) and also suggests that further research be done in relation to the VPUU project in Manenberg. The researcher is of the assumption that there is a bigger story behind the conventional idea of the community-that the City of Cape is considered to be deceitful and that the on-going disputes between Premier Helen Zille and chairperson of the PMO Mario Wanza is one of the main factors responsible for the absence of the VPUU project team in Manenberg.

In light of the above, the failure of the VPUU project in Manenberg can be considered a failure on both civil society programmes, notably; PMO and the VPUU. One would assume that the VPUU project team did proper research pertaining to Manenberg before engaging with the community. Evidentially, this did not occur as the VPUU team only engaged with one specific NGO being the PMO. This has frustrated other civil society organisations in Manenberg. Furthermore, a recent interview with a member of one NGO in the community revealed that 'rumours' are circulating in relation to the return of the VPPU project in Manenberg (Respondent Y11, October 11, 2013). The community has mixed feelings about the VPUU project; some believe that the project will bring positive changes needed in the community, while others believe that the project will not make any difference in the community given VPUU's lack of interest in Manenberg.

6.1   Overview of the PMO

Contrary to the claim that the PMO deepen democracy and deliver, the thesis discovered that the security programme of the PMO neither yielded much in terms of delivery, and even less in terms of democracy. With regards to forms of representation, accountability and participation, it is argued that in the case of PMO there is evidence to suggest that 'participation' reinforces rather than challenge the coercive rule of drug gangs in the community of Manenberg. Furthermore, the PMO believes in a notion that "no one was born a gangster. This notion created employment in the organisation for any member within the community, regardless of his/her affiliation to drug gangs in the community. In chapter one, the gang leader in Manenberg who speaks about joining a gang, relate to the apartheid regime, and refers to coloured people as those who made 'the government of the day, ungovernable'. For this reason the gangs on the Cape Flats, more specifically Manenberg can be regarded as socially imposed. Derived from a social context the idea of gangs and crime seem to be an unlawful situation but 'understandable'(Salo, nd, p.1).

Furthermore, the relations that PMO shares with the gangs in the community can be regarded as a relationship that was created due the notion of 'caring and sharing'. Community members view each other as family and therefore their bond remains strong. According to Standing (2003, p.11), in some instances, it was found that the reason why people do not report unlawful activities to the police is due to the fact that people are simply too scared to

speak out as a result of fear of intimidation from gangs in the community. That gang members in the community are kids who grew up in the community and even though others view these kids as dangerous, the perception that the community of Manenberg have of these specific gang members is that they are family.

The financial debacle that the PMO faces and perception of corruption by senior members indicates that PMO falls short of its obligation to provide skills to the community. The allegations about PMO receiving money from drug gangs in the community may also suggest that PMO has an agreement with certain gangs in the community, instead of a relationship. Standing makes the following claim in relation to relationships that certain members in the community have with gangs, be it civil society or the police.

Although these relations may be based on bribery, they are at times also based on political and strategic associations—the crime boss can offer information and influence in 'his' community and in return the police and politicians can offer a degree of respectability and perhaps protection from prosecution or investigation (Standing, 2003, p.9).

In the case of PMO, the relations between the organisation and gangs can thus be viewed in terms of financial constraints and, to some degree, desperation.

As indicated in previous chapters evidence suggests that PMO is corrupt- that is the organisation commits fraud. This may explain the reason why certain members of PMO left the organisation to begin a new NGO, which will be named TAMA Community Development. The name TAMA derives from the name of two areas on the Cape Flats. TA refers to Tambo Square (a community situated opposite Manenberg) and MA refers to Manenberg. According to Respondent Y12 (October 11, 2013) leaders of the PMO became corrupt as they lost sight of their initial vision that they had for the community of Manenberg. However, this new initiative TAMA Community Development's objective is to bridge the gap between Tambo Square and Manenberg in a vibrant and energetic manner. The TAMA Community Development was contracted by national government to supervisor the CDWP. This project was taken away from the PMO, and it was then that national government approached TAMA Community Development to take over this project (Respondent Y11, October 11, 2013).

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6.2   The future of Manenberg

The work done by various NGOs in Manenberg is a sign of hope, an indication that more work can be done. The fact that civil society in Manenberg is not as effective as anticipated is a clear indication that the community needs to undergo various changes in order to address the volatile nature of the community. Even though it is believed that most of PMO's members have left the NGO, there is evidence that indicate that the organisation is up and running as their safety sector members are still visible in the community. For the purpose of this study, taking both the VPUU programme and the PMO into consideration, the following ideas are worth considering by civil society in Manenberg.

*Unity amongst NGOs***:** the community of Manenberg needs to recognise that NGOs in the community must engage in relationships through which they can conduct joint initiatives. However, the lack of relationship between these NGOs can be attributed to their competitive nature, as they both strive to be better than the other one. This competition leads to a situation where the NGOs drift from their mission and vision of establishment. According to a close-out report by the Employment Creation Fund (September 2011, p.2), Manenberg is a highly politicised and politically divided environment where NGOs in the community view each other as competitors and therefore closes down communication. At the moment, there are various NGOs in the community with similar objectives and for this reason work in the same sectors. For instance, most NGOs in Manenberg consist of housing, environment and also health sectors. It is therefore suggested that such NGOs work closely together to prevent the situation where one would undermine the other's objectives. This unity may also attract programmes to the organisation or even return the VPUU project to Manenberg.

Funding: due to lack of funding for work in the community of Manenberg, PMO resort to engaging with gang bosses for money. However, in the workshop held by the VPUU project team, allegations were made that *"NGOs are competing and this result in spending money unwisely"* (see Appendix B, 2009, p.8). NGOs want to be seen as being better than other NGOs in the community. However, such behaviour results in NGOs utilizing funds ineffectively. The recommendation here is that NGOs ought to work within their budget limit

and 'do what they can' rather than working to impress other NGOs in the community and end risking the sustainability of the organisation. Furthermore, PMO should refrain from accepting money from gang bosses in the community. Instead of complaining about the lack of funds that the organisation has, the organisation can rather host events to raise funds.

Leadership: the problem in Manenberg is that leadership position within an NGO is controlled to the extent that people in top management fill the same position for many years. It will also be advisable to make legitimate spaces available where the community can have the chance to vote for a specific leader for an NGO. By doing this, it will ensure that other members in the NGO instead of the usual suspects get to form part of leadership. Preventing leadership from being monopolised by a certain group of people is critical.

A stronger relationship between SAPS and safety sector: the safety sector of PMO and the SAPS of Manenberg have a common goal to reduce the rate of crime and violence as this would ensure the safety of residents of Manenberg. The sooner these two parties realise that they are striving towards the same goal, the better it will be for the community. If these parties can agree to work together, it will make the community a much safer place as this will also mean an increase in manpower which Manenberg SAPS claim they have little of.

6.3   Concluding remarks

This thesis is an attempt to fill the gap between 'what is promised' and how these promises are fulfilled in a community such as Manenberg. The study found that after 19 years of freedom, the idea of democracy has not done much to improve the socio-economic challenges that confound the community Manenberg. From the foregone discussion it can be stated the community still experience severe socio-economic hardships and attempts made by programmes such as the VPUU as well as the safety programme by the PMO to deepen democracy have not lived up to expectation.

Despite the limited success chalked by both local government and civil society in Manenberg, the findings show that gang violence is still prevalent in the community. The problem is that

the mind-set of gangs needs to shift from seeing their activities as being positive to the community to what it really is - oppression of the people. Furthermore, gangs believe that their activities benefit the community instead of being viewed as hindrance to growth of the community. As mentioned by Jensen and Rodgers (2009, p.230), gangs in local communities claim that their presence and hence their criminal activities protects the community that they reside in. However, Jensen and Rodgers suggest that these activities by gangs further oppress the coloured community. It is due to gang memberships that communities on the Cape Flats are often discriminated against.

Regardless of the claims made about the community of Manenberg filled with notorious gangs and its alarming high rate of crime rate, the researcher remains positive that local government together with civil society would bring about the desired change that is required in the community of Manenberg. It is evident from the study that when working in isolation neither local government nor civil society, have the required strategies to deepen democracy in Manenberg. In view of this, Pinnock claims that; "ganging is primarily a survival technique, and it is obvious that as long as the city is part of the socio-economic system which reproduces poverty, no amount of policing will stop the ghetto brotherhoods" (Pinnock, 1980, p.99 in Salo). It is for this reason that local government and civil society must find a way to work together to bring about positive change in Manenberg.

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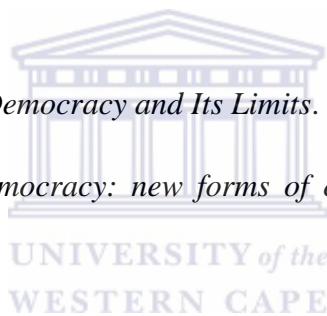
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Interviews (VPUU case-study)

Respondent X1   April 30, 2012

Respondent X2   April 30, 2012

Respondent X3   May 01, 2012

Respondent X4   May 08, 2012

Respondent X5   May 08, 2012

Respondent X6   May 31, 2012

Respondent X7   June 01, 2012

Respondent X8   July 16, 2012

Respondent X9   July 18, 2012

Respondent X10   August 24, 2012

Focus group discussion 1 and 2 occurred on June 21, 2012

Interviews (PMO case-study)

Respondent Y1   June 15, 2010

Respondent Y2   June 22, 2010

Respondent Y3   July 12, 2010

Respondent Y4   July 13, 2010

Respondent Y5   July 15, 2010

Respondent Y6   July 19, 2010

Respondent Y7   July 21, 2010

Respondent Y8   July 23, 2010

Respondent Y9   July 29, 2010

Respondent Y10   July 30, 2010

Respondent Y11   October 11, 2013

Respondent Y12   October 11, 2013

Two focus group discussions with members of the safety sector of the PMO occurred on June 17, 2010

APPENDIX A: PROTESTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE

Violent protests

The perception that communities have about basic service delivery is that it is their right to receive adequate service delivery from local government. Especially, the promises made through party manifestoes by politicians further raises citizens' expectations about service delivery higher. "At the inauguration of the new democratically elected government (ANC) in 1994, citizens particularly the poor and vulnerable had high expectations regarding service delivery in the wake of the new dispensation. Political parties were in part responsible for the hype due to their numerous promises during the campaigns" (Mathoho, 2011, p.1). It should be noted that protests do not just occur as a result of poor service delivery in communities but they are also an expression of displeasure with municipal performance. Mathoho (2011, p.6), claims that the disorder created by underperforming municipalities has led to major service delivery protest by both the poor and rich. These protests have been peaceful and sometimes violent, with violent protests mostly occurring in townships. According to Karamoko (2001, p.1) the country has witnessed exceptional rates of violent protests and this is a direct result of public dissatisfaction with the lack of service delivery provided by municipalities throughout South Africa. These types of protests are seen all over the country, sometimes involving foreign nationals being attacked and destruction of state property. It is important to note that shops that are owned by foreign nationals are targeted during protest. Kunene in his article: 'Protest Politics and Attacks on Foreign Nationals in South Africa' cite examples of protests that have degenerated to violent protests. Two of such examples are:

(1)"The latest big displacement of foreign nationals that took place in De Doorns, a farming area in the Western Cape where about 3,000 Zimbabweans were chased out of the area, was said to have been instigated by South African-based labour brokers unhappy with Zimbabwean labour brokers operating in the same community".

(2) "Another community protest which turned violent took place in Drieziek, Extension 3, Orange Farm, where residents protesting over poor water and sanitation in the community clashed with the police. A few businesses in the area were attacked, one of which belonged to

a Mozambican female by the name of Grace Mhlongo, who lost all her stock and money during the mob raid on her business" (Kunene, 2010, p.3-4).

The two examples above, illustrates that violent protest does not only occur because of service delivery issues, but also contain elements of xenophobia especially protests that have occurred thus far in the Western Cape. Community members feel threatened by small businesses owned by foreign nationals as they feel that foreigners are accumulating the wealth that they could have owned. For this reason, it can be said that not all violent protest are due to local government failures.

Recent protests

While the Western Cape has one of the lowest poverty rates in the country, it also has one of the highest levels of inequality, which creates a heightened sense of relative deprivation. (Hesse of Municipal IQ cited in Parker, 2012, p.3). The inequalities that exist create tension amongst citizens leading to protests. While recent statistics and media have portrayed the Western Cape, specifically Cape Town in a negative light due to escalation of service delivery protests in Cape Town it evident that such protests also occur in other parts of South Africa. According to Parker (2012, p.3) The Western Cape has been recognized as a hot-spot for service delivery protest this year. Nearly a quarter of the protests that have taken place this year occurred in the Western Cape.

Contrary to popular belief, statistics have shown that service delivery in the Western Cape has made tremendous improvements in some areas. In relation to this matter, Frans Cronje from the South African Institute of Race Relations stated that:

A myth has taken hold in South Africa that service delivery was a failure". In addition, research conducted by the institute suggested that "this is not the case". Furthermore, data from the institute shows that: between 1996 and 2010, the number of households in South Africa living in formal housing increased by 89.9%, while the number of households with access to electricity increased by 127.9% and the number with access to pipe water went up by 76.6%. (Hedley, 2012, p.1).

Despite the bright picture painted by these statistics, service delivery protests still occur in the Western Cape especially more rampant in poor communities. Below is a brief discussion

illustrating two examples of recent protests that have occurred in the Western Cape during the month of August and September 2011.

The Khayelitsha Protest: the protest occurred on Monday 13 August 2011 over residents' concerns about public services delivery in health and sanitation. This protest led to the closure of the N2. According to the Mail and Guardian online, protestors threw stones at on-coming traffic and burning tires which resulted in the accident of a Golden Arrow bus which led to injuries. A community leader made the following statement to the newspaper regarding the protest: "It is not fair that we have to live in these conditions while other parts of the area receive continuous service delivery" (Sifo cited in Mail and Guardian, 2012, p.1). Furthermore, the community leader claims that the community of Khayelitsha has been living in terrible conditions since 1987. The protest has also led to the death of a man who died during this protest. Warrant officer Filander made the following statement in relation to the death of the man: "We don't know whether he was hit by the truck or if he was attacked. He died shortly afterwards," (Mail and Guardian online, 2012, p.1).

Touwsrivier Protest: the residents of Touwsrivier took over the N1 highway, where they blocked the road for 10 hours. According to the The Daily Voice which reported on the matter, "more than 300 Touwsrivier residents barricaded a small section of the N1 with stones, burning tyres and rubbish as they demanded service delivery" (Daily Voice, September 11, p.4). This led to numerous complaints as the N1 is one of the provinces main highways. However, there was not much that could have been done to stop the people from protesting. The community leader, Ras Naftali made the following statement to the newspaper in response to the protest:

We demand houses for our people in this area. These people have been living here for many years and have not received proper housing, all we have are promises. We want Helen Zille to come and answer to us personally (Daily Voice, September 11 2012)

The protest occurred due to the demands of residents not being addressed, and residents wanted answers. However, this situation got out of hand as members of the community started throwing stones at police and the police also retaliated by opening fire.

APPENDIX B: MANENBERG BASELINE STUDY

Report

Workshop Manenberg Baseline Study
VPUU PROJECT
29-31 May 2009

Facilitator: Glenda Wildschut

Reporters: Luke Henkeman and Alice Hopley

Leadership Support and Development Centre

Resources: Chris Giles VPUU

Edgar Carolissen City of Cape Town

1 June 2009

VPUU Weekend Workshop held from Friday, 29 May to Sunday, 31 May 2009
Venue: St Georges Hotel, Cape Town

Attendance:

- 16 delegates / participants from the Manenberg Focus Groups (see attached attendance list l)
- Facilitators – Glenda Wildschut, Chris Giles, Edgar Carolissen
- Scribes – Alice Hopley, Joshua Henkeman

Friday evening (29 May)

- Icebreaker – Glenda.
- Welcome, Introduction & Purpose of Workshop – **Glenda, Chris**

The objectives of the workshop were clearly spelt out to participants ensuring that all had a very good understanding of the purpose and intended outcomes of the workshop.

A second activity was to develop a code for engagement for the duration of the workshop and to articulate a set of the expected outcomes.
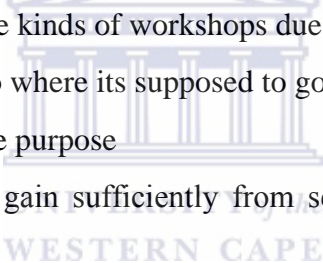
Listed below are the expectations as expressed by the participants.

Expectations of the workshop

Facilitators:

- Establishing what the challenges are, what are we going to do about it?
- Practical suggestions – putting forward plans and taking suggestions and opinions from Manenberg residents

Residents- Participants

- Scared to attend these kinds of workshops due to lack of results
- Money not filtered to where its supposed to go
- NGOs serve the same purpose
- Community doesn't gain sufficiently from several initiatives –things stay the same.
- Sections of Manenberg not serviced by NGOs
- Audit the NGOs
- Call for a collective effort of all NGOs
- Focus on prevention, not only cure
- Try to do things yourself, not just criticise NGOs, make a difference
- NGOs focus too much on crime ridden areas, neglect other zones and crime moves to other areas
- Learn from Mitchell's Plain – if they can do it, why can't we?
- Community has a problem with standing together, eg: mothers know that their kids are on "tik" and they cover up and abuse the police
- Speak the gangsters' language – that's the only time they listen
- No help from police, as they are involved with drug houses

- Present a plan of action and actually implement it then check up in a few years' time

Saturday (30 May)

- Presentation by **Alistair Graham** on VPUU model being used - Khayelitsha as a case study. (Document attached). In this presentation lessons learned were emphasized.
- Questions & comments from participants after the presentation to Alistair and facilitators:
    1. Taxi ranks (interchange) urgently needed in Manenberg.
    2. A Youth Centre is urgently needed in Manenberg for programmes / activities.
    3. Divisions amongst the people of Manenberg need to be mended. This was due to some with "huge egos".
    4. Who will fund the Manenberg VPUU project? It was explained that the proposal would be forwarded to City of Cape Town and National Treasury for assistance.
    5. Businesses and churches should also be asked to contribute to sustain the project.
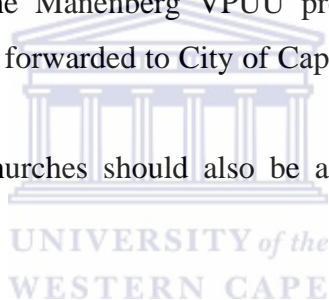
Edgar Carolissen (City of Cape Town) – Plans for Intervention and Way forward for Manenberg VPUU project (See attachment)

1. Working towards the success of the project will not go without challenges.
2. Each community is unique and positive attitudes are needed.
3. The 230 NGO's in Manenberg need to be properly managed and co-coordinated. A workshop is scheduled for the coming weekend to iron out challenges NGO's may face in working together.

Chris Giles (VPUU) gave a presentation on the Baseline Report (see attachment with consolidated map)

- Part one: How the City sees Manenberg
- Part two: What has Worked in other communities

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- Part three: Consolidated map- what information does this give us and how do we interpret the information.-what is to be done.

This session was followed by an in depth discussion focussing on a response to the presentations. Below an outline of the group's responses.

- Challenge in Manenberg – too many NGOs (230)

- No solution as yet, need to bring energies together

- Need to listen twice as much as you speak

- Leaders think they indispensable, but they are replaceable

  - Teachers not equipped to teach

  - Kids not able to learn, get misplaced and lost and eventually become gangsters

  - "Tik" badly affects newborns

  - Develop a "skills school" for foetal alcohol syndrome and tik kids

  - Build speciality schools in Manenberg that give children who are able to work with their hands

  - NGOs are competing and resulting in them spending money unwisely.

  - What is the City Council doing about 'shebeens' and drug houses

  - Need to get rid of the problem, not only invest in rehabs etc

The group was then challenged to focus on

- practical solutions, if we talk vaguely, its time-wasting

- The group has to be the leaders of the process

- Drug related crime – ranked 7th (Glenda's note: *not sure in relation to what)*

- Not going to get anywhere if you say Manenberg is the worst- in other words we need to deal with pessimism.

- Take the opportunity to go forward

- Know how to decide priorities

Small group discussions and feedback presentations afterwards (What should be done)
Session observed by Noel da Silva from City of Cape Town.

Outcomes after presentations:

A. The drug problem to be addressed:

1. Community to be proactive. Participation by whole Manenberg community is important.

2. Anti-drug drive, pamphlets, marches and rehabilitation / matrix clinic needed.

3. Protection needed from police against retaliation from drug lords

4. Noel da Silva - Names and addresses of drug lords can be given to newly-established Drug Unit.

5. Mandate to police. Policing in Manenberg needs to be more effective.

B. Focus on Youth support

1. Facilities for Sport & Recreation as an opportunity to develop eg open spaces like the Greens. Seerdorf Foundation can assist.

2. Partnerships with schools for sports programmes – all codes.

C. Focus on Education and Training

1. Teachers needed for children with special needs.

2. Occupational therapists, councilors and psychologists needed to work with alcohol & drug syndrome children.

3. Feeding system at schools to be boosted. The only meal for the day for many kids.

4. Help needed with literacy and numeracy interventions.

5. Bursaries, exchange programmes, career guidance needed at schools.

6. Teenagers can be used as role-models and help tutor other students and educate them about the dangers of drug and alcohol abuse.

7. Job-creation initiatives needed.

Summarizing by facilitators

- 3 interventions identified – make use of resources that are there, use open spaces, work with youth

- Participants vote for 2 interventions**: Drug Awareness Programmes and Youth Development Programmes.**

Sunday (31 May)

- **Glenda – "Imagine Manenberg in 5 years" exercise.**

The morning was started with an exercise allowing participants to imagine Manenberg in the future. Below the responses from participants:

1. An Old-aged Home where elders are loved and cared for.
2. A rehabilitation centre
3. Youth and Skills development centre
4. A crime-free Manenberg
5. Many more social workers
6. Unity of different cultures and religions
7. A glass factory for job creation – " Manenberg Glass"
8. Parks, hotels, music, tourists having picnics around Manenberg.
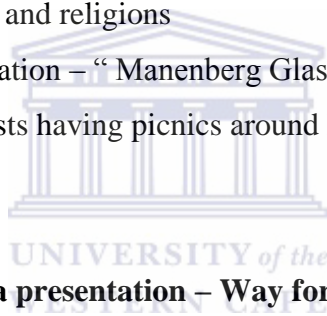
- **Edgar Carolissen made a presentation – Way forward for Youth Development & Drug Interventions (How to do it)**

1. The group has a mandate from the community to develop a programme for change in Manenberg.
2. Plan will be taken to Manenberg Development Forum.
3. A guide for small group discussions on how the interventions will be implemented was given – Immediate (0 – 6 months); Short-term (6 – 18 months); Long-term (more than 18 months
4. Project, Activities, Who, What, When, Cost, Evaluation

Feedback after group discussions together with mapping of locations.

Group 1: Youth Development Group Discussion

1. Target group

Youth and young children aged 9 to 19 yrs

2. Focus
- Sport
- Skills

3. **Sport Project theme**: "A Child in Sport is a Child out of Court"

4. **Scope of Project**

- All of Manenberg (see map in relation to hotspots)
- All gender
- All disabled
- All codes (using what we have and appealing for what can happen in the future)
- Using all facilities to the maximum

5. **Project detail**

Focus 1: Sport - Soccer:
- Under 10 to under 19
- Greens as main soccer facility and will become the academy with the help of CS Foundation
- Linked to schools
- Full day programmes to "tire out" the kids
- Criteria to join – the child has to attend a school
- School "drop outs" to attend skills training classes in order to join. Motivation needed.
- Funding for body of coaches / mentors
- Disabled will be involved eg. administration, but will involve DPSA
- Manenberg Sports Union to be restructured

6. **Physical aspect**
    - Indoor venues, lighting, mini-stadium
    - Full development of the Greens

7. **Other codes**
    - Same principle to be followed as in soccer
    - A main facility to be dedicated to each code

8. **Evidence of success** (Evaluation)

    - Increase in number of those interested
    - Greater sources of funds brought into Manenberg
    - Drop in youth crime
    - Drop in youth substance abuse and gangsterism
    - Increase in the number of jobs in sport
    - Greater co-operation between sectors eg health, education, employment, religion

9. **Partners:** Business, City of Cape Town, Western Province, Soccer Associations

Focus 2: **Skills Development** – Multi-skills Development Centre (Karibo Industrial)

1. **Target** – out of school youth

2. **Types of skills**
    - Sport
    - Administration
    - Glass
    - Sewing
    - Metalwork

- Business training

2. Partners

- Schools, churches
- Dept of Labour, Trade & Industry, Education
- SETA

3. **Evidence of success** (evaluation)

- Drop in crime
- Increase in number of employed youth
- Increase in standard of living
- Increase in number of business owners

Time Frames

Sport

1. 0 to 6 months
   - Proposal presented to Youth Forum and Manenberg Sports structures
   - Launch events (soccer and netball) with themes
   - Consult with City of cape Town, Seedorf Foundation and UWC
2. 6 to 18 months
   - Develop plan for Greens
   - Academy started
3. 12 to 60 months
   - Coaches, development of Greens
   - Functioning of Academy
   - Regular evaluation of goals and plans

Skills

1. 0 to 6 months
   - Identification of venues
   - Finding funding
   - Linking with businesses
2. 6 to 18 months
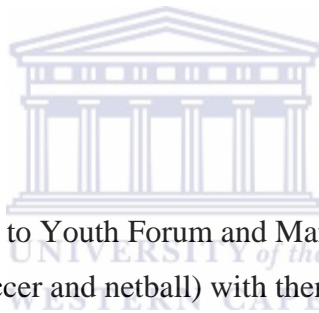
- Intake and graduation of first 100 students
3. 18 to 60 months
    - Graduation of first 500 students
    - First 10 businesses out of Academy

Group 2: Drug use intervention plan

Timeframe	Activity	Goal
Immediate (0 to 6months)	✓ Meet with all interested stakeholders ✓ Plan publicity campaign and march ✓ Develop pamphlet that identifies hazards of drug use, explains local plan, and gives Mixit and 24 hour toll-free number ✓ Set date for Council and SAPS to report back on action in relation to all sites reported for drug involvement ✓ Set up room for information or counselling at Ruimte Road Clinic ✓ At presentation on proposed Matrix Clinic, establish how this will be integrated with existing and planned local initiatives ✓ Get agreement on how existing treatment and recovering addict re-integration will link with Matrix Clinic.	✓ Strengthen what exists Public awareness and support, outreach to users. Pressure on authorities to act ✓ Contact and support with users. Ensure new resource links to local initiatives and existing services
Short Term (6 to 18	✓ Develop a drama that shows how drugs hurt users and their families, and perform this locally and in surrounding communities	✓ Effective sustained campaign and education to reduce drug use ✓ A place for local trained

months)	✓ Establish a recovering addict support group	support and rehabilitation of users
	✓ Identify and get training for local support counsellors	✓ Alternative activities and excitements to take the place of drugs
	✓ Get sponsors for and set up alternative activities with users (beads, cooking, dance, acting..)	
	✓ Link with sports and youth development initiatives	✓ Offer other ways to earn a living and belong to supportive group
	✓ Establish a Safe House where young drug sellers can live before returning home	
	✓ Develop links with local civilian patrols for more immediate response to reports of dealing or using drugs	✓ More effective intervention to stop sales and use
Long term (over 18 months)	✓ Have a well-functioning prevention and Rehabilitation Centre in Manenberg	✓ Less drug use as more young people see there are exciting and accessible alternatives

Conclusion: Summing up by facilitators

- Proposal on Sport will be taken to the meeting with Seedorf Foundation
- Delegates to convene a meeting and give feedback to groups / sectors
- Chris will forward the full report to delegates
- Soraya, Verna, Ivy, Nomku, Lucinda and Ashraff will present the report to the Manenberg Development Forum on 25 June 2009

The workshop was ended with a check out exercise and thanks to all the participants.
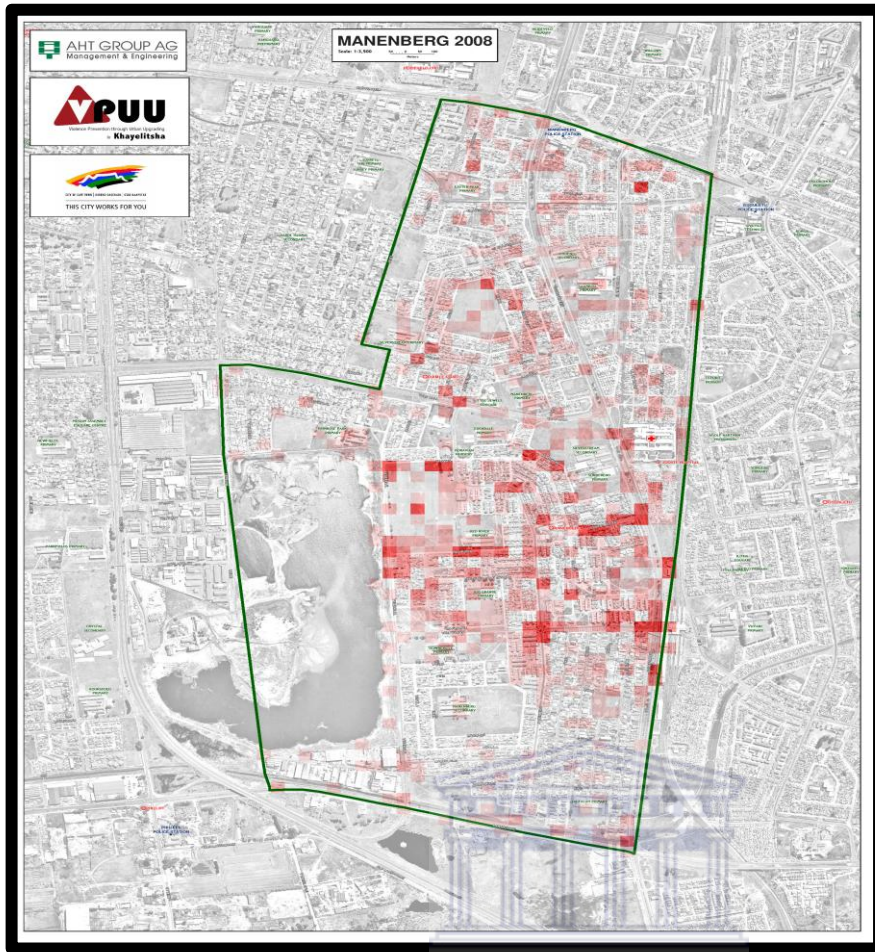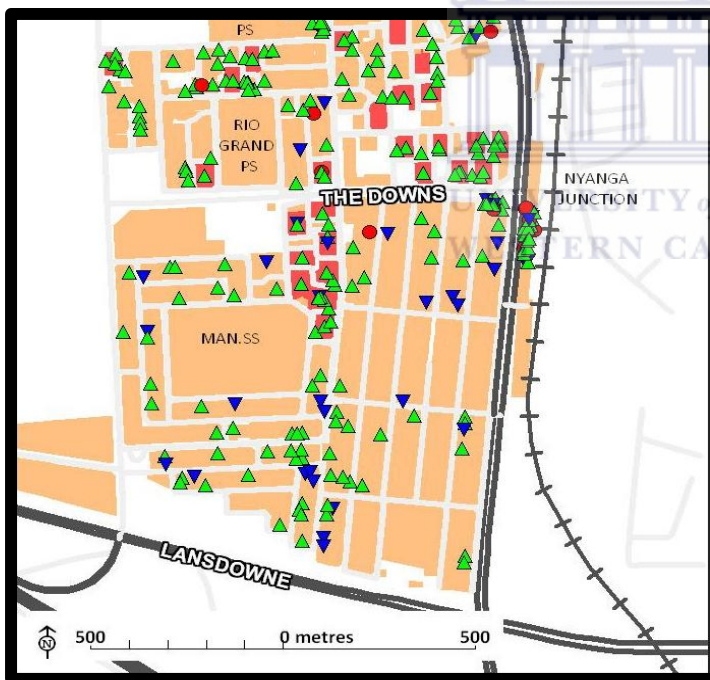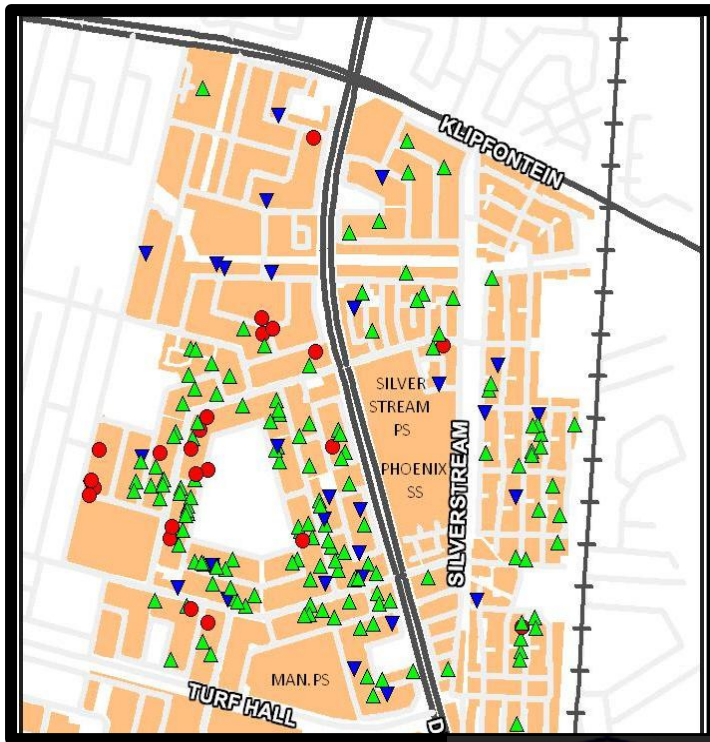
Map 1: The Proudly Manenberg Organisation has divided the community of Manenberg into five zones.

Map 2: Overall patterns of crime & violence in Manenberg.

Map 3: The 2 maps above indicate the overview of incidents of crime on businesses in Manenberg.

**APPENDIX D: IMAGES OF THE COMMUNITY OF MANENBERG**

Image 1: The community is filled with blocks of flats commonly known as 'courts'

Image 2: Front and back view of a house in Manenberg. This is home to twelve people. This image is an example of back yard dwellers that are prominent in the community.

Image 3: This is an image of the Proudly Manenberg Organisation which is situated on a piece of land known as 'the waterfront'.
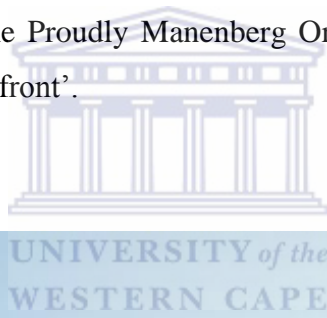
Image 4: The Manenberg People Centre Organisation offers training courses in hairdressing, computer training, music lessons and art lessons.

Image 5: Men gambling in public in an alley, commonly known as a 'gaangtjie'.

Image 6: Kids playing soccer on a Saturday afternoon.

Image 7: Teenagers sitting on the street corner enjoying the Sunday afternoon sun.

Image 8: An image of the Community Development Workers (CDW) employed by the TAMA Community Development, which broke away from the Proudly Manenberg Organisation (PMO).