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The role of civil society organizations in assisting homeless citizens through participatory governance: A case study of Reclaim the City.

By

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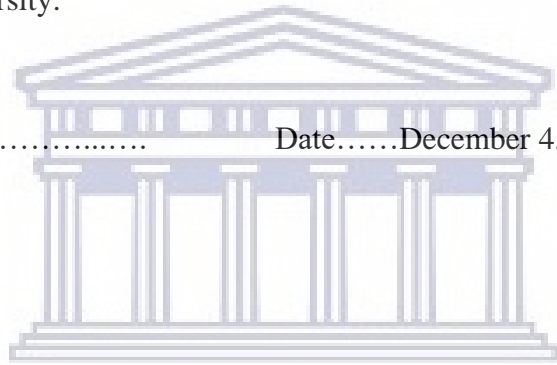
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC_____ African National Congress

CBD_____ Central Business District

CCT_____ City of Cape Town

CGH_____ Cissie Gool House

CSOs_____ Civil Society Organisations

DAG_____ Development Action Group

FGDs_____ Focus Group Discussions

GAA _____ Group Areas Act

GEAR _____ Growth Employment and Redistribution

NGO _____ Non Governmental Organization

NU _____ Ndifuna Ukwazi

RDP_____ Reconstruction and Development Program

RSA _____ Republic of South Africa

RTC _____ Reclaim the City

SANCO_____ South African National Civic Organisation

USA _____ United States of America

UWC_____ University of the Western Cape

WHO_____ World Health Organisation

WOMANGLA _____ RTC Womens League

ABSTRACT

This study investigates how a civil society organisation, Reclaim the City (RTC), based in the old Woodstock Hospital is attempting to address the plight of the homeless through deepening participatory governance. Homelessness is a growing concern in South Africa. Post-1994 the African National Congress (ANC) embarked on the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) to address the imbalances of the past through providing housing, water, electricity and sanitation amongst others. However by 1996 this program was decommissioned and replaced by the Growth, Employment, and Reconstruction (GEAR) policy which ushered in the privatisation of basic services. The challenge was that many of the previously marginalised could not pay for these services. The move away from the RDP meant residents had to pay for housing and when many could not pay their rents they were evicted. The evicted moved into the streets and later, in this case study, to the old Woodstock Hospital. In their new location, they started engaging with Development Action Group (DAG) and Ndifuna Ukwazi (NU) and the City of Cape Town to address their plight. Thus, the thesis employed participatory governance and citizen engagement theories to understand the extent to which RTC assists its members by encouraging participation within the CHG. The study adopted a qualitative research approach involving eight in-depth interviews with leaders of RTC, DAG, and NU and two focus group discussions; one with members of RTC and another with the homeless on the street in Woodstock. The study found that RTC is playing an advocacy role by engaging with the City, empowering members, and ensuring inclusivity and equity in decision-making.

KEYWORDS: civil society, homelessness, participation, democracy, and deepening participation

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This thesis investigates how civil society organisations are assisting homeless citizens through participatory governance Thus, it attempts to explain how a civil society organisation facilitates the involvement of homeless citizens in decision-making on issues that concern them. This is vital since homelessness has emerged as a global phenomenon experienced in many countries as there are homeless people all over the world, regardless of the economic status of the country and their racial groups or their religion. Therefore, this phenomenon is not unique to South Africa and needs collective efforts to address it (Carter & May 2000; Roets et al., 2016).

The thesis explores the attempts of a civil society organisation- Reclaim the City (RTC) in assisting the homeless in the community of Woodstock. The thesis employs the concepts of civil society, homelessness, democracy, participation, and theories of participatory governance and citizen engagement to understand how Reclaim The City as a social movement, employs participatory governance in decision-making to deepen democracy and address homelessness. Being a mini-thesis, I will be focussing only on the internal aspects of participatory governance by looking at the internal participation and democracy of the occupants of Old Woodstock Hospital and the role RTC plays in establishing this. This allows for a discussion on the first steps required for meaningful participatory governance with a focus on what RTC does in terms of internal democreacy.

To achieve this goal, the study employed a qualitative research approach, involving eight in-depth interviews with RTC and officials from other civil society organisations that address similar issues to RTC. Also, two focus group discussions were conducted; one with members of RTC, and another with the homeless living on the streets in Woodstock. This is vital as it gave room for data triangulation during the analysis. The different themes were again triangulated to answer the research question. The study found that civil society organisations were assisting the homeless in Cissie Gool House (CGH) in Woodstock through participatory governance.

The current chapter will provide the background of the research problem. It will also outline the research question, and the research objectives, and the research setting. It will proceed to explore

the rationale for the study and its limitations. The chapter concludes with the overall argument of the study and the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Background to the problem

The end of institutionalised racism in South Africa in 1994 provided an opportunity for the African National Congress (ANC) to institute political, economic, and social reforms to address the imbalances created by apartheid (Bond, 2000). This is crucial as Seekings (2013) explains that successive apartheid leaders through various policies kept 70% of the black population out of the urban areas as they were forced to live in the Bantustans. Those who lived in the cities were confined to townships like Soweto and Khayelitsha where they were denied formal housing, electricity, water, and sanitation amongst other services.

Addressing these service delivery backlogs is vital as when apartheid ended 3 million people were homeless, 12 million had no water and 21 million had no toilets, 18 million had no electricity, and 21 million lived in poverty (Reitzes 2009:6-7). Providing these services is vital and an important way to ensure social justice and equity in line with the new Constitution.

To address these issues Tissington (2011:21) notes that the 1996 Constitution, in part B of section 4, assigns municipalities like the City of Cape Town with the task of providing water and sanitation services. Also, the Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000 detailed that basic services constitute the right to municipal services which is enshrined in section 73 of the Act to bring services to the people (Tissington 2011:21). Meanwhile, in terms of Co-operative Governance, if local councils do not have the resources to provide these services, the provincial or national government must assist to deliver these services (Williams 2003:8).

Williams (2005) postulates that to address issues of homelessness and end the injustices of the past and also to ensure housing and equity in services, the new leaders introduced a new development strategy known as the Reconstruction and Development Program in 1994 to transform the landscape from the legacy of apartheid through providing housing and basic services (ANC 1994). This was envisioned to address the desperate state of poverty afflicting the majority of the population. In this light, it was a social welfare policy to usher in social change.

However, by 1996 the ANC drifted from its RDP policy and introduced a macro-economic policy, which shifted away from the initial vision of providing land, houses, and water. Subsequently, with the birth of globalisation and neoliberalism, RDP policy was later abandoned to a more liberal policy called Growth Empowerment and Reconstruction (GEAR). This policy ushered in the privatisation of basic services like housing, electricity, and water (Bond 2000:92).

This shift to GEAR for Bond (2000) was the dawn of a new era for the country and service delivery. The change of policy meant the drift into a privatisation strategy. This shift made it difficult for the urban poor living in these communities to pay for the rents which are now currently fixed by private landlords in housing as against the rental that was fixed by the municipality. The privatisation drive also extended to electricity and water where there were the installations of prepaid meters. In this case, the local government or the city was supposed to understand the plight of these citizens and address their challenges progressively considering the political history of the country especially as many non-whites were denied opportunities for subsidies housing, historically. However, in many cases, this did not occur, and instead, there has been a steady increase in homelessness. According to recent study carried out by an NGO in Cape Town (Khulisa Streetcapes), "It's estimated that there are about 14 357 homeless people living in the streets of Cape Town" (GroundUp, 2020). Thus, Woodstock being in close proxim to the CBD, the number of street homeless kept burgeoning in this community.

1.3 Causes of homelessness

The problem of homelessness as mentioned earlier is a worldwide issue most often caused by poverty (Roets 2016). In this view, South Africa cannot be an exception and whether there are other challenges such as unemployment, illiteracy, and drug or alcohol abuse, poverty, is at the center of homelessness (Roets, 2016). Most families in and around the Woodstock community live below the living standards lacking some basic facilities like food and shelter. This at times forces young people to go out in search of jobs or greener pastures in urban areas and the central business district.

Sometimes the search for a job takes longer than predicted and the mere fact that adequate finance is absent, such young people end up sleeping on the streets with the hope of finding a job and

changing their present states. Woodstock being so closed to the Cape Town Central Business District (CBD), many such job seekers turn to loiter endlessly around the community.

South Africa's apartheid is also a significant cause of homelessness, due to the Group Area Act of 1950 (Cross and Seager 2010). In the CBD, fertile and wealthier areas were reserved for whites during the apartheid era, while blacks Africans were forcefully relocated to far and poorer communities. This has had a longstanding effect where an entire community is forced out and far from the central business district and far from employment opportunities. Today, citizens from such communities travel long distances to work in the central business district, and some end up sleeping in the street because of the high cost of transportation.

A further cause of homelessness is a broken home. Black (2016) cites Mathebula and Ross, (2013) to corroborate the fact that children often leave their homes due to long term physical or sexual abuse, neglect from a parent, or addiction in the home. The forces that the homeless people dealt with are disenfranchisement and social "death", degrading myths and stereotypes, punitive treatment by case-workers, deficient school systems that perpetuate illiteracy and joblessness, and most importantly the loss of rights as a citizen thus as a human that these individuals usually suffer (Spark 2011:34). Other causes of homelessness include; school dropout, unemployment, alcohol, and drug abuse, and loss of family ties.

More often than not, the homeless are made to believe that they are the cause of their present condition due to their moral failings and are being reminded of this daily. As earlier mentioned, the home represents a certain criterion for citizenship (Arnold 2004). It signifies economic independence and is the precondition for any degree of citizenship and also symbolizes political identity. Arnold (2004) argues that a lack of home signals a very strong problem, the homeless not only lack a home but they are culturally stigmatized and politically disenfranchised.

Thus the home represents the concept of citizenship and signifies autonomy, the ability to pursue long-term goals, maintain a social network, and some privacy. Politically, it represents a unitary subject free of tension and conflict. Homelessness, on the other hand, signifies a focus on short-term pursuits, the absence of privacy, and the breakdown of political and social networks in the case of social networks even occupying a public place becomes illegal (Arnold 2004).

Post-1996 the government took several steps to improve service delivery to address the huge injustices of the past. In this light housing, electricity, water, and sanitation delivery all became essential aspects of government policy. The emergence of housing as a basic human right meant that homelessness has to be progressively eradicated. Yet the number of homeless continues to increase due to the introduction of GEAR and increasing privatisation and the role of property developers in Woodstock.

1.4. The problem of homelessness in Woodstock

The process of gentrification is also playing a significant role in the rise of homelessness in Woodstock. The term 'gentrification' owed its origins from the urban geographer Ruth Glass in the 1960s (Glass, 1964). Initially, it was applied to the newly observed habit of upper-middle-class households purchasing properties in the, traditionally deprived, East End of London. The process has regularly been defined as 'the rehabilitation of working-class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle-class neighborhood' (Smith and Williams, 1986:1).

Turning to the focus of this study, one could see that in Woodstock, since many residents could not afford houses, they turned to sleep on the streets and in public parks. In 2016, a group of these homeless turned to the derelict old Woodstock hospital and overpowered the security guards that were guarding the precinct and occupied it. Subsequently, when City officials tried to evict them from this precinct they were unable to do so. The occupiers later mobilised themselves into a social movement called RTC to engage the city constructively and avoid being evicted from the precinct. Their unwavering stand forced the city to back down in trying to evict them (RTC leader 2. 2020).

According to leaders of the organisation, the City instead went into negotiations with the leaders of the civil society organisation to ensure that they should not accept any new entrants into the building (RTC leader 2, 2020). On the other hand, the City began ensuring that they were provided with free water, electricity, and waste removal services while they are in negotiations for a permanent solution to their housing needs.

The acquiescence of the City is possibly indicative of their awareness that these residents were not supposed to be evicted in the first place and secondly, it is the City's mandate to provide housing

for these residents in terms of the housing Act of 1997. This line of thought is supported by Williams (2005) who cites jurisprudence or case law in the Grootboom Case of 2000, where a judge ruled that in terms of the constitution the city is supposed to provide shelter.

1. 5 Understanding the genesis of RTC as a social movement

The social movement, RTC, aimed at fighting post-apartheid spatial inequalities with two main goals: stop the City from selling well-located public land that could be used for more affordable social housing and physically stopping the council from evicting long-term residents from social houses or from evicting the occupants of CGH. They created as a campaign in 2016 as a result of an encounter of two distinct groups that share similar goals: a law-clinic and NGO called Ndifuna Ukwazi (NU), and a group of domestic workers and carers of the upmarket neighborhood of Sea Point (Bjorn 2019). Dominated by whites and wealthy people, Sea Point has always had a large number of domestic workers (mostly blacks and colored). These domestic workers usually travel from outside the city to work in the city on daily basis because they can not afford the cost of accommodation in the city.

Interestingly, at the time these workers began to regroup and organized themselves to fight for more affordable houses in Sea Point, NU was also shifting their focus from the provision of basic services in townships to the provision of affordable houses in the city. Faced with a common gold, NU moved swiftly in assisting this group in their fight for affordable housing. The sale of the Tafelberg School amplified the fight for affordable housing in the inner city.

Concourently, evictions were happening in Broamwell Street in Woodstock and this also attracted the attention of NU. At this point, the name RTC was officially taken by the group of domestic workers. In March 2016, RTC had their first protest march to demand the sale of the property be halted, all under the slogan, 'Land for People, Not for Profit' and in August 2016, RTC and NU invaded the weekly neighborhood market in the Old Biscuit mill and protest against those evictions Wingfield (2019). Later on, as an act of political protest, RTC occupied among two other buildings the old Woodstock hospital and named it Cissie Gool House (CGH) Since the formation of the movement, members have been increasing day in day out. The occupation offers a good setting to

understand how deepening participatory governance can assist the less privileged like the homeless in every given society.

To the residents of Woodstock and RTC leadership in particular, the Old Biscuit Mill (an upmarket shopping development in Woodstock), is seen as a physical manifestation and symbol of gentrification and displacement. Justifiable in that those living in the Woodstock area are economically disadvantaged, but the Old Biscuit Mill is for the wealthy, national, and international tourists, thus inevitably excluding those that live in Woodstock and its surrounding.

According to (RTC leaders 3, 2020), this social movement has successfully reclaimed three public buildings in the inner city and its surrounding. These are the Ahmed Kathrada House in Green Point, Cissie Gool House, in Woodstock, and Irene Grootboom House in the city center opposite the Grand Parade. Again, their justification for occupying public buildings is due to the fact that their members are desperate for housing. Since many cannot afford to pay their house rents and many of these homeless people do not want to live on the street when they were evicted. Also, many of them do not want situations where they will be sent to 'relocation camps' by the government to be forgotten while they exist empty government owned buildings in and around the city.
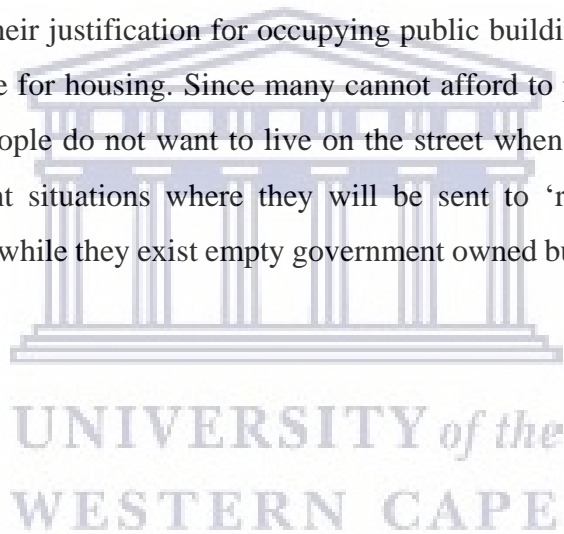
Figure 1; RTC takes over the old Woodstock hospital. Source: RTC web page. Accessed November 2020.

1.6 Research Question

The overarching research question this study seeks to address is: To what extent is Reclaim the City assisting the homeless by deepening participatory governance in Cissie Gool House?

1.6.1 Sub questions:

a) Are the homeless in CGH represented in community-based organisations?

b) What is participatory governance and how is it practiced in RTC?

c) How does RTC ensure that the voices of the homeless are being heard?

d) How does RTC ensure that the concerns of the homeless are being represented to the state?

1.7 Research Objectives

1.7.1 To examine the role of civil society organisations in deepening participatory governance.

1.7.2 To investigate whether and how the homeless can be part of community-based organisations

1.7.3 To explore how civil society organisations ensure that the voices of the homeless are being heard.

1.7.4 To analyse how participatory governance is practiced in reality through a case study of RTC and Cissie Gool house.

1.8 Rationale of the Study

The work of Kerry-lee Black (2013) examines the lived experiences of the homeless in Cape Town, but the work adopted an exploratory approach to gain insights into the phenomenon in Cape Town. Also, Wingfield, M. (2019), studied RTC with the focus of understanding the many meanings of activism in a city like Cape Town. This current study adopts a different methodology and focus, as it interrogates the role of RTC in assisting the homeless through participatory governance.

The rationale of this study is to gain insights into how RTC promotes internal aspects of participatory governance within its members in CGH. The study intends to understand how the first steps required for meaningful participatory governance is been promoted by RTC with a focus on what RTC does in terms of building 'schools of democracy' in CGH. The study will add another layer of scholarship to the understanding of the contribution of civil society organisation in assisting the homeless through involving them in decision-making or participatory governance. The research is important in that post-1996 successive South African leaders had been struggling to ensure that many of the previously marginalised are provided with houses but homelessness remains a challenge.

1.9 An Overview of the chapter and structure of the thesis

This introductory chapter has provided a background to the study on how civil society organisation is assisting the homeless through participatory governance in the old Woodstock hospital. Furthermore, it examined the research problem of the study and identified the overarching research question, and the main objectives of the study were elucidated and the wider implications of the study or its significance were brought out. The chapter was summarised and this then paves the way to chapter two. After chapter one, the rest of the work is as follows;

Chapter two will examine the main concepts of the study, which are homeless, civil society, participatory governance, and also the main theories used in the research which are participatory governance.

Chapter three will detail the research methodology, its design, research paradigm of the research, the qualitative research, case study, and the method of data collection and data analysis, ethical considerations.

Chapter four assesses the impact of participation on the homeless in Cissie Gool House in Woodstock.

Chapter five summarises the research and lays out the key findings and also recommendations for policy on how to address homelessness through encouraging participation and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO:

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The preceding chapter provided background to the study on how civil society organisations are assisting the homeless in CGH in Woodstock through participatory governance. This chapter presents the conceptual clarifications and theoretical groundings of the study. The chapter, therefore, unpacks the concept of homelessness, civil society, democracy, democratic deficit, participation, and the different spaces for participation as concepts used in gaining insight into how civil society organisations are assisting the homeless in CGH. It also examines the theoretical framework of participatory governance and provides an analytical framework that is employed in understanding how RTC, as a social movement is assisting homeless citizens through participatory governance.

2.1 The Concept of Homelessness

This section will unpack the concept of homelessness. Homelessness is a widely debated concept with no clear and precise definition (Kok et al. 2010). However, Kok et al. (2010) reveal that most scholars refer to people living in inadequate shelters such as shack dwellers as homeless while others only look at those living in the street as homeless. This categorisation of the homeless may only include a small percentage of those that are homeless in any particular society.

2.1.1 Different types of Homelessness

Taking the example of the United Kingdom, a 2018 study by Shelter (2018) reveals three different types of homelessness. There are; a) the street homeless otherwise known as rough sleeping; b) statutory homeless (those living in temporary accommodation, night-shelters, and abandoned buildings), and c) the hidden homeless. These three categories of homelessness should be well understood for a better understanding of the role played by civil society in assisting the homeless by deepening participatory governance.

To start with, street homelessness or rough sleeping as it is called in other parts of the world is the most visible form of homelessness but represents a very small number of those without a home

(Diaz, 2006). It has been defined as "people sleeping, or bedded down, in the open air" (such as on the streets, or in doorways, parks, or bus shelters) or people in buildings or other places not designed for habitation (car parks, cars, stations, or 'bushes') (Diaz, 2006).

Statutory homeless are mostly households living in temporary accommodation due to the lack of a home. It can be defined as, households who seek housing assistance from local authorities on grounds of being currently or imminently without accommodation (Fitzpatrick, et al., 2016). In South Africa, statutory homeless are those living in informal settlements with their names on the waiting list for social housing. Although shacks in informal settlements may be a permanent home for some, many of those living in these settlements have their names on the waiting list for social housing and hope to someday own a decent home.

According to Tissington, et al. (2013) out of the 1.8 million households nationally with at least one member registered on the housing waiting list, "around 25 percent live in shacks in informal settlements, 45 percent live in crowded dwellings, 12 percent live in a traditional dwelling and 10 percent live in a backyard shack" (Tissington et al. 2013:27; 28). In the Western Cape, a 2013 research depicts that, there are 133 952 households whose main dwellings are shacks in an informal settlement, and 47 801 of these households (36 percent) claim to be on the RDP waiting list (Tissington 2013).

Reading these statistics, two important points are worth mentioning. Firstly, only 25 percent of the homeless in South Africa are living in shacks. 67 percent either live in structures on a separate stand, traditional dwellings, or backyard stacks. Thus, less than 10 percent are living on the streets. Secondly, as per the statistics from Western Cape 2013 research, only 36 percent of the households living in shacks claim to be on the RDP waiting list (Tissington 2013). That is, not all those who are living in shacks are registered as statutorily homeless. Many of them still fall under the hidden homeless as they are neither on the street nor on any register as homeless. Again of every household living in shacks or traditional dwellings, only one adult may be registered on the waiting list. The other members of such households are homeless but hidden not statutory.

The third category of homelessness is hidden homeless and these are households or individuals who may be considered homeless, but whose situation is not 'visible' either on the streets or in official statistics. Classic examples would include households living in severely overcrowded conditions, squatters, people 'sofa-surfing' around friends' or relatives' homes, those involuntarily

sharing with other households on a long-term basis, and people sleeping rough in hidden locations, including shack some dwellers (Fitzpatrick, et al., 2016).

Interestingly, this category of homeless has the highest number of homeless citizens in every given society. Ironically, this last and most populated group of homeless are often forgotten if not ignored by most policy-makers. RTC and other organisations are assisting both statutory homeless and hidden homeless citizens. This helps to reduce the number of people who end up sleeping on the street. The triangle below depicts the three levels of homelessness.

Figure 2) different types of homelessness. Source: (Fitzpatrick, et al., 2016).

The pyramid illustrates a classic example of homelessness. The top of the pyramid depicts the most vulnerable form of homelessness with a very small percentage of homeless citizens. This form is called the street homeless. The middle of the pyramid is made up of those living in an

informal settlement or temporary accommodation. The number of those living in temporary accommodation through numerous, it's not as populated as the last class which is the hidden homeless. This is applicable in the South African society in the sense that, not all those living in temporary accommodations are registered with the state housing list. The majority of them are not registered anywhere as homeless. This places them in the last category which is the hidden homeless.

For the purpose and scope of this work, I will consider those on the street, those in temporary shelters, (particularly those in Cissie Gool house), and the hidden as homeless. First, because understanding homelessness in all three sectors provides policy-makers with a unique opportunity to look at this social crisis from the roots. Also, this is partly because RTC assists with all three forms of homelessness. Though more attention is sometimes given to those on the street and those in temporary accommodation, RTC always encouraged those who are hidden to unveil themselves and get assistance before they either end up on the street or manage to get temporary accommodation from the local government.

2.2 Civil Society

The concept of civil society has been looked at in many different ways. Differing analysts have suggested different meanings of the concept. This has threatened to generate much conceptual confusion rather than clarity. In this thesis, I shall extract definitions of civil society that I find most relevant or proximate for my thesis, from key definitions put forward by selected scholars, I will further proceed by looking at the different types of civil society organisations that exist in South Africa. Thus, the need to analysis civil society organisations systematically.

Most scholars would accept that civil society is an intermediate associational realm between state and family, populated by voluntarily constituted organizations that are separate from the state and enjoy autonomy to it (White, 2004:10). This conceptualisation is vital in this thesis as it identifies civil society by differentiating it from other sectors organized by the state or by the market and working above the threshold in which biology and intimacy are predominant (as in the family and close friendships). Civil society has also been seen as a sphere of social interaction between economy and state.

For Cohen and Arato (1992), civil society is understood as "a sphere of social interaction between economy, and state, composed above all of the intimate sphere (especially the family). This is the sphere of associations' especially voluntary associations, social movements, and forms of public communication. In the long term, both independent action and institutionalisation are necessary for the reproduction of civil society" (Cohen and Arato, 1992). The roots of civil society in the works of some European theorists like Michael Foucault, Hannah Arendt, and others have been examined by Arato. He compares their work with contemporary liberal democracy, thereby placing the term in a historical and theoretical context (Arato, 1992). Like most concepts in political studies, the term civil society has been seen differently by different scholars in different political eras.

Berber (1984) argues that liberalism has weakened democratic participation and defines a political system as one that includes all citizens in self-governing. He further opines that "civil society is the domain that can potentially mediate between the state and private sectors and offer women and men space for activities that are simultaneously voluntary and public; a space that unites the virtue of the private sector liberty with the virtue of the public sector concern for the general good" (Barber, 1995:10). The importance of Berber's conceptualization of the term of this work lies in the concept of participation and mediation. Civil society here is seen as independent from the state and the market and plays an important role in mediating between the citizens and the states. Again, Berbers (1995) sees civil society as an intermediary sector that provides for the citizens an opportunity to participate voluntarily.

Michael Edward in his book 'Civil Society' proposes a fine balance of theoretical understandings and practical examples. Edward (2004) suggests three schools of thought that clarify the current debate about civil society. He opines that civil society can either be looked at "as a part of society (the world of associational life), civil society as a kind of society (the good society), and civil society as the public sphere" (Edward, 2004:15).

However, I will be more concerned with Edwards's first school of thought that was derived essentially from de-Tocqueville's ideas and portrays civil society as a social sphere distinct from states and markets. Civil society represents a "third" or "non-profit" sector containing "all associations and networks between the family and the state in which membership and activities are voluntary." That is, non-governmental organisations, labour unions, political parties, religious

groups, professional, and business associations, community and self-help groups, social movements, and independent media (Edward 2004:20). At the global level, neo-Tocquevillians focus on transnational organisations that are said to have formed a global civil society.

According to Edward (2004), the "three-sector model of society" which underlies this school of thought is seemingly not clear because, civil society, the state, and economic actors are inseparably interwoven. He advocates "a systems view of associational life that looks at the different modules of civil society and how they interrelate both with each other and with public and private bodies" (Edward 2004: 32). Thus, civil society forms part of a complex but fragile system whose survival depends on the achievement of a collective goal.

Flowing from the above, therefore, one can agree with Edward when he affirms that "it is government" responsibility to deal with the root causes that keep citizens from participating and participating equally, in associational life and the public sphere. That means "market regulation as well as legislation to promote security and guaranteed satisfaction of basic human needs." (Edward 2004: 89). Thus, the failure of the state to ensure participation or provide basic services like housing creates an opportunity for civil society organisation to fill the gap to step in and assist in alleviating the plight of the homeless.

2.2.1 Different Types of civil society organisations

This section of the thesis looks at different types of civil society organisations; this is vital as not all civil society organisations focus or seek to address issues of homelessness in the City of Cape Town. Houtzager and Lavalle (2010) affirm that there are five different types of civil societies in Brazil. Interestingly, this applies to South Africa. These organisations are diverse (Houtzager and Lavalle 2010). The five groups of civil societies include associations, coordinators, advocacy NGOs, service not for profit, and others that do not fit within the four categories (Houtzager and Lavalle 2010:14).

The first of these groups is the associations that are made up of a variety of local and territorially based actors that have either direct members or work on behalf of a territorially defined community (Lavalle et al., 2005). In the case of South Africa, this may be the South African Civic Organisation (SANCO). Secondly, the scholarship notes that Coordinators are social actors who bring together

other collective actors or represents the interest of issue-based imagined communities at local, state, or provincial or national levels (Lavalle et al., 2005). They coordinate debate and action amongst member organisations and mediate relations with the state. In South Africa organisations such as the former non-governmental organisation (NGO) People's Dialogue, and presently the Slum Dwellers International can be seen as good examples of CSOs operating as Coordinators (Mohamed 2009:47).

Besides, there are also advocacy NGOs that have as their core function, the transformation of social issues into public issues, and campaigning around these issues to influence public policy or private behavior, be it at local provincial, national, or transnational level (Mohamed 2009:48). The relation of these organisations and the beneficiaries is that of a target group where there is often no direct contact as well as no formal membership (Houtzager &Lavalle 2010:14).

The next groups are the service for a non-profit which has as their primary task the provision of services to the individual client (Houtzager and Lavalle 2010:15). These may include the provision of services as charity or as an effort to empower disadvantaged individuals. These may include actors who provide professional training or employment counseling, food for the homeless, medical care, and shelter for battered or abused women. Many of these groups in Sao Polo have religious roots and deliver most of these services on behalf of the state (Houtzager and Lavalle 2010:15).

Lavalle et al., (2005) observe that another group of civil society are the new social movements. This term is used with reference to the excess of protest movements that emerged in Western societies in the mid-1960s and which differ significantly from the conventional movements. The work of Buechler (2000) views new social movements as a diverse array of collective actions that have displaced the old social movements of the proletarian revolution. These movements differ from the traditional social movements centered on economic concerns that had previously dominated following Marxist paradigms, such as the labour movement.

Lastly, Lavalle et al., (2005) termed others are the class of civil society which is a grouping of philanthropic foundations, pastoral organisations of the Catholic Church, and others such as classic civil society actors as the Lion Club and Rotary clubs.

As mentioned earlier, new social movements are a diverse array of collective actions that have displaced the old social movements of the proletarian revolution (Buechler, 2000). Again, Tilly, (2003) as cited by White (2008) views social movement as; "a sustained challenge to power-holders in the name of a population living under the jurisdiction of those power-holders by utilising repeated public displays of that population's worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment" (Tilly, 2003:23).

Interestingly, White (2008) again citing Tarrow's view of social movements, suggests that social movements are best defined as "collective challenges, based on the common purposes and social solidarities in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities" (Tarrow 1998:4). This definition sits well with the activities of RTC. Thus, the RTC could be read as a new social movement or urban social movement as they pursue common interests around urban issues like housing. More so, RTC also does the work of an advocacy NGO. It is therefore useful to look at the role of movements like RTC in engaging the state.

2.3 Conceptualising the relationship between participation and democracy

This section of the thesis will conceptualise the relationship between participation and democracy. When faced with social problems like homelessness, sometimes local governments may be pushed to use force or better still legal measures to manage or control the homeless that may in practice aggravate the situation. Recently, for example, in response to the threat from the COVID 19 epidemic, the City turned to force the homeless into confined camps against their will (Goundup, 2020). The result was a dramatic resistance from the homeless, which was marked by a total failure of the entire project. Participating in local government projects relating to social housing can, however, be a good experience for homeless citizens, if it provides an opportunity for identification with their political system through involving citizens in decision making (Kastrati, 2016). This thesis will investigate if this is the case in Cissie Gool house.

Involving homeless citizens in decision making or increasing participation is how civil society can help strengthen some of the weaknesses in democracy. This will lower citizen dissatisfaction with policies around housing, which has become an everyday reality for residents in the old Woodstock hospital. However, this is only possible within a democratic state. Thus, I shall start this section by unpacking the concept of democracy.

2.3.1 Unpacking democracy

At its most basic democracy originates from the Greek terms demos and kratos, which approximate to the idea of 'rule by the people' (Arblaster, 1987:2). In the course of this thesis, this definition would be used as a working definition as it captures the essence of the study. Since ancient Greece, however, the concept has developed in many directions, with no single definition or understanding. Dahl, (1989) sees it as "an idea or a principle of popular equality" (Dahl, 1989:98). Giving to this principle or idea, all members of a community or association have an equally effective right to participate in firmly binding decision making (Somerville, 2011).

Thus, one can assume that there must exist a community or body whose membership standards are fully recognized by all; also, the members of this community must have equal power in the community's decision-making processes; and lastly, they must recognize the decisions made as needing their compliance (Somerville, 2011). Therefore, democracy suggests a group of equals, with respect to one another's rights as members, and also respect the norms of the society or organisation. Worth noting is the fact that members are not obliged to participate, but they are obliged to abide by any decisions made by the body (Somerville 2011)

According to Sartori, (1987), democracy can be interpreted as a project (democratization). This understanding of democracy holds that, in reality, democracy in practice falls short of its principles (Gaventa, 2006). That is, even where a body is recognized as democratic by its members, some members will be more powerful than others, some will participate more effectively than others, and some will not recognise the authority of decisions made by that body. These shortcomings are evidence of a democratic deficit (Somerville, 2011). Democracy can be direct or indirect.

2.3.2 Direct and indirect democracy

Calland (1999) points out that there are two types of democracies, namely direct democracy, and indirect (representative) democracy. Firstly, direct democracy is based on the premise that the people assemble and every citizen is directly involved in every government decision, this may take the form of voting in the election or referendum. That is direct democracy requires direct participation in the decision-making processes of a community, a group, or a society (Sumerville, 2011). Direct participation may be through assemblies, like the case of deliberative democracy in

Brazil (Zittel 2006). The question for this study is how often are their voices heard and do RTC consider the voice of the homeless when making decisions? This is in line with the overall question which seeks to understand the extent to which RTC assists the homeless by deepening participation in the Cissie Gool House.

Indirect or representative democracy, on the other hand, requires the community to elects leaders who make decisions on behalf of the group (Sumerville 2011). This presents another democratic principle whereby the group or community must be able to hold their representatives to account for their actions and ensure that they always act in the people's best interests. That is the principle of popular control (Beetham, 1999). Calland (1999) further notes that elected representatives must represent the views of the people, who in this case are the electorate, and "representation is delineated as a limited mandate where the representative is empowered to speak or vote reflecting the views of the constituency" Calland (1999:62). The system of representative democracy tends to normalised intra-group differences in the interest of manageability (Carrim 2001:107). This political system, therefore, makes it difficult to find effective ways for the public voice to be heard and to give them freedom of expression of their varied interests despite their differences. Representative democracy seems to require less participation. Participation is mostly through voting as stipulated by (Schumpeter, 1976) in his competitive elitism theory.

2.3.3 Understanding democratic deficit

As intimated earlier, democracy insinuates some form of the inclusion of citizens in policy decision-making, deliberation, and participation. The question that comes to mind is whether there is evidence to support this view of an inclusive society where every citizen is given a voice to participate in decision-making that affects them? Gaventa (2006) points out that it does not exist. This then leads to the question of what is a democratic deficit. Dryzek (2000) explains that it is the absence of the substantive inclusion of more people as well as the spread of democratic values and practices to more people in many societies in many parts of the world.

Also, where the decisions reflect, for example, the opinion of a more powerful minority, they may be regarded as less legitimate by the less powerful majority, thus a deficit in the model of democracy (Sumerville 2011). A democratic deficit can stem from either inequality within a body, or weakness of the body itself, such that it cannot act effectively in its interests because of external

influence (Luckham et al, 2000: 22-3). In both cases, according to the principle of popular equality, remedying the democratic deficit means ensuring that each citizen's voice counts equally to everyone else (Sumerville 2011).

Within a community or body, it seems obvious that this requires a certain equalisation of power relations. Across different bodies, however, the situation looks less straightforward. Here, the principle of popular equality seems to require that a body should be able to exercise decision-making power in proportion to the number of its members, thus ensuring that the slogan of 'one person one vote' holds universally (Sumerville 2011). To deepen participation in any given society is thereby correct the shortcomings of democracy. It is in this line of thought that this work seeks to investigate how RTC assist the homeless through deepening participation or strengthening democracy in the Cissie Gool House.

2.3.4 The different perspective on 'deepening democracy'

As noted earlier, the democratic deficit, then prompted scholars to explore different models that can assist democracy to be deepened. Gaventa (2007) reads the deepening of democracy as the project of designing and sustaining more substantive and empowered citizen participation in the political process than what is currently found in most liberal representative democracies.

Dryzek (2000:29) explains that the deepening of democracy should not be limited to the spread of liberal democracy to ever more corners of the world but rather extensions along with any one of three dimensions like the expansion of the number of people capable of participating effectively in the collective decision and bringing more issues and areas of life potentially under democratic control. He adds that the other area is the authenticity of control, to be real rather than symbolic, involving the effective participation of autonomous and competent actors. Young (2000:21-26), buttresses the definition by bringing in a social justice perspective as she observed that the deepening of democracy is where collective actors not only express preferences and interests but also engage each other on how to balance these in the context of inclusive equality.

If there is a common thread that flows through all these definitions it is the idea of practical participation or inclusion of citizens in the political process in society. The various models, by which democracy can be deepened, are two strands to this discourse. The first strand is "a vibrant

or a robust civil society can act as a watchdog by holding governments to account, by ensuring that through the building and strengthening of institutions like competitive elections, independent judiciary and strong legislature" (Gaventa, 2006:14). This is the top-down approach, while the second strand argues on the project of civil society working with citizens in deepening democracy, otherwise referred to as the bottom-up model

Also, a robust civil society can serve as an additional check and balance on government behaviour through mobilising claims it can also advocate for special interests; in some cases, it can play a watchdog role against the excesses of power of the government and also play a countervailing role. Gaventa (2006) notes that an independent civil society can hold the government to account.

For civil society, Carothers (1999) argues for the need for active advocacy non-governmental organisations, politically educated citizenry, strong independent media, and strong and independent unions. He adds that from the top-down he emphasised the "supply-side" (institutions) are strengthened while from bottom-up, he argued on the "demand-side" (civil society) (Carothers, 1999:88). The other strand of the debate is associated with the developmental approach, which elaborates on the activities of civil society working directly with citizens in deepening democracy.

Ackerman (2004) reads this as the best model, suggesting that this is tapping into the energy of society through co-governance which involves inviting social actors to participate in the activities of the state. He adds that citizens should play a direct role in public choices or engage deeply with substantive political issues. Cohen and Fung (2004) agree and point out that citizens should have direct roles in public choices or at least engage more deeply with substantive political issues and be assured that officials will be responsible for their concerns and judgments.

The above explanations then lead to our understanding that civil society groups like RTC can play a meaningful role in the deepening of democracy. Diamond (1993) observes that the deepening of democracy hinges around the participation of citizens in civil society and the political system. This links the deepening of democracy with citizenship and inclusion.

2.3.5 Deepening Democracy through participation

This section of the study is to support the argument that an empowered citizenry who is politically conscious can become an empowered citizenry who can easily react against marginalised

situations like homelessness and uphold social justice through participating in civil society programs and participatory spaces. In short, the hypothesis is that civil society can deepen democracy and better the plight of the homeless through forms of participation. The issue here is how can civil society deepen democracy through participation?

In Brazil, for example, civil society organisations pushed for the presence of decentralization and participatory governance institutions in the Constitution of 1988 (Donaghy, 2011). Today, civil society organisations, continue to push for the application of participatory governance throughout Brazil. Although participatory budgeting, predominantly in Porto Alegre, has received the most international attention as an example of participatory governance, many other types of municipal-level councils exist throughout Brazil (Donaghy, 2011). The importance of such representation can never be under-appreciated. Citizens can voice their transgressions and suggest possible solutions more calmly and democratically.

Again, these councils usually assign half of their seats for government officials and another half for representatives of civil society (Donaghy, 2011). It is therefore fair to suggest that these municipal councils and other types of participatory governance institutions provide a voice for previously marginalized citizens like the homeless and promote social inclusion (Donaghy, 2011). However, the question that comes to mind is regarding the extent of resulting benefits for the poor and the context in which these institutions have the greatest impact on the citizens.

Mansbridge (1997:423) notes that an informed and active citizen who can participate in democratic life can hold the state to account and exercise their rights and responsibilities efficiently. She further adds that it helps to create and strengthen citizens themselves, increasing their feelings of political efficacy and their political knowledge. This is beneficial as it is assumed that a more informed and efficient citizen will ultimately benefit the larger society by leading to a citizenry that is clearer about its interest and response to the claims of justice.

A further challenge is how does one learn or acquire the sense and efficacies of citizenship (Gaventa and Barrett 2010:28)? According to Merrifield (2001:5-6), learning citizenship involves knowledge, not just of key facts, but also broaden understanding and awareness, attributes, especially the arts of engagement with others and dispositions meanings deeply held values and attitude that supports effective citizenship.

Secondly, this citizen awareness can lead to further action in that the building of awareness and taking action are often an iterative journey as one step leads to another. Gaventa and Barrett (2010:33) note that through action, awareness is built of oneself as an actor through being that actor one becomes aware and capable of new actions and this actions further leads to further action in that the enhanced citizenship leads to peoples abilities to challenge injustice than previously which in turn changes the environment.

Again, when citizens come to interface with state officials and engaging in decision-making, they have the potential to positively impact socio-economic barriers. Also, engaging in decision making may reduce poverty and inequality as they now deliberate on equal footing with state officials and can raise their concerns and grievances on housing directly.

More so, the emergence of participatory spaces such as RTC creates an enabling environment for the residents to deliberate on the issues as equals in a public sphere. Gaventa (2004), notes that in these spaces decisions are arrived at through reasoned arguments and not through emotions. This is arguably so as a key tenet of deliberative democracy is that of authentic deliberation, as an attempt is made to reach a consensus among free and equal participants (White 2008:44).

Another benefit of this process is that participatory spaces open channels of an interface between ordinary citizens with bureaucrats. This builds an empowered citizen and creates equity as it enables the citizens to engage directly in problem-solving activities as they are now able to make their demands directly to state officials (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007:5).

Moreover, through these deliberative processes, the citizens are empowered. This is so because increased civic and political knowledge as civil society helps in building citizen awareness will enable citizens to claim rights and express their opinions (Gaventa 2004:37). More to that, White (2008:81) observes that these deliberative and participatory spaces open doors for participants to deliberate as equals in decision-making processes and opportunities for all to express their interests and views.

These empowered citizens now act as "makers and shapers" and no longer the "users and choosers" they used to be (Gaventa, 2004:29). This is congruent with the views of Gaventa and Cornwall (2001). They weave in that the deepening of democracy should not be limited to citizenship, which is used for the enjoyment of legal rights and the election of representatives (Gaventa and Cornwall

2001). Rather the new wave of citizenry should encompass an active citizenry which entails the citizens' ability to collectively mobilise to participate in deliberation and decision making on issues that affect them (Gaventa and Cornwall 2001).

Involving citizens more directly in decisions that affect them is good for democracy and as Cornwall and Coelho (2007:4) note it makes for better citizens, better decisions, and better government. In other words, by engaging citizens in solving problems that affect them working directly with the state, bureaucrats improve understanding and contribute to the quality and smooth implementation of public policies. Despite the overriding successes attributed to the role of civil society in deepening participation, some caveats are worth noting.

Firstly, Mohanty (2010) points out that mobilisation within the state created spaces (invited space), is geared towards realising the agenda of the state, rather than that of the citizens for which it is intended. Some states may outsource some of their tasks only to civil society organisations that are viewed as being friendly to state policies and in the long run, these organisations can be manipulated by the state.

Secondly, there are also instances where these organisations lost their autonomy due to their closeness with state agencies. They contract huge sums of money to deliver services on behalf of the state. This leads to some theorists believing that they had been co-opted by the state and these acts, then turn to discredit them as an agency, driving the agenda of the state rather than independent and autonomous fighting for the citizens (Mohanty, 2010).

Thirdly, Cooke and Kothari note that some of these spaces may be subject to abuse, easily captured by elites, and become a 'new tyranny' (Cooke and Kothari, 2001), With this in mind, this thesis then contributes another layer to the thread weaving through the participation and civil society debate, that democracy can be deepened through civil society and participation is despite some caveats, this then leads to the concept of participation.

2.4 Conceptualising participation

Cornwall (2000) points out that participation has gained multiple meanings and giving rise to different practices in the past, but recently there had been some changes. However, community participation in projects has often been distinct from political participation, which mostly involves

voting, political parties, and lobbying (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2001). Recently, there has been a growing concern about citizen engagement in policy and policy implementation. Also, a concern around good governance, broadening political participation to include a search for new more direct ways through which citizens may influence government and hold them accountable (Gaventa and Valderrama 1999).

Worth noting are the words of Thomas Zettle in what he calls "integrative democratization." To him, "integrative democratization describes the relationship between individuals and institutions in a unique way." That is, people are not born as citizens but their association with political institutions makes them citizens. Thus, people associate with institutions in different types of spaces. Participation in this sense can only take place in a defined space like the Old Woodstock Hospital occupied by RTC.

2.4.1 The different spaces of participation

This section of the study examines the different spaces where participatory activities by citizens take place. These spaces might be closed, invited, invented, and claimed.

2.4.1.1 Closed Spaces

As mentioned earlier, one of the spaces where decisions are taken is closed spaces. Emerging literature on participation points to the fact that several decision-making spaces are still closed from the people that they are deciding on. Most of these arenas' decisions are made by a set of actors behind closed doors, without any effort aimed at broadening the boundaries for inclusion Gaventa (2006). He further argues that "these are mostly statutory organs or state structures, these spaces are provided in the logic that these actors or elites (be they bureaucrats, experts or elected representatives) make decisions and provide services to the less privilege, without the need for broader consultation or involvement" (Gaventa, 2006:26).

These actions lead to the marginalization of citizens to mere recipients or consumers of services without their active participation in the decisions that led to their outcome (Gaventa 2006). There had been many civil society efforts focused on opening or widening these closed spaces through greater public involvement, transparency, or accountability (Gaventa 2006:26). These pressures

on the need to widen or open these spaces have led to the emergence of invited spaces. These new spaces, though born out of pressure from both civil society and developmental agencies insisting on the inclusion of citizens in decision-making had not been broadened enough.

2.4.1.2 Invited Spaces

The calls for pluralisation of governance which involves multiple partners in governance (both private and public), enabled efforts to widen participation and move from closed spaces to open spaces (Chandhoke, 2003). Thus invited spaces are created with the vision to enable citizens to participate as members of a particular community, not being passive recipients of state services or consumers of state services (Gaventa 2006:26). "This advancement has been read by many experts on citizenship as democratic innovations" (Gaventa, 2006:18).

For the expert on invited and invented spaces, invited spaces are those into which people (as users, as citizens, as beneficiaries) are invited to participate by various kinds of authorities, be they government, supranational agencies, or non-governmental organisations (Cornwall 2002:7). However, a common feature of these spaces is that external resource bearing agents bring them into being, and in other cases; visionary bureaucrats assist in creating them (Cornwall 2002:7).

These spaces are then employed by the statutory bodies to project the agenda of the state or political parties. This is done without any effort to ensure that the interest of the citizens is taken into consideration. Meanwhile, the failures of the abovementioned spaces to include the citizens in decision-making bodies led to citizens claiming spaces (von Lieres, 2007:1). Thus, in most cases, these citizens operate at variants to the state or acting anti-state in an insurgent or reactionary approach (von Lieres 2007:1).

2.4.1.3 Claimed Spaces or Invented Spaces

The literature on most invited spaces is on the feature of citizens being invited as users and beneficiaries of state spaces or services (Dagnino 2005). This can lead to the exclusion of citizens from decision-making bodies and thus their rights will not be taken into consideration. This sometimes forces a segment of society to regard these invited spaces with suspicion compelling

them to create alternative spaces. Thus the rise of other spaces that are claimed by the less powerful actors is otherwise referred to as invented spaces.

Invented spaces may emerge organically out of a set of common concerns or identification (Cornwall 2002:7). They may come into being as a result of popular mobilisation, such as around identity or issue-based concerns, or may consist of spaces in which like-minded people join together in common pursuits (Cornwall 2002:7). Again, invented spaces have been said to be the collective action of the poor that directly confront the authorities and challenge the status quo (Miraftab 2009:39).

In many cases, these groups of individuals with common interests have received less attention unlike the invited spaces of grass-root that have received the support of donors or governments or government agencies (Miraftab 2009:39). Interestingly, RTC emerged from this category. As research will show, the Old Woodstock Hospital is a claimed or invented space that was forcefully occupied by the members of RTC in 2016.

2.4.2 Public Participation and power distribution

Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation provides a unique opportunity to explain public participation. To Arnstein (1969), public participation rotates around the distribution of power and the role of individual citizens. Participation has thus been understood and defined as 'the redistribution of power that enables the 'have-not' citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future (Arnstein, 1969:216).

For Arnstein (1969), analysis of public participation is essential to the question of how to make citizen participation a meaningful exercise. Her argument is centered on the premise that, unless citizens have a genuine opportunity to affect outcomes, participation is mainly concerned with 'therapy' and 'manipulation' of participants. She considered power in public participation as a ladder of eight rungs, ranging from 'degrees of non-participation' through to 'degrees of citizen power' as shown in figure 2 below. Her main point is that there are gradations of participation in terms of the degree of control participants can exercise in seeking to shape the outcome of the participation process.
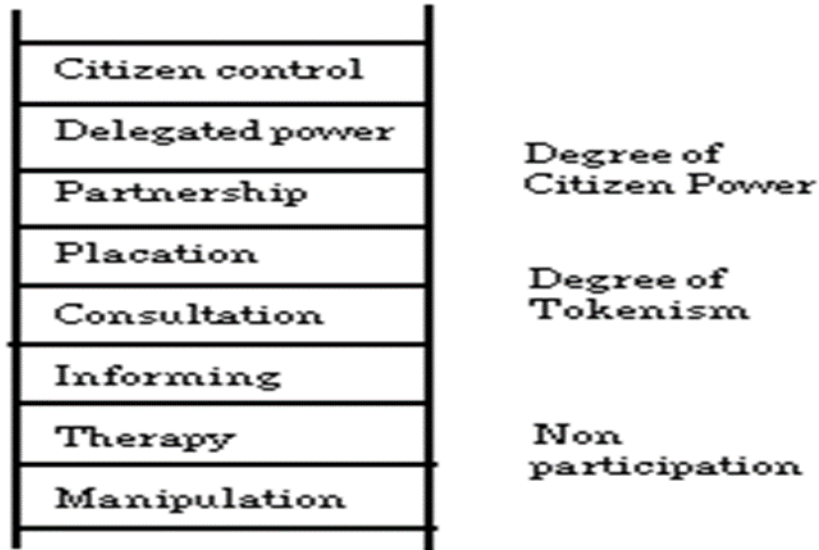
Figure 3: Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation Source: Arnstein (1969: 217)

From the top of the ladder above, citizen participation is what Arnstein considers "the degrees of citizen power" which can exert a high degree of control and can debate with power holders Arnstein (1969:216). The rungs on her ladder point to the fact that those who invite the public to participate and set the terms of that participation, can seek to educate, inform and consult, or they can delegate power through partnerships and other means. The degree of tokenism and non-participation are the gaps that civil society can come in to educate, advocate, or represent the homeless. The intention is to equip them with civic education to make them active and not passive citizens. Mentoring the homeless to be what Gaventa calls "makers and shapers" (Gaventa 2004:29).

2.4.3 Community participation in the case of Cissie Gool House

As stated earlier, community participation includes the involvement of the community members in issues affecting them (Kastrati, 2016). In the case of the Cissie Gool House, to enhance our understanding of community participation in this setting, I shall explore or utilize an intersectionality analytical framework which involves the interaction of issues of age, gender, and race. According to Crenshaw (2018), intersectionality is a lens, a prism, for seeing how various forms of inequality often operate together and exacerbate each other. This approach is vital in the sense that intersectionality leads to the generation of space for the inclusion of voices and experiences of multiple-marginalised groups. That is encouraging groups to define problems and

solutions themselves. It also uncovers dominant, embedded ideologies that perpetuate stigmatised attitudes. Again, it responds to multi-level interacting social locations, forces, factors, and power structures that negatively influence human wellbeing (Crenshaw 1991).

With regards to age, it is important to understand that age vastly influences a person's power. Children and the elderly are understood to be more vulnerable members of a community. However, the initial vulnerability that comes with age itself, intersects with other factors to create an entirely different experience of marginalisation. When age intersects with poverty as seems to be the case in CGH, it may lead to a lack of ability to be educated or choose one's future livelihood. A serioues situation is witness when age, poverty, then intersect with geographical location. These locations may be for example an informal settlement such as CGH. In cases where age intersects with substance abuse (commonly found in settlements like CGH), this has the potential to cause long-term unemployment, creating a new state of marginalisation due to lack of income or financial independence.

Once such difficult situations are then paired with gender, it expressively increases a girl's exposure to sexual violence, creating yet another layer of oppression interconnected with that individual's unique social location. Elderly people's immobility or fragility also intersects vastly with their social and geographical context for example, when old age intersects with lack of social capital, they may be unable to afford transportation, thus are dependent on others, opening them up to multiple forms of abuse and discrimination.

The issue of gender is also worth examining. In most community participation settings, women are always subject to a range of risks that can be biological and social. Gender intersects with age, tribe, sexuality, ableness, location, and strength of patriarchal norms. The combination of these factors can lead to dangerous, often normalised, practices of female genital mutilation and gender-based violence. When gender intersects with poverty and geographical location, women in hard-to-reach areas will often struggle more than men to access vital services, thus experience an unequal level of risk of disease and mortality.

The issue of race is also another important element that is worth probing. According to Kimberle C. "The issues that concern women are often afterthoughts. Even the Democrats' approach to racial inequality is focused primarily on men and boys. Anything that's meant to address gender

inequality has to include a racial lens, and anything that's meant to address racial inequality has to include a gender lens. Unfortunately, that hasn't been the center of political and policy debate" (Crenshaw 2018: 10).

2.5 Theoretical framework

This section of the thesis develops a framework that can be used to answer the overall question in this study. In doing so, the section attempts to combine concepts of civil society and homelessness and apply it to the concept of participation in a democratic society like South Africa. That is, what relationship or role do civil society organisations play when faced with vulnerable citizens like the homeless in ensuring their full inclusion in the decision-making processes in any given society?

More often than not, some civil society organisations assist vulnerable citizens by providing them with services like blankets, soup kitchens, and night shelters (Roets, et al. 2016). This is a sector in civil society that has expanded so rapidly over the years and which has so far been doing a great job in assisting vulnerable citizens like the homeless. However, two hypotheses can be drawn out here; the first is: the most important aspect in assisting the homeless is to lighten their plight, by giving them a new beginning or empowering them to meet up with the living standards that have been set up by modern society. The second is that to ease the plight of the homeless can be achieved by working with the homeless themselves. That is allowing them the opportunity to belong in decision-making bodies.

Drawing from the above, for civil society to adequately assist the homeless in their plight, they need to turn the homeless into active citizens, but who is an active citizen? An active citizen means getting involved in one's community and democracy at all levels, doing the little that you possibly can to add meaning to life (Onyx, et al. 2012). That is at a local, national, and even global level. An active citizen promotes the quality of life in a community either through political and non-political processes, developing a blend of knowledge, skills, values, and motivation to work and make a difference in society (Onyx, et al. 2012).

Thus, civil society organisations have a role to educate, advocate, and encourage vulnerable citizens to participate as active citizens in their community. The question that comes to mind is; how will one understand if the homeless in the Old Woodstock hospital are participating in decision-making processes in the community and at the local government level? Three indicators of participation can be used to monitor how civil society encourages active citizenship in a given society: participatory governance, deliberation, and representation (Sumerville 2011).

2.5.1 Participatory Governance

As discussed above, it is all about the deepening of democracy. To understand that a community like RTC is practicing participation among its membership, some democratic practices need to be examined. Taken from the first principles of Marxism, Peter Davis from Harvard's university regroup these indicators of participatory governance into three interrelated ideas plus the institutional policies (Davis 2015). They are open power, strong people, and an open nation.

2.5.1.1 Open Power

Davis (2015) argues that freedom in any given society is not all about power in the hands of a few but it's about participating in power. For an organization like RTC to be seen as democratic, (practicing participatory governance), there needs to be a wider distribution of power in decision making. That is, more people having their voices heard in how things are governed in the community. Open Power is not all about voting, but also an open economy as depicting in Arnstein's ladder of participation (Arnstein 1969). This means, more people having to decide on how things should be produced or how resources are being distributed in the community. However,

members of a community cannot meet up with the duty of making decisions if they are not empowered to do so. Thus, citizens need to be empowered.

2.5.1.2 Strong people

Davis (2015) again argues that citizens need to be empowered for them to be able to meet up with the demands of participation. One of the limitations of participatory democracy is that participants lack the means to sponsor trips to deliberative sessions (Pateman 2011). This is true in most communities like Cissie Gool House that is made up of the homeless. If members are not empowered by helping more people realize their dreams, participation may not be possible. Again, a stronger citizen will lead to a stronger community because empowered citizens become "makers and shapers" of their community (Gaventa 2004:29). More so, empowering citizens also entail solidarity. Trying to be each other's keeper at times of need and wants to promote each other in different aspects and to ensure that the community walks in unity. In unity and solidarity, the community can engage with the city officials in one voice and specific demands.

2.5.1.3 Open nation

In any given society or organisation that practices democracy, there needs to be a kind of equality for all (Davis, 2015). That is everybody in and no one out. In other words, no second class citizen, but all equal citizens. The roots of the organisation should be in the future. Davis opines that democratic citizenship should not be about sharing a common ancestry or identity but about sharing a common community; no discrimination, but oneness or togetherness to fight for common goals. Thus, one needs to know if RTC can enforce a sense of togetherness among members or members who are divided in terms of race, religion, or politics.

Apart from the policies above, Peter Davis, in what he called the democratic alternatives also reveals that institutional practices of a given organisation can be examined to understand if the organization is practicing participation to better the plight of its members (Davis 2015). Participation and ownership of decision-making in an organisation like RTC is very vital. The end goal of any participatory institution is to turn that institution into a community and turn its members into citizens (Davis 2015). This can be done in two ways; identity and responsibility in the community.

2.5.2 Identity and community

Davis opines that for an organization to practice participation, the members of the organization need to identify with that community. Putnam defines the moment when a community is formed as "the moment when a group of people goes off-topic together" (Putnam 1995; 65-78). They need to be a kind of a myth that gives members a strong sense of belonging to that organization. First is a membership card or badge. Each member of an organization needs an identity card, badge, or anything that serves the unique purpose of identifying with the organisation.

In some cases, a slogan or a song can be used as a means of identifying with a group. The force behind this is to make every individual feel a sense of belonging which is the first step to enforced participation (Davis 2015). Again, in some case ritual making occasions like yearly get together ceremonies, induction, and exposure of members, that is who is in and who is out, member's values, providing follow-up for new members, and having smaller groups within the organisation to make every member have an opportunity to participate in one way or another.

2.5.3 Responsibility

Davis (2015) argues that putting the faith of the organisation in the hands of ordinary members is a very vital indicator of participation. How much responsibility is given to new members and not just concentrating on the top leadership? When an organisation like RTC shares responsibilities with members, the members feel like they can positively drive the organisation. This helps in the development of leadership skills among members of the organisation as members turn to be active citizens.

2.5.4 Deliberation

Also like participatory governance, this is another indicator that a given organisation is deepening participation by enhancing democracy to assist the vulnerable in a given society. The question is how does one identify that a given community is practicing deliberative democracy? Pateman gives an example of deliberative democracy as mini-publics and spells out four characteristics (Pateman 2011). These characteristics of mini-publics can act as pointers to indicate whether or not deliberative democracy is practiced in RTC.

According to Pateman (2011), mini-publics are special commissions sponsored by governments or NGOs, in mini-publics, participants are randomly selected, also, deliberations are guided by facilitators, and participants most at the end come to a conclusion and present a report. In line with this understanding, it will be good to know if RTC has special commissions that deliberate on particular issues similar to mini-publics. Also, are the members of these commissions randomly selected each time, or are such commissions are only made up of leaders?

2.5.5 Representation

The last indicator of deepening participation is through what might be called improved representation. This indicator recognizes that 'Representation is an ongoing process of making and receiving claims' (Saward, 2009: 4). That is to act on behalf of others (Pitkin, 1972). Representation is a very broad and complex concept but this work will focus on electoral representation. Here the person claiming to act on behalf of others has been elected by them to act on their behalf.

Electoral representation could play many roles. From selecting the decision-makers of the demos, representing the body, and also developing the public opinion that informs their decision making. Thus to understand if a particular organisation is represented by elected members is to know how their leaders are made. That is to say, are the leaders of RTC elected or not? How long is their term of office? Are they some leaders that are appointed and not elected? What role do leaders play in RTC? All these questions will assist in the understanding of how democracy is deepened by RTC in an attempt to assist the homeless.

2.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has examined the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study. It examined concepts like homelessness, civil society, democracy, participation and democratic deficit, and the relationship between civil society and the deepening of democracy. The theoretical framework reflected the discussion of democracy and civil society and included the concepts of representation, deliberation, responsibility, community, power, open power, open nation, and strong people. It showed how these concepts and relationships will be applied in the study of RTC in representing the homeless in Woodstock.

CHAPTER THREE:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter examined the conceptual framework and the theoretical framework of the thesis. This chapter will examine the research methodology that was employed in gathering the data on how civil society organizations assist the homeless through participatory governance. This chapter will explain concepts such as research paradigm, research design, qualitative research, case study research, interviews, focus group discussions, data analysis, data triangulation, and document review, and ethical consideration.

Research methodology for Webster (1998:64) is the analyses of the principles of methods, rules, and hypotheses employed by a discipline; the development of methods; procedures to be applied within a discipline. This view is also echoed by Leedy (1993) who agrees that research methodology is an operational framework within which the facts are placed so that, their meaning may be seen more clearly, it also details the research design used in the study.

3.1 The Research Paradigm

In conducting research, the researcher must be certain of the type or quality of data to be generated in answering the main research question. Research paradigms help to guide the researcher in making these choices. A research paradigm is an inclusive system of related practice and thinking that defines the nature of inquiry along three dimensions which are; ontology, epistemology, and methodology (TerreBlanche and Durrheim 1999).

I made use of social constructivism and the interpretive paradigm for this research. This is so because the study was aimed at gaining insights into programs of civil society organizations that are directed towards assisting the homeless by involving them in decisions that concern them. Social constructivism is concerned with understanding the world as it is from the subjective experiences of individuals. Using meaning (and not measurement oriented methodologies), such as interviewing or participant observation, that rely on a subjective relationship between the researcher and subjects. "Interpretive research does not predefine dependent and independent variables but focuses on the full complexity of human sense-making as the situation emerges"

(Kaplan and Maxwell, 1994). It is therefore based on this understanding of social constructivism that I employed a qualitative research method to gain meaning around the assistance given to the homeless by civil society organizations through participatory governance.

3.2 Research Design

This section of the study examines the research design that was adopted. In the view of Miles and Huberman (1994:40) research design is the bond that holds the research together, arguably enabling the researcher to tie all the key parts of the research project together to assist in answering the central research question(s). Creswell (1994:21) agrees and notes that a research design is a series of events that link the procedures for gathering the empirical data to the primary research question on the one hand, and to the ensuing data collection, analysis, and conclusions on the other. It is this design that relates to the practical aspects of how the study was conducted to answer the research question. I have employed qualitative research and case study research as part of my research design.

3.1 The notion of qualitative research

I contend that a qualitative approach was best to elicit the data necessary to address the research purpose on how civil society organisations are assisting in restoring the dignity of homeless citizens in the community of Cissie Gool House. The major assumptions and key features that differentiate what it means to proceed from a qualitative stance fit with this study as it facilitates the exploration, comprehension, and assessment of the contribution of civil society organisation in assisting the homeless through participatory governance in Cissie Gool House in Woodstock. These include (a) adopting design flexibility, (b) facilitating interactivity between myself and the participants, (c) understanding the processes by which events and actions take place, (d) developing a contextual understanding (Dale & Volpe, 2008:24).

According to Brynard & Hanekom (1997:26), qualitative research is defined as one which produces descriptive data and for Creswell (2012) qualitative research methods are responses that have been given by subjects in a study in form of words and subjectively do not use numbers to describe reality to the researcher. The choice of the qualitative approach is based on its strength

which lies in that it is more in-depth and permits the description of how actions can be evaluated to permit me to adopt a good position (Mapuva, 2007:53).

3.2 Case Study Research

In line with a qualitative method, a case study was suitable for this study. But what then is a case study and why the uses of a case study? According to Yin (2008), a case study is a careful method of collecting information about a certain unit of analyses which may include; individuals, groups, communities, organisation, or even a country. As a research methodology, the strength of a case study is that it is an intensive description and analyses of a phenomenon, social unit, or system bounded by time and place (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Among the different types of case studies that exist, I made use of a holistic embedded single case-design as noted by Yin (2003:42). He argues that when interested in looking at the same issue but now captivated by different decisions made by different stakeholders within the same area, then a holistic embedded unit would enable the researcher to explore the case, while considering the influence of the various variables and associated attributes on the phenomenon (Yin 2003:42). Case studies are designed to bring out the views of the participants by using multiple data sources. In this particular case, data was collected from multiple sources including the homeless, RTC leaders, and RTC members.

The study was conducted at the old Woodstock hospital with Reclaim the City being the case study. Cissie Gool House, as the occupation is now called was occupied by Reclaim the City in 2016 following the formation of the movement. The social movement aimed at fighting post-apartheid spatial inequalities with two main goals: stop the city council from selling well-located public land that could be used for more affordable social housing and physically stopping the council from evicting long-term residents. Since the formation of the movement, members have been increasing day in day out. The occupation offers a good setting to understand how deepening participatory governance can assist the homeless.

3.3 Research Methods: Data Sources

According to Dale & Volpe (2008:28), qualitative researchers are concerned about the validity of their communication and to reduce the likelihood of misinterpretation various procedures are used in collecting data. In this study, multiple methods were used in collecting data from existing literature (secondary data) to focus group discussions (FGDs), in-depth interviews, and observations (primary data). The use of multiple methods enabled me to embark on triangulating data.

3. 3.1 Literature Review

The inquiry started by sourcing the literature from documentary sources. The process entails a collection and analysis of available literature on civil society, democracy, democratic deficit, public participation, spaces for participation. This enabled the researcher to prepare a clear conceptual framework which on the other hand assists in the theoretical framework. These were in most cases textually-based and in some cases were available in electronic and physical format. The desktop approach was the principal method employed to gather the data from government documents, gazettes, books, newspapers, published and unpublished articles, and minutes of GH meetings, and court rulings. These sources covered a period from 1990-2020.

3.3.2 Interviews

The role of interviews in qualitative research is unique and incontestably a major one in ethnographic research. According to Dale & Volpe (2008:29), the qualitative research interview is an attempt to understand the world from the subject perspective, to unfold the meaning of people's experiences, to uncover their lived world. This is further supported by Patton (1990:1) who observes that "qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit" interviews are of vital importance in that a legitimate way to generate data is to interact with people (talking and listening to them) thereby capturing their experiences in their own words (Dale & Volpe 2008:29). In line with this study, I conducted eight in-depth interviews with RTC and officials from other civil society organisations that share similar goals with Reclaim the City.

3.3.3 Focus Group Discussions

For Kwame (2009) FGDs offer space for the researcher to sit with the various leaders and deliberate the several issues ranging from what they did, how they did it, and who else was involved? For McDaniel and Bach (1994:4) FGDs are used to gain insights into the active interactions of attitudes and opinions linked to current and projected human activity. Two focus group discussions were carried out; one with members of Reclaim the City, and the other with the homeless on the streets. This assisted me in collecting qualitative datasets and I was able to triangulate data from multiple sources.

The rationale for FGDs was informed by the principle of saturation of information. Teddlie & Yu (2007) describe it as a situation wherein in the course of gathering qualitative data, the researcher, after listening to a variety of ideas, reaches a particular point where there is no new evidence gained from conducting another session. Typically the generation of new data declines the longer session is held. In this case, after three FGDs had been conducted, no new information was forthcoming from the participants on the main themes of the inquiry. At this juncture, the information was deemed to be saturated and the FGDs ended. I deemed it necessary to justify the utilisation of FGDs in this inquiry.

In general, FGDs allow "researchers to observe the group actions that underlie the construction of collective identity, collective action frames, and the emotional dynamics involved in the creation of oppositional values" (Blee & Taylor 2002:109). In this inquiry, the FGDs assisted me in gaining insights into groups and movements dynamics about the nature of collective action, especially for collecting information about specific sub-groups of the population and on issues that are of interest to the study (Della Porta 2014b:291). This explains why I conducted FGDs with some of these sub-groups like members of CGH.

To shed more light on the benefits of FGDs, Sherraden et al. (1995:5) suggest that the social interaction within the group yields freer and more complex responses as a result of the interactive synergy, snowballing, spontaneity, and security of the participants within the group. This, in turn, implies that the participants tend to express views that they may not have expressed in other settings or if they were interviewed individually. Sherraden et al. (1995) maintain that, in FGDs, the responses have high face validity as a result of the clarity of the context and the detail of the

discussion. Besides, Bryman (2008) asserts that FGDs offer the researcher the opportunity to study how individuals jointly make sense of a phenomenon and construct meanings around the phenomenon.

Despite the above advantages of FGDs, Alatinga (2014:122) contends that they also have some caveats notable amongst these are methodological limitations which include the fact that the findings from the FGDs cannot be generalised. However, the main objective of qualitative studies is to understand how individuals perceives, organises, give meaning to and express their understanding of themselves, their experiences, and their worlds within a particular context-something which qualitative techniques are not able to offer (Mishler 1986).

Furthermore, FGDs usually deliver a significant deal of information, some of which may be extremely peripheral to the main topic. This, in turn, may render the analysis and summarisation of the results challenging. In addition, it is also often difficult to assemble participants for the discussions while the transcription of interviews may be time-consuming. Others have critique FGDs stating that they depend on 'group think': where most of the members in the FGDs turn to follow what the first speaker has said (Dale and Volpe 2008:32).

Dispite the above limitations, FGDs still remains a vitail research tool in qualitative research. This justify the use of FGDs in the collection of data in this particular study.

3.3.4 Document Review

This section explores documents to review as a data-gathering tool. Bowen (2009) reads the document review as a reliable data collecting tool that was used to collect qualitative data. For Creswell (2013) document review involves a researcher collecting and reviewing documents to obtain the required data. These documents for Amin (2005) may be official reports, court proceedings or minutes of meetings, or private documents. In this inquiry, only official documents such as The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996, The Reconstruction and Development Program 1993, The Municipal Structures Act, 117 of 1998, The Municipal Systems Act 2000, The Free Basic Services Policy (2001). The Housing Act of 2000, and also legal documents - like the Irene Grootboom Constitutional Court Ruling (2000) and other policy documents such as the Integrated Development Plan relating to the efforts of the civil society

organisation to engage the city of Cape Town were reviewed. Organisational documents are useful secondary records made or collected by others and covering a wide range of material (Hall and Hall 1996:212). The advantage of these sources is that they can be processed at greater speed and with a lower cost of retrieval compared to primary data, where respondents need to describe what is meaningful and salient without being confined to standardised categories. These documents might be policy documents, legal/court rulings, or minutes of meetings of these movements.

3.4 Data Triangulation

To successfully answer my question, I had to triangulate the data. Triangulation for Denzin, (2012) is a process whereby the researcher analyses data from multiple angles, it is also useful in checking the validity of different types of data. This is so important in my research because the stories and lived experiences of the homeless in CGH will just be looking at the question from one angle. Other CSOs, and the homeless on the street, will also have a story to tell which when analyzed in comparison will give a clearer view. I was fully aware of the difficulties that researchers encounter in getting to meet certain personalities. As a result, I earlier made arrangements with a leader of RTC who agreed, and helped me access the persons I interviewed. I also made arrangements with a resident at the old Woodstock Hospital who was more than willing in helping me through the process of meeting the homeless.

3.5 Data Analysis

For Kwame (2009:97) data gathered has to be organized, broken down, into manageable units, synthesized and patterns have to be searched to help discover what is important and what is not and what was learned about the role of civil society organizations in deepening participatory governance. The interviews and focus group discussions or conversations were recorded and later transcribed word by word, as a result, the data were analysed by the researcher using a thematic data analysis approach.

The thematic analysis has been explained as a qualitative research approach that can be in usage over a variety of epistemologies and research elicits useful information. This technique is used for describing, identifying, organising, analysing, and reporting the subject matter found in a data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The thematic analysis is described by Boyatzis (1998) as a translator to

a researcher who speaks the language of qualitative analysis, allowing several researchers to be able to communicate even when using different research techniques.

The thematic analysis allows a strongly adaptable proposal that can easily be adjusted and improved to suit many studies, allowing a huge and completely detailed, though a complex description of data as illustrated by Braun and Clarke (2006), King (2004). This analysis also offers a huge attainable form of data analysis, most likely for those in their early research career (Braun and Clarke, 2006), even though it does not need the full complete theoretical and professional technical knowledge like other qualitative approaches. The few recommendation measures and procedures of the thematic analysis can prove to be an advantage to researchers and individuals who are unfamiliar with qualitative methods as it is easy to clutch on and easier to learn (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Braun and Clarke (2006) and King (2004) stated that this is a useful approach for assessing the perspectives of various researchers, emphasizing similarities and imbalances, and creating unforeseen insights. It is also useful for outlining key features of huge collected information set by forcing the researcher to overlook and consider taking a clear methodological approach of data administration, to produce a final report that is organised and clear (King, 2004). Though the advantages of this method are important, it is vital to acknowledge the disadvantages.

The disadvantages of thematic analysis are visible when compared to coinciding qualitative research approaches. A newbie researcher's ability the management and administration of thematic analysis can be affected by the lack of a shortage in essential literature. The thematic analysis does not allow claims of the language used by the researcher as stated by Braun and Clarke (2006). The flexibility of the thematic analysis can lead to less compatibility and a lack of coherence when developing themes derived from the research data (Holloway & Todres, 2003).

However, thematic data analysis is suitable for this thesis because it is uniquely flexible. Considering the complexity of the study, it is, therefore, logical for the researcher to apply this approach. The research sample is small and homogenous; therefore, thematic analysis is suitable. Marriam (2009:29), states that the investigator is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis. The researcher adopted the step-by-step thematic analysis of data as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006).

Ryan and Bernard (2003:103) note that all themes are of equal importance. Going by this line, the researcher sorted and marked common expression as well as repetition arising from the themes and sub-themes. A cut and paste approach where used where the cutting and pasting coding techniques to process the transcribed text where needed. According to Stewart et al (2007), the cutting and pasting technique involve the act of identifying important expressions, arranging the expressions in themes. I analyzed this data and made systematic comparisons and aggregation of field notes on how civil society organisations are assisting the homeless by deepening participatory governance.

3.6 Data trustworthiness

The challenge faced by many researchers is data trustworthiness since the data collected has to be trusted by their peers. This is vital in that the lack of trust in the data could discredit the entire study's reliability, credibility, and conformability (Lincoln and Gube, 1985). The assessment of trustworthiness in research is based on the following criteria. Information dependability and data accuracy are called reliability in research. The transfer of information, applicability is what is referred to as data validity. This step involves the same research that can get the same findings. Transferability implies that one researcher can use the research findings in another setting. The research objective is to render conformability. However, it is difficult if not impossible to be objective in all cases, which requires that a conformability audit be conducted to determine whether research data supports the process or not (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

To impart faith in the research findings, the researcher combined individual interviews with information from the participants and an analysis of written documents. As such, the data from interviews and the case study were verified to see if they pointed in the same direction. This helped the researcher to establish whether the interpretations of what the participants had shared with the researcher were true or not.

To have total control over the bias issue, the researcher avoided generalising the findings of the population. The findings were understood from a context and perspective. According to Neuman (2006:188), the validity and reliability in research form a key aspect in research measurement. Depending on the research approach applied, validity and reliability will have different meanings. For instance, in the qualitative research approach, validity is seen as the ability of research to be

genuine hence trustworthy (Neuman, 1997). This was crucial in gaining insights into how civil society organisations are assisting the homeless through participatory governance in CGH in Woodstock.

The approach used by a researcher depends on its legitimacy, effectiveness, appropriateness, and this is key in research validity (Bulmar and Warwick, 1983). The validity, therefore, is "the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration" (Babbie and Mouton, 2009:122). Adequate reflection entails that a repeat of the research can be done by another researcher. Guion et al., (2011) add that research validity can be achieved through other means of data analysis such as thematic techniques. Also, the researcher argued this claim by Babbie and Mouton has setbacks as the environment can change after the original research has been conducted.

Maree (2007:80) adds that the use of two methods of analysis is "involving several investigators or peer researchers to help with the interpretation of the data could enhance validity and reliability." For the research to achieve validity, the thesis seeks the services of a peer researcher to check the process and look for similarities and differences in the text. This was the technic the researcher employed in gaining insights into how civil society organisations are assisting the homeless through participatory governance in CGH in Woodstock.

3.6.1 Conformability

Shenton (2004) explains that the use of independent research mechanisms that are different from the skills and perceptions of the research is crucial for the conformability of the research. However, the author points out that it is difficult to displace real objectivity as the researcher bias cannot be avoided in the process of setting interview questions. However, this does not deny the fact that the researcher can obtain some form of conformability in the study. Shenton (2004) went further to point out that, the concept of conformability is the qualitative investigations comparable concern to objectivity. Thus, steps need to be followed so that the findings of the study can be assured. This is a call for the researcher as all the necessary steps were followed and the researcher was cautious not to put his bias in the researcher pattern. This was crucial in gaining insights into how the civil society organisation is assisting the homeless through participatory governance in the old Woodstock hospital.

3.7 Research Ethics

Before conducting any type of interview, I adhered to the principles of obtaining informed consent from the participants. I also ensured that the research does not harm the participants. There were no benefits to the participants, as participation was voluntary. I explained to my interviewees the academic objectives of my research and the importance of their participation. I also ask for their informed consent at the place, format, and time of the interview and also whether they approved of the audio recording or taking of notes.

I indicated to the interviewees their rights, such as disengaging whenever it suits them, and for those who request confidentiality, it was granted. I shall hold as confidential all information that might identify the participants and not disclose the names of the respondents for non-research purposes unless the respondents grant me permission. I reported my findings fully and honestly. Copies of my research findings/publications were filed with the Department of Political Studies and at the library at UWC. I acknowledged all persons who contribute to the research and their copyright.

I am aware that I am dealing with vulnerable people during focus group discussions. Thus, I was in touch with the Cape Town trauma center and was ready to make available their contacts and address to the participants. I was ready to refer participants to the center if the need had been raised.

I am also aware of the danger posed by the recent COVID 19 virus that has affected almost every country around the globe. As a result, the basic rules provided by the World Health Organization and the minister of health were employed during the research. To avoid the spread of the virus among participants and protect myself, face masks, gloves, sanitizers were used during interviews and focus group discussions. Participants were all provided with a face mask and social distancing was observed.

3.8 Limitations of the study

The study had some limitations. Firstly the researcher is a migrant from Cameroon and thus had to work hard to overcome identity barriers. Also, a lot of work was done to ensure that the respondents could talk in the language they are comfortable with.

The other challenge I experienced conducting the research was the Covid 19 pandemic restrictions as there was the need to follow strict social distancing protocols before, during, and after these interviews. The intent was to ethically ensure that I adhere to the Disaster Management protocols laid out by the South African government in March 2020.

Also, as a researcher, I had to wear a mask and make sure there are no handshakes and social distancing is maintained before, during, and after these interviews. It made it more difficult to build a rapport with the respondents. The challenge is that these participants are vulnerable people and with the spreading of Covid 19 there is the need to protect them. Hence ethical protocols were of the essence during this research.

Lastly, the fact that some participants could only accept a zoom interview was challenging. Though such interviews ended up successfully, the process was new to the researcher, thus a huge challenge.
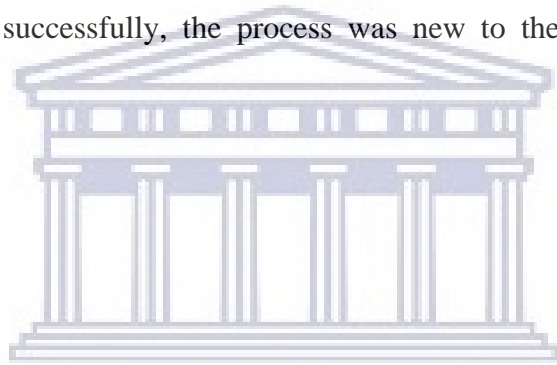
3.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has examined the research methodology that was employed to gather the data on how civil society organisations are assisting the homeless in CGH in Woodstock. In this chapter, a descriptive analysis of the research methodology and the research paradigm was discussed. The amalgamation of case studies, which is convenient, and purposive was applied to select participants. Also, data collection tools and processes data analysis, ethical consideration, trustworthiness, reliability, and validity of the study were discussed. The next chapter presents the data collected, interpreted, findings, and discussions.

CHAPTER FOUR:

ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF PARTICIPATION ON THE HOMELESS IN CISSIE GOOL HOUSE

"When land becomes a commodity for profit without taking into consideration the citizens, then the government is not for the people" (RTC leader 2, 2020)

The preceding chapter examined the research methodology that was utilised in gathering the data on the extent to which civil society organisations are assisting the homeless in Cissie Gool House in Woodstock through participatory governance. This chapter assesses the impact of RTC in contributing to improving the living conditions of the homeless through participatory governance. That is, what role does RTC play in ensuring the full inclusion of the homeless in the decision-making processes at the CGH? The chapter develops this central argument by first highlighting the research setting and interrogating the main themes which emerged during the investigation and secondly presents the results of the analysis of the focus group discussions, and in-depth interviews. Also, it will include informal observations by the researcher. Observations were mostly carried out during a three months project by a team of UWC students one of whom was the researcher. This project, which established and equipped a Youth Center in CGH, gave the researcher a unique opportunity to immerse himself in the community to better understand the depth of certain issues within the community.

4.1 Research Setting

This research was conducted in the old Woodstock Hospital (now known as Cissie Gool House). The occupation is orchestrated by RTC which has renamed the hospital Cissie Gool House. Gool was an anti-apartheid activist and member of the Cape Town City Council until she died in 1963. The house is named after her to elucidate her contribution to housing. The Cissie Gool House is occupied by about 900 residents. The house is situated at number 77 mountain road, Woodstock. The case study is located under ward 77. Woodstock is bounded in the north by the N2 Highway and in the west by Salt River (see figure 3). According to the CCT (2011), it is important to note that the Woodstock census boundary extends to include, Walmer Estate and University Estate. While Woodstock is my study area, I focus largely on the activities of RTC in assisting the homeless in the CGH. The area is five kilometers from the Central Business District of Cape Town.

CGH, as the occupation is now called was occupied by RTC in 2016 following the formation of the movement. According to StatisticsSA (2011), the population of Woodstock now is estimated to be 9,375 people and a land area of 3.10 km making a population density of 3,000/ squre kilometer. This makes the area congested.
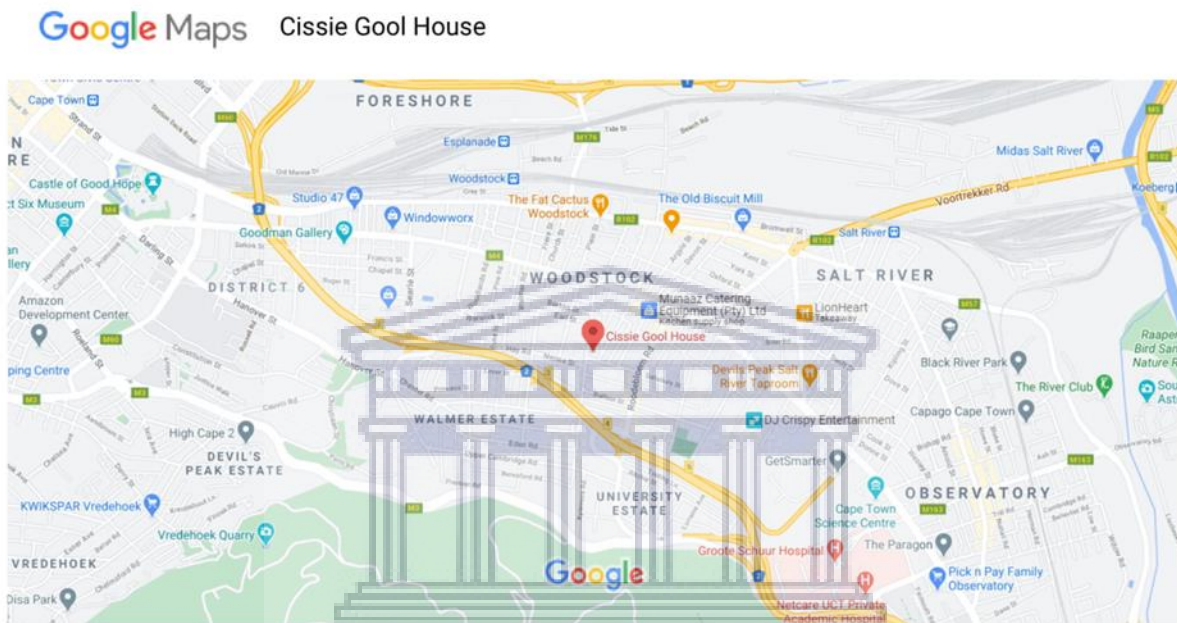

Figure 4; Locating Cissie Gool House in Woodstock. Source: Google map

As intimated earlier, I made use of qualitative research and, therefore, I had to immerse myself in the community of Woodstock specifically in and around the CGH to gather more data on the lived experiences of the homeless in this community. The data were then grouped using codes for responses or other elements of responses that were similar through that process, creating categories that were then grouped to form themes.

Themes emerging from the research in CGH are;

- Housing in Woodstock during and after apartheid
- The lived experience of the homeless before RTC and after
- The participation of members of RTC in the activities of the movement
- The issues around membership of RTC and the termination thereof

- Issues of leadership in RTC
- The issues around representation in RTC
- The issues around deliberation in RTC

4.2. Housing in Woodstock during and after apartheid

During the investigations, I inquired about the Housing in Woodstock during and after apartheid. It emerged a leader in CGH that during apartheid the government followed strict urban planning regulations. The system ensured that non-whites (blacks and coloured) lived in specific areas as they were oppressed and marginalised (RTC leader 2, 2020). Through these rigid urban planning processes, the apartheid government constructed houses in areas like Woodstock. The houses remained the property of the state while residents had to pay rent to the City with the option of buying later(RTC leader 2, 2020).

The finding reveals that during the apartheid era, there was strict state planning, and though the system was rigid, it provided them with statehouses and they could pay every month. This is in line with existing scholarship by Seekings (2013) which explains that the Group Areas Act of 1950 and Act 36 of 1966 ensured strict urban planning through which blacks and colored could not own land and operate businesses in specific areas except that provided for them. The above act kept many colored South Africans in specific segregated residential areas. With that, if you cannot pay the rent you will be evicted from your property.

The leader again adds that the above conditions prevailed until 1994. The finding also revealed that the area was occupied by few Indians and Jewish groups which are mostly industrious. Thus many of them were able to buy their houses while others continue to live in these rental accommodation conditions (RTC leader 2, 2020). As a result, most of the houses in the area post-apartheid were predominately owned by the Jewish or Indians and other groups continued to pay their monthly rental to the City of Cape Town (RTC leader 2, 2020). The finding implied that the area was a Colored preferential area as most Jews, Indians and Colored were living here.

RTC leader 2, (2020) again revealed that the end of apartheid ushered in major changes as the new government led by the ANC introduced the RDP to provide housing and basic services to all. But this program was not extended to Woodstock as the community did not benefit from this social

housing program. Indeed, Bond (2000) concurs with this view that social housing through RDP for the poor was not extended to all areas of the city. RTC leader 2, (2020) also explained that in 1996 the government introduced the GEAR policy with the vision to privatise the provision of basic services like housing, water, electricity, and sanitation. This new policy meant the poor who could not afford to pay for municipal houses have to be evicted and the cutting of water and electricity to those who could not pay. This finding is in line with Bond (2000) and Williams (2005).

The city started evicting residents from their houses on grounds that they could not pay and selling these houses to those who could buy. The birth of privatisation also emboldened private developers to buy private land in Woodstock and build new structures and sell to those who can buy or lease out to those who can pay rents. It further emerged that the city of Cape Town needed to have a housing policy/ program to cater for the residents in the community and the lack thereof has triggered homelessness. In an interview with the same leader, it equally emerged that: "13 years ago the city of Cape Town promised houses to the citizens in Blikkiesdorp but nothing seems to have been done. The city is playing a game of blame-shifting; meanwhile, the real issue is that there is no housing policy designed by the city" (RTC leader 2, 2020).

Almost all leaders of RTC in the CGH share this view. Others explained that when it comes to the CCT, developers come first. Every well-located piece of land that can be used for low-cost houses is being sold to developers while citizens are homeless (RTC leader 1, 2020). The understanding here is that there is no housing policy in Woodstock and this is what is triggering more and more residents to move to the streets of Woodstock and beyond. The above view is also shared by a chapter leader of RTC who mentioned that: "The CCT has no policy in place for low-cost housing. Homelessness is not new in Cape Town because it is a creation of a political legacy. A legacy that unfortunately the CCT seems to have upheld" (RTC leader 1, 2020). This is supported by the current judgment of the Talfulburg case in which the judge orders the CCT to present a housing policy for the City.

RTC leader 1, (2020), further explains that in Cape Town, there has always been a historical system to exclude the locals from the city. Woodstock has always suffered the same fate because of its proximity to the city. This is premised on the issue of urban sprawl in that as the city is expanding neighboring residential areas are gradually being sort after by developers to develop new housing

projects and rent out. This is in line with allegations that all parcels of land in Woodstock are being grabbed by private developers to the total neglect of the working-class families who live in this area (GroundUp newspaper June 18, 2019). In most cases, these new developments are expensive for ordinary residents to pay the requested rents. This has emerged as a challenge leading to increasing homeless people on the streets.

These findings imply that if the city of Cape Town does not intervene early enough to address these housing crises, homelessness will persist in the community. Related to this, one of the residents has this to say; "The Tafelberg case is evidence enough that the city has no housing policy. The court ordered that the CCT should present a housing policy for the community by May 2021 but to our greatest dismay, the CCT is about to appeal the judgment" (RTC leader 1, 2020).

When probed further on the issue of evictions, a leader of RTC in the CGH had this to say; "during apartheid, the City evicted locals from district six and many were left homeless. The same City passed an order to either find or arrest those sleeping in the streets without any background check on the causes of their situation. Thanks to a court ruling that nullified this inhumane order from the CCT" (RTC leader 2, 2020).

Another leader in CGH lamented that: "Cape Town is known as the mother city of South Africa, how then a mother can neglect the children to the extent of ordering their arrest because they lack a place to sleep" (RTC leader 3, 2020)? Interestingly, another leader aguers that it is the mother's place to provide shelter for her children. He again notes that: "It is depressing that in the 21st century, when states and local governments around the world are all encouraging citizen participation, CCT will avoid engaging with an urban movement like RTC" (RTC leader 2, 2020). How will the city, then understand the plight of the people? Interestingly, some community members point out that, there is no single example of affordable houses provided by the CCT in the inner city. They add that: "when land becomes a commodity for profit without taking into consideration the citizens, then the government is not for the people" (RTC leader 2, 2020).

4.3 The lived experience of the homeless in Woodstock prior to RTC and after

In the course of the investigations, it emerged that there were some pioneers or founding members of RTC and CGH in Woodstock. It emerged that some even got into the building prior to the birth of the social movement RTC and the naming of the hospital, Cissie Gool House(RTC leader 5, 2020). In this light, they are the founding members and knowledgeable on the issues around the

birth of RTC, CGH, and the conditions of the homeless in the community. These individuals reveal that life before RTC as a homeless person was nothing but hell (RTC leader 5, 2020).

RTC leader 5, (2020) reveals that "some of us were alcoholic and drug addicts before they joined RTC" and moved into CGH. It also emerged that: "they resorted to alcohol addiction not because they wanted to but because there was nothing to live for (RTC leader 5, 2020)". The study found that some had crucial health issues as some are survivors of cancer and many other health hazards. A founding member notes that: "It was not easy, this building was empty, but security companies were being paid for by the CCT for 22 years to look after an empty building while we sleep outside" (RTC leader 5, 2020).

She again notes that: "Today no one can tell that I had a problem with my leg, I stopped drinking completely because the doctor advised that cancer can resurface if I keep drinking. Every month I visit the doctor for a check-up and my health is much ok now" (RTC leader 2, 2020). This seems to suggest that the building has offered hope to many homeless people. Not just the building but the social movement (RTC) itself. The fact that residents are given the chance to express themselves freely and make suggestions on how decisions around their well-being should be taken, it's more encouraging. Hope is restored, self-esteem is busted and life is worth living again thanks to a system that encourages participatory governance. This is in line with Bond (2000) who explains the value of shelter or the importance of a home.

In the course of probing further, it emerged from another leader that: "life was a mess before we became members of RTC" (RTC leader 4, 2020). She revealed that she is a breast cancer survivor and it was not easy since they became homeless. She further explained that some of us have children with special needs to take care of but we were living in a factory building for years. "The challenge was not just on taken care of such children but the fact that the children could not go to school" (RTC leader 4, 2020). RTC has however given these families the opportunity to have a place to stay and also an organized lifestyle where their kids can freely go to school.

The finding turns to reveal how this RTC and CGH are instrumental in changing the lives of hundreds of homeless citizens. Some in the building turn to suggest that they should not be regarded as worthless individuals noting that: "Anyone can be homeless at any time in life. I was doing well in my job, got married, had kids, and owned an apartment. Problems set in after my wife asked for a divorce and I ended up with nothing. That's how I ended up living in a guest

house until I had no money to pay for a place to sleep. I almost lost my mind after moving from place to place with my current wife until I found shelter at this place" (RTC leader 3, 2020). This seems to suggest how CGH is a glimmer of hope and has assisted many of the residents in the house.

Findings from FGD 2, (2020), supports the above statements. A participant explains "I am currently on the street not because I enjoy being here. I lost my job as a security officer and could no longer pay my rent, had nowhere to go except to accept the danger of living on the street. I am being attackted every day by gangs who noticed that I am hard working. During the day I go out to assist people with washing their cars outside their homes or work as a car guard. The little I make has to be spent because the gangs will collect it at night if I save anything. I can't even buy new clothes for fear that they will take them from me. It's hell to be on the street". This participant has been on the street for two years and has been trying to get accommodation in the CGH but there is no longer space for new comers. Looking at his story and that of many others, one is forced to run into conclusions that RTC has made CGH a 'safe-havens' for its members.

To further explained the living conditions in CGH, a leader opines that, today with RTC many have a roof over their heads, their children are going to school. Also, multiple support scheme programs organised by RTC had played a great role in building confidence amongst the residence to face life again. "To many, it seems like we have been given a second chance in life" (RTC leader 4 2020). While a community volunteer in Woodstocks thinks the residence of CGH are not doing enough to support themselves but only looking up to charity for everything (Woodstock volunteer and caregiver 2020), the leaders of RTC holds that the residents are in a recovery phase. "It's easy to lose everything, even your mind when you are homeless but to recover is a very difficult process that may take years of hard work" (RTC leader 4, 2020).

This means CGH allows them an opportunity to rebuild their lives as they now live in a secured and decent place unlike living on the streets of Woodstock. To understand more about their experiences at CGH, it emerged that: "we came here thinking it was just for a few months until we get a better place, but the support from RTC and the solidarity in the community has kept us in this place until now (RTC leader 4, 2020). His explanation seems to suggest that both the residents and the NGOs had been very supportive as they are being assisted.

In contrast, those in the streets attract little or no assistance from organisations or the CCT. A participant during FGD 2, (2020), cries out " we have been forgotten by our families, society, and even the city. Every now and then we see people visiting those people in that hospital (referring to CGH) with lots of gifts; clothes, blankets, and even school materials for their kids. They pass us by and only help those people, but we are on the street. We suffer the most". The angry look on her face as she explains may suggest hatred for the occupants of CGH but far from it. She has turned to hate society as a whole. The rejections and harshness that comes with living on the streets or sleeping rough, has made her develop thinking that society is an enemy to rough sleepers. When asked if any of them will like to get a place like CGH, it was a unanimous yes. This finding is important in that it affirms the story of those in the house. CGH has emerged as a 'safe-haven', a 'school of democracy' where hope is being restored to these citizens.

An official from DAG also affirms that occupants of CGH attract supports even from DAG and many other NGOs because of their level of internal organization. "Those on the streets are difficult to assist. There are lots of good people on the street but the bad ones are there as well. It makes it difficult to assist them because your assistance may even incite fighting among them" DAG 1, (2020). The official argues that some of the homeless on the streets have been advised to take up shelter in some night shelters but they will not agree because of the rules imposed by these shelters. Some of the 'rough sleepers' work as car guards late at night in clubs and they cannot be accepted in shelters after certain hours. This keeps them out of such options because they still need the money to pay for these shelters and feed themselves.

To understand from the residents how they were organised in the building and how it has emerged as a "School of Democracy" we have to discuss the nature of their meetings. It emerged from FGD 1, (2020) that the meetings are always held in the two meeting venues in CGH. One is the Youth Centre that was designed by students from the University of the Western Cape in 2019, a project that I was opportune to be part of the team. The other venue is the old meeting hall, which has been used for a very long time. Participants at the focus group explained that any member of RTC can coordinate meetings. These are clear evidence of participatory democracy practiced by the membership of RTC.

In CGH everyone can be a leader because we train ourselves to take up leadership roles at any time (FGD 1, 2020). It also emerged that all members of CGH are allowed to attend Chapter

meetings, Advisory Assembly, and Disciplinary Meetings. Davis (2015) argues that putting the faith of an organisation in the hands of ordinary members is a very vital indicator of participation. When leaders watch ordinary members pilot important assembly meetings, they are placing the faith of the organization in the hands of that member at that particular time. This shows a great level of RTC commitment to deepen participation. This is important as they create space for citizens to articulate their issues and act as active citizens in the community (Gaventa 2004). This is an important finding as it reveals how RTC, as a civil organization has emerged as a school of democracy for ordinary citizens in CGH. The finding again reveals that the members are working hand in glove through participatory channels to address the challenges of homelessness.

4. 4 Issues around membership of RTC

The next theme we discussed was how do individuals identify themselves as members of RTC. It emerged during FGD 1, (2020) that: "RTC members have several means to identify themselves as members of the organisation. First, we have a membership card that is issued to every member of the organisation upon payment of R50 to print the card. We can sometimes be identified by a popular slogan 'Amandla Awethu', which we have a unique way of using the slogan. The slogan translates as 'power to the people' and is mostly used during protests and revolutionary meetings. It echoes deep in our spirit the course of our struggle and reminds us of where we are coming from." The members added by explaining that the movement is in the process of producing T-shirts and caps for all members (FGD 1, 2020).

RTC leader 1, (2020) stated that "most of our protests are carried out with everyone dress in our traditional red T-shirt, a participant explained. But this time, we need to provide T-shirts and caps for all our members". On a different occasion, a leader declared that: "We are a non-violent movement and will never identify with any form of violence. Our protests are peaceful and meaningful" (RTC leader 1, 2020). Also, a participant of FGD 1, (2020) explained that the organisation has an annual ceremony that must be attended by all members. The annual ceremony comes once a year and it handles issues like the induction of new members and the drafting of a plan of action for the next year (FGD 1, (2020).

This means members of RTC can proudly identify themselves anywhere as part of the organisation. This is vital as Davis (2015) points out that the first step to participation is to feel included as being part of a community by identifying with the community. The desire to participate in the activities

of an organisation is activated at that moment when you feel a sense of belonging in the said organisation. This signifies that RTC as an institution encourages citizen participation. That is, all members of the organisation can feel a sense of belonging. This gives members space and a chance to participate in the activities of the organisation, participate in decision-making aspects of the community, and act on behalf of the community when need be.

Looking at how admission of new members and the discipline of members of RTC is carried out, a participant from FGD 1, (2020) expounded that: "A new member of RTC has to be followed up closely by one of the house monitors. The monitor reminds the member of the rules and regulations that bind members of the organisation and also schools the member of the responsibilities of a member of the organisation. The member is then given time to pay a membership fee of R50" FGD 1, (2020)

From personal observation and informal discussions with members, (mostly during the implementation of the project of equipping the youth center at CGH), an important finding emerged. All RTC members both new and old are bound by the constitution of the organisation which spells out the responsibility of all members. Members must act responsibly, respect one another, stay away from violent protests by any group, and be ready to join a non-violent protest organised by the RTC at all times. During a protest organised by RTC, any member that is involved in any violent action is dismissed immediately after the protest.

This observation was affirmed by a participant in FGD 1, (2020) who added that in the event of any other misconduct from a member it will be directed to the disciplinary committee. The committee has several ways to discipline a member. Some members are asked to work in the food garden for days, do cleaning around the occupation, or join a particular task team for some time. Some offenses in the house may attract sanctions like expulsion from the occupation and subsequently the organisation.

The above findings suggest that there is a boundary between who is a member of RTC and who is not. This is important because, within a democratic society, as Davis (2015) opines, members need to know their boundaries. That is who is in and who is out. Participation cannot be possible in an unbounded space. There needs to be a clear demarcation of space for members to effectively participate. This is in line with Verschoor (2018) who argues that "a satisfactory solution to the boundary problem (in social contract theory) should be democratic. After all, that is what the

problem is ultimately about: how to determine democratically who does and who does not belong to the people"? (Verschoor 2018:04).

4.5 Issues of Leadership

The research investigated how leaders emerge in the occupation, and how someone may become a leader in the community. The participants of FGD 1, (2020), all seem to understand how power is structured in the occupation. However, some took the lead and explained that RTC functions with two distinct groups of leaders. That is the house leaders and the chapter leaders. She explained that "there are 12 house leaders in this community elected for a year. The process of electing a house leader is first through a nomination of suitable people, and then the residents will elect the nominated candidates" FGD 1. (2020). She proceeded by explaining that "the second type of leaders in the community is the chapter leaders, also nominated and elected for a two-year term of office" FGD 1, (2020).

A leader thus explained: while the 12 house leaders are responsible for the day to day running of the occupation, the chapter leaders are five and they are responsible for setting up chapter meetings, act as advisers in the community, and in charge of planning or organising a protest and the handing of memorandum to the CCT (RTC leader 2, 2020). Apart from the house and chapter leaders, the leadership adds that: "we also have floor leaders, monitors, sectional leaders, and team leader" (RTC leader 2, 2020). My understanding is that power is not concentrated in particular hands. Davis (2015) opens that a democratic society should demonstrate 'open power'. Power should be for the people and not for a group of leaders. According to this finding, therefore, Anyone that demonstrates leadership skills can be nominated and elected as a leader. And if a leader fails to execute his tasks in the interest of the community, they will not feature in the next election.

That is to say, there is a "degree of citizen power" in the community as explained by Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein 1969: 217). In a society in which power is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals, accountability is absent, and the voices of the masses are very low or what Arnstein calls "degree of tokenism" (Arnstein 1969), participation will be very low, or even absent.

Again the disciplinary assembly and the fact that the organisation is a non-violent social movement has translated into humble and cultured leaders. Based on my findings, it appears the community

is neither fragmented by race nor religion as every member of the organisation is treated the same. As noted earlier in the concept of intersectionality, when probed further about the issues of race age and genda, the leaders where clear in their explanation that race is not and issue in the house. The rules of the organisation are not directed to one group and exclude the other. Rather, no one is above the laws of the organisation. Thus, RTC has successfully invented a space of multi-racial and multi-culture where South Africans can witness togetherness and solidarity.

Leadership in RTC also includes leaders of other NGOs like DAG. Talking to one of the leaders from DAG, he reveals that DAG has been working closely with RTC because they both share similar views: "providing affordable housing for all" (DAG official 1, 2020). Though a leader in DAG, residents of CGH consider us as their leader because we provide guidance and advice on how the living conditions of all residence can be improved. Another community activist in Woodstock who has since been providing soup and coffee for the homeless on the streets since lockdown had this to say: "I am happy with the level of organization in the CGH. However, a lot still needs to be done to create more space and carter for those that are still on the street" (Woodstock Volunteer 1, 2020). She opines that many on the streets of Woodstock wish to be in the place of those in CGH but unfortunately, there seems not to be space at the house to accommodate more homeless citizens (Woodstock Volunteer 1, 2020).

The literature seems to suggest the emergence of an invented space. Cornwall (2002) argues that invented spaces may emerge organically out of a set of common concerns or identification. This view is also supported by Davis (2015) who argues that democratic citizens should not be about sharing a common ancestry background but about sharing a common goal. Thus, regardless of different heritage and backgrounds, RTC emerges organically to invent a democratic community in the CGH.

4.6 Representation in RTC

Apart from the issues of membership, the fact that most of these families have children and the parents and or spouses have to represent the family leads to issues of representation in both the RTC and CGH. Participants in FGD 1, (2020) explained that the leadership structure of RTC was a flat structure with no supreme leader. There are 12 house leaders and 5 chapter leaders. While the house leaders are elected for a year, the chapter leaders are elected for two years. Leaders are selected randomly through a process of nomination by fellow members. The nominees are then

elected as either chapter leaders or house leaders. Apart from these leaders, there are also monitors, committee leaders, and floor leaders. Each leader is elected to represent members of the community during specific deliberation such as protest planning. Worth noting is the fact that leaders are not appointed but elected democratically to represent the community. The house leaders plan for protest, draft memorandums, and hand them to the CCT. This is in line with earlier work of Mansbridge (2009) on political representation

Still, on responsibility, RTC leader 4, (2020), explains that RTC has so many different small groupings that cater for different aspects of the organisation. "First, there is the women's group called WOMANGLA which deals with women empowerment, sanitation, and the sensitisation of young girls and women around gender-based violence" (RTC leader 4, 2020). She further explained that this arm of the organisation has frequently attracted officials from the CCT as social workers organised meetings with the women to advise them on health matters and also equip them with some basic skills that are very beneficial to the community (RTC leader 4 2020).

Again, other arms of the organisation include the task team that is made up of members with different skills in the occupation. This small but very instrumental group of people is responsible for the maintainers of the CGH. "Since the city council is so reluctant in maintaining the occupation, the task team has been designed to cater for broken pipes, toilets, showers, electricity, and any other repairs that need to be done in the occupation" (RTC leader 4, 2020). "These are devoted individuals who love our course and often assist in fixing any faulty or broken equipment in the occupation. Interestingly, this group of individuals often works voluntarily" (RTC leader 4, 2020).

There is also a security team. "The security team has been so instrumental in the location as well. They consist of volunteer individuals who on a rotational basis stay up at night to watch over the occupation. After 9 pm, this group of people ensures that all the kids are in their parent's rooms and not walking aimlessly around the occupation. This team will also take note of overnight visitors and monitor how long they have to stay" (RTC leader 4, 2020).

Also, RTC leader 4, (2020) explains that there is a child monitoring team, the food guarding team, and the welfare team as all the important arms of the organisation. From the responses of all these participants, it is worth noting that RTC does not confine responsibilities to leaders. The fate of the organisation is also trusted in the hands of ordinary members as Davis (2015) suggests in his

publication on the democratic alternatives. This means RTC is an institution that encourages citizen engagement.

4. 7 The issue of deliberations in CGH and RTC

The other theme was on whether during meetings members are allowed to give in-puts freely as equals in discussions. The response was a unanimous yes, as all members are allowed to ask questions and explain issues they are not comfortable with. The investigation found that since all members are allowed to attend meetings in the CGH, this is indicative of the fact that membership is vital and it contributes to their thriving and their successes in keeping the organisations alive FGD 1, (2020). The issue of equality was the next important aspect that was discussed. The participants were all in agreement again. They noted that "We are all equals," and added that: "Everyone is respected and we all respect one another. The disciplinary community has done a great job in enforcing respect in this community" FGD 1, (2020).

A leader explained thus: "I have never seen any community like this in South Africa. Here we have whites, blacks, colored, and a few foreign nationals all living together as one community. Muslims and Christians living side by side, practicing their religion and culture with no one disrespecting or disregarding the other" RTC leader 3, (2020). He added that the multi-racial and multi-cultural aspect of the community is the one thing that has pushed many to be committed in the course of the organisation.

The responses seem to explain that CGH is multiracial as all races are represented in the house. The response seems to reveal that the homeless does not know race, religion, and nationality. As noted earlier, Ackerman (2004) posits that this is the best approach of tapping into the energy of the society through co-governance which involves inviting social actors to participate in the core activities of the state. He notes that citizens should play a direct role in public choices or engage deeply with substantive political issues.

Again, it emerged from FGD 1, (2020) that there were open deliberations between members and leaders, and, every individual could ask any question to clarify doubts. This seems to suggest that steadily the residents of CGH and members of RTC are developing a school of democracy where they are learning how to manage their affairs and take decisions on how to engage the city through deliberations. The discussions seem to suggest this is the deepening participatory governance at CGH and therefore involving all members in the agenda of addressing their issues.

4.8 Deliberation: The flow of information within RTC

Seeking to better understand the functioning of the occupation, I was eager to ask, what channels are used to pass information within the organisation? (RTC leader 1, 2020) responded thus; "Apart from all the social media means that we use (Whatsapp, Twitter, and Facebook), we have weekly meetings and several committees that are used". He added that these committees include; the advice assembly, the monitor's group, the youth group, the house leader's group, and the chapter leader's group. Some of these committees are open to all members of the organisation and are mostly used to deliberate on issues affecting either individual member, or the general group (RTC leader 1, 2020).

Interestingly, members of RTC do attend meetings such as the advice assembly organised once every week. Here experts are invited to advise the general public on how to handle issues relating to eviction, gender-based violence, drug abuse, and other societal challenges. Therefore, members can raise issues that concern the functioning of the organisation easily in one of the weekly meetings and the leaders will look into the matter. Though RTC assemblies cannot be seen as public and mini-publics assemblies like the case of Porto Algerio in Brazil (Pateman 2011), one can see the structures of deliberation in CGH.

4.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided an assessment of the impact of participation on the homeless in Woodstock. The chapter started by exploring the semi-structured interviews conducted. This was followed by background information on the setting of the study. The chapter then proceeded by assessing the impact of participation on the homeless in Woodstock. It then analysed in line with the major themes and sub-themes that emerged in the investigation. The chapter then raised the main benefits of participation to deepen democracy and its democratic dividends like the rise of awareness, active citizens, empowered citizens, improved ability to hold the state accountable, membership of organisations and their benefits, the value of networks, and creating spaces for participation. The next chapter will present the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE:

CONCLUSION

This study explores the extent to which civil society organisations are assisting the homeless in Cissie Gool House in Woodstock. The overall research objective the study set out to achieve was to gain insights into the extent to which civil society organisations are assisting the homeless through participatory governance. The first objective was to examine the role of civil society organisation in deepening participatory governance. The second was to investigate how the homeless can be part of a civil society organisation. The third was to explore how civil society organisations ensure that the voices of the homeless are being heard. The fourth was to analyse how participatory governance is practiced in reality through the case study of Reclaim the City.

The findings revealed that civil society organisations like those created by the homeless themselves and the Development Action Group, Ndifuna Ukwazi, and others are assisting the homeless, especially as they are organised within the umbrella of CGH or RTC through participatory governance.

The literature review revealed that there is a relationship between civil society, participation, and created spaces of participation and the emergence of active citizens, empowered citizens, membership of organisations, solidarity, being a brothers' keeper, improved ability to hold the state accountable, community membership, equity, and inclusive community amongst many other benefits.

The primary finding in this study is that it raised the main benefits of participation like deepening democracy and its democratic dividends such as the rise of awareness, active citizens, empowered citizens, improved representation, and citizen empowerment. The rise of an inclusive community, equity, awareness, and responsibility. Also,the work for the common good, being your brothers' keeper/solidarity, community membership improved ability to hold the state accountable. Membership of organisations and their benefits, the value of networks and creating spaces for participation.

This final chapter syntheses and summarises all the chapters and presents a summary of the research findings, concludes the study, makes recommendations for policy, government, and future researchers.

The thesis will at this juncture look inward into the study to analyse and understand the case study. It will also look-out on emerging themes emerging from participatory governance in Reclaim the City as well as looking back by assessing the practicality of the theoretical framework of the study.

5.1 Summary of the chapter

Chapter one presented a background to the study, it provided the background to the research problem, identified the problem and the research question, and sub-questions, and also the research objectives. It then continued to provide a rationale for the study or its overall significance, and the research setting. It then provided a form of a gateway to the rest of the study.

Chapter two of this study examined some key concepts which are the concept of homelessness, different types of homelessness, and its different causes of homelessness, the effect of homelessness. It also examined the conceptualisation of civil society and the different types of civil society organisations. It further conceptualises the relationship between participatory governance and democracy. The concept of democracy is unpacked and the different types of democracy such as direct and indirect democracy. It looks at how civil society can assist in the project of deepening democracy in Cissie Gool House. The concept of participation is unpacked including the different spaces of participation. The theoretical framework of the study is then presented.

Chapter three, the research methodology was defined and the research design and also its paradigm, The notion of qualitative research, case study research, research method: data sources, interviews, focus group discussions, data triangulation, data analysis, research ethics.

Chapter four deals with assessing the impact of participation on the homeless in Cissie Gool House.

5.2 Summary of the research main findings.

The following is a summary of the main findings of the research. The first objective was to examine the role of CSOs in deepening participatory governance.

The second objective was to investigate how the homeless can be part of a civil society organisation.

The third was to explore how civil society organisations ensure that the voices of the homeless are being heard. The fourth was to analyse how participatory governance is practiced in reality through the case study of Reclaim the City.

The study found that during apartheid there was stringent state planning which provided state housing for all in Woodstock. This came to an end in 1990 following the end of apartheid. The new ANC government in 1993 introduced the Reconstruction and Development Program to construct houses, provide electricity, water, sanitation to all. Interestingly, this program did not extend to Woodstock. This is problematic in that though the apartheid government had initially constructed houses in this community, over the years there has been the natural growth of the population as new children are delivered every day and there is migration into the area.

The new government introduced the 1996 Constitution with its Bill of Rights which promised in article 26 that all South Africans would progressively be provided with houses and this was also supported by the Housing Act of 1997. The Act also argues that no South African should be evicted from his/her residence without the evictee providing alternative accommodation.

By 1996 the state drifted from the welfare policy of RDP to a neo-liberal economic policy known as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR) to commercialise and commodify or privatise basic services like housing, electricity, water, and others. This policy by implication means that residents who cannot pay for these basic services should be evicted from the council houses that they were given to pay monthly rents to the City.

The privatisation program meant that residents who could not pay for services should be evicted. This is a volte-face from the RDP policy. The policy meant many residents in this community who could not pay for basic services should be evicted. This has an impact on this community as many were evicted from municipal houses that their grandparents have lived in for decades. The privatisation policy was an open invitation for private capital or private developers to seize the opportunity and grab any piece of land in the area and erect property and place in the market for rental. The impact of all these problems such as the absence of RDP houses in the area, the natural growth of the population, immigration into the area, the introduction of GEAR, and the privatisation policy which led to the rise of private developers in the community saw the rise of homelessness in the Woodstock area as many houses became expensive and so too with rents.

These homeless initially were living with friends, relatives, some in night shelters, in the public parks, and others in the pavements before moving into the derelict hospital in Woodstock to form Cissi Gool House or RTC. Here these homeless then formed a civil society organisation to constructively engage the city of Cape Town to address their housing needs through participatory governance.

The study found that living in CGH has led to improved health as many residents explained that their health conditions are improving. The study also pointed to how the CGH has given them a second chance in life. The study also found that living together has led to improved family reunions as husband, wife, and children can now live in an improved space. Working together under a concerted effort has open doors for them to receive assistance from many civil society organisations like DAG, NU, and others on how to mobilise and how to be disciplined. The other finding is that their presence under one roof has enabled them to mobilise and engage the city of Cape Town as one community and they now receive benefits like electricity and water. All these could not have been possible if they were outside.

The study also found that many civil society organisations can come and donate food to them since they are organised. Furthermore, the study also found that they can mobilise and engage the city legally to improve their living conditions. Also, the study brought out some positive benefits of participation like improved representation, citizen empowerment, the rise of an inclusive community, equity, and responsibility, the work for the common good, being your brothers' keeper/solidarity, community membership amongst many others.

5.3 Looking out, emerging themes in participatory governance
In post-apartheid South Africa, many social movement leaders argue that formal democracy has been a failed experiment as democracy has not yielded the expected dividends. This has led to them to massively joining civil society organisations like social movements RTC and CGH where they can jointly articulate these issues. The challenges facing participatory governance in South Africa are many. These range from poverty or socioeconomic inequality, illiteracy, lack of skills, and homelessness as this group has led to some losing their voting rights. This is evident in the homeless out of the RTC and CGH. Also, participatory governance is not practiced in these open spaces where the homeless live.

Whereas the members of RTC and CGH have representation, membership, leadership, meeting sessions, and, deliberation which leads to their empowerment to become active citizens, to become aware of their rights and their capacity to engage the city through litigation

5.4 Looking back, reassessing the practicality of the theoretical framework

To address this challenge the framework and the theory derived in chapter two showed that social inequality, poverty, and homelessness have to be addressed. Participatory governance cannot be practiced without addressing socioeconomic inequality, poverty and homelessness. The framework was able to explain how civil society organisations are employing participatory governance in Cissie Gool House in addressing their challenges in the house and the City of Cape Town as well as the legal issues. Thus issues such as participation, membership, representation, leadership, deliberation, decision -making in participatory governance spaces become central.

This effectively leads to the theoretical framework of the study, which is validated by the research data which reveals the theory of participatory governance with concepts such as open power, strong people, open nation, identity and community, responsibility, deliberation, and representation.

The concept of participatory governance was later supplemented by the idea of deliberative democracy which in many ways in both the RTC and CGH contributes to the deepening of democracy. In this study deepening democracy was understood as "the political project of developing and sustaining more substantive and empowered citizen participation in the political process than what is normally found in liberal representative democracy alone (Gaventa, 2006:7). The concept of participatory governance illuminated the centrality of deliberation in decision-making in RTC and CGH.

5.5 Recommendations for Future Researchers

Future researchers can investigate the impact of homelessness on the citizens of these communities. Also, they can investigate the contribution of property developers to the increasing rates of homelessness in the Woodstock community. Again they can investigate the increasing levels of homelessness within the Central Business District in the city. They can also explore what civil society organisations are doing to assist the homeless in these communities. Finally, future

researchers can also investigate efforts by the city of Cape Town to address these increasing levels of homelessness in the city.

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Interviews and Focus Groups

RTC Leader 1, (2020). An indepth interview with a leader of RTC. Satuday October 3, At the Youth center in CGH. Time 20:30-21:30.

RTC leader 2, (2020). An indepth interview with a leader of RTC. Monday October 5, In Long Street at CGH. 19:05-19:55.

RTC Leader 3, (2020). An indepth interview with a leader of RTC. Monday October 5, At the Youth center in CGH, 20:05-21:00.

RTC leader 4, (2020). An interview with a leader of RTC. Sunday September 27, online via Zoom

RTC leader 5, (2020) An indepth interview with a leader of RTC. Sunday September 27, Online via Zoom.

DAG official 1, (2020), An indepth interview with an official of DAG. Thursday 24, September. Online via Zoom.

Woodstock volunteer and care giver (2020), An indepth interview with a volunteer in Woodstock. In 'Streetscape' garding in Cape Town (October 2020)

FGD, 1, (2020), A focus group discussion with members of RTC. Sunday October 4. At the Youth center in CGH

FGD, 2, (2020), A focus group discussion with the homeless on the street. Woodstock Park. October 12.

Appendix A
 Tarh's Research Tools (Field questions).
The researcher will have three distinct set of questions to help gather primary data that will be used in answering the main research question. The first set of questions is designed for RTC and other civil society organizations while the second is designed for the homeless on the streets, and the third for the city council.

 Field questions for members of Reclaim the City

1) I understand you previously lived in a different house before the formation of Reclaim the City and the subsequent occupation of this place. Where is your formal home?

 2) What happened to your formal accommodation, where you evicted and for what reason?

3) If you were evicted, did you have alternative accommodation or did you turn to the street?

4) When did you join Reclaim the City?

5) What makes you think that Reclaim the City can be of help to you?

6) How many meetings do members of Reclaim the City have per week?

7) What are the main issues discussed in the meetings and what are the issues that keep reoccurring in your meetings?

8) In your own opinion, do issues raised by members get the necessary attention of the leaders?

 9) How many leaders do Reclaim the City have and are they all elected or some are appointed? How long their term of office is and what is their role?

10) Do you think you have a say on how RTC functions?

11) Do you think RTC attempts to empower members?

12) Will you say there is solidarity among members of RTC?

13) How will you describe RTC in terms of equality among members?

14) Do you have a kind of identification to say you are a member of RTC?

15) How are deliberations done in RTC? Do you form special commissions to look at particular issues or issues are left at the level of leaders?

Field questions for Reclaim the City leaders

1) What in your opinion as a leader of this organization is the main objective of this social movement?

2) What are some of the activities carried out by this organization to carter for the members?

3) Can you describe to me the flow of information from members to the top leadership position of the organization?

4) How often do leaders meet with the city officials to channel complains from members?

5) Are there any programs directed towards the provision of social houses to members of this organization by the city of Cape Town?

6) How do you handle new member of the organization?

7) How do you ensure unity among members?

8) What responsibility do members of RTC have?

Field questions for focus group discussion with the homeless on the street

1) How long have you been on the street?

2) Can you recall what exactly happened before you started living on the street?

3) While on the street can you name some organizations that usually come to assist you?

4) Are you part of any community organization that deals with issues concerning homelessness?

5) Have you ever heard of Reclaim the City?

6) The organizations that come to assist you, do they ask your opinion on what form of assistance you really want?

7) In your opinion, what could be done by those organization that will help you and the others more?

Field questions for focus group discussion with members of Reclaim the City

1) Are you all members of Reclaim the City?

2) Is there any pioneer member of Reclaim the City among us?

3) What brought about the formation of Reclaim the City?

4) Do you think Reclaim the City has been helping the homeless enough?

5) Do you think all the members of Reclaim the City feel included in most decisions or activities of the organization?

6) How do Reclaim the City ensure that all members are participating in their activities?

7) How do Reclaim the City engage the city of Cape Town?

8) Do you have records of successive engagement with the City of Cape Town that has benefited every member of the organization?

9) Do Reclaim the City only advocate for registered members?

10) Strictly, what has Reclaim the City helped you with?
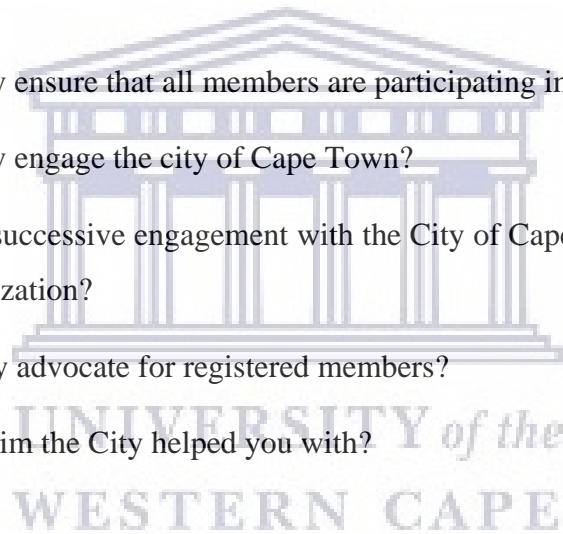
Appendix B: Fieldwork Photos.

MEMBERSHIP CARD

RECLAIM THE CITY

LAND FOR PEOPLE NOT FOR PROFIT!

Name:

Membership Number: 0002

Face Swaartbooi

Membership Type: Active Member

Chapter: Seapoint

2018/2019