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Ndlovu, Nokwenama Sihawukele Mzuzu

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Exploring the Planning Challenges of Service Delivery in Local Municipalities: The Case of the Midvaal Local Municipality

Nokwenama Sihawukele Mzuzu Ndlovu
February 2016

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning. Supervised by Professor Mfaniseni Sihlongonyane.

DECLARATION

I Nokwenama Sihawukele Ndlovu declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted to the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination to any other University.

……

Signature

February 2016

ABSTRACT

At the birth of the democracy, there were countless hopes, promises and desires that came with the new era. Many South Africans had a renewed hope for improved living conditions and economic opportunities. The new hope and desires are well articulated in the African National Congress 1994 election slogan 'a better life for all'. Provision of housing was amongst the list of promised goods. While many South Africans have received the houses they were promised, millions still reside in poor living conditions, crammed in shacks and squatter camps. Other communities have felt the brutal hand of the government, and have been uprooted from their homes to make way for new developments. The ferocious acts have not gone unnoticed by the affected communities as they have taken on the streets as a platform to demand for basic services to be delivered in their locations. In recent years, service delivery related protests have become the order of the day where communities are disregarding the current channels of engagement in favour of new insurgent practices. The new platforms of engagement create a labyrinth of complex situations that planners have to muddle through. With the mounting public protests and increasing demands for basic services, planners are inescapably knotted in complex situations that require immediate response.

Planning in diverse and multi-cultural contexts is challenging as planners are confronted with a web of contextual, administrative and political issues. It is from this premise that the study explored the planning challenges of service delivery in local municipalities. The challenges were probed through exploring the planning challenges of delivering housing in local municipalities. From the discussions in the report and the chosen case study of Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement in Midvaal Local Municipality it was evident that there were complexities encountered when it came to delivering services in a context entangled in complex party politics. Issues of power, politics, limited capacity, multiple stakeholders, unrealistic demands and the multi-cultural contexts are just some of the few challenges planners stumble across. From the study, it was evident that the South African rhetoric on service delivery makes it difficult to deliver houses in such contexts as people feel entitled to the services but have no responsibility to the services. The study highlights the difficulty of planning within a

maturing democracy. The research further suggests that planning is influenced by politics even when it comes from an objective approach.

DEDICATION

This research report is dedicated to my loving parents Thembelihle and Fanilakhe Ndlovu who have worked tirelessly to ensure that I get a good education. I will forever cherish them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"*The eyes of the young man were opened and he saw. A wonder! The whole mountainside full of horses and chariots of fire surrounding Elisha!*" 2 Kings 6:17

To the Lord God Almighty, indeed the army of Heaven was with me. Thank You for Your awesome presence throughout this journey.

Special thanks to my supervisor, Professor Mfaniseni Sihlongonyane. Thank you for your guidance and patience throughout the preparation of this research report.

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The Urban & Regional Planning class and the Development Planning class it has been a wonderful journey guys.

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Thank You

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ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CBD	Central Business District
CLLR	Councillor
COGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
COHRE	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
COPE	Congress of the People
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DA	Democratic Alliance
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
ELM	Emfuleni Local Municipality
FEI	Freedom of Expression Institute
FFC	Finance and Fiscal Commission
FF+	Freedom Front Plus
GCRO	Gauteng City-Region Observatory
GDP	Gross Domestic Products
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
ISS	Institute of Security Studies
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MFMA	Municipal Finance Management Act of 2003
MLM	Midvaal Local Municipality
MMC	Member of Mayoral Committee
MPL	Member of Parliament Leader
MSA	Municipal Systems Act of 2000
NDP	National Development Plan

NPC	National Planning Commission
NEHAWU	National Education Health and Allied Workers Union
NFP	National Freedom Party
NPM	New Public Management
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
PICC	Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Committee
PPSA	Public Protector of South Africa
PR CLLR	Proportional Representation Councillor
RDP	Reconstruction Development Programme
SACP	South African Communist Party
SAICA	South African Institute of Chartered Accountants
SAIRR	South African Institute for Race Relations
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers' Union
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SANRAL	South African National Roads Agency Limited
SAPA	South African Press Association
SAPI	South African Planning Institute
SDF	Spatial Development Plan
SIU	Special Investigating Unit
SONA	State of the Nation Address
UGM	Urban Genesis Management
URP	Urban Renewal Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

1.1 Setting the Scene: Background and Problem Statement

Figure 1.1: Service Delivery Protests

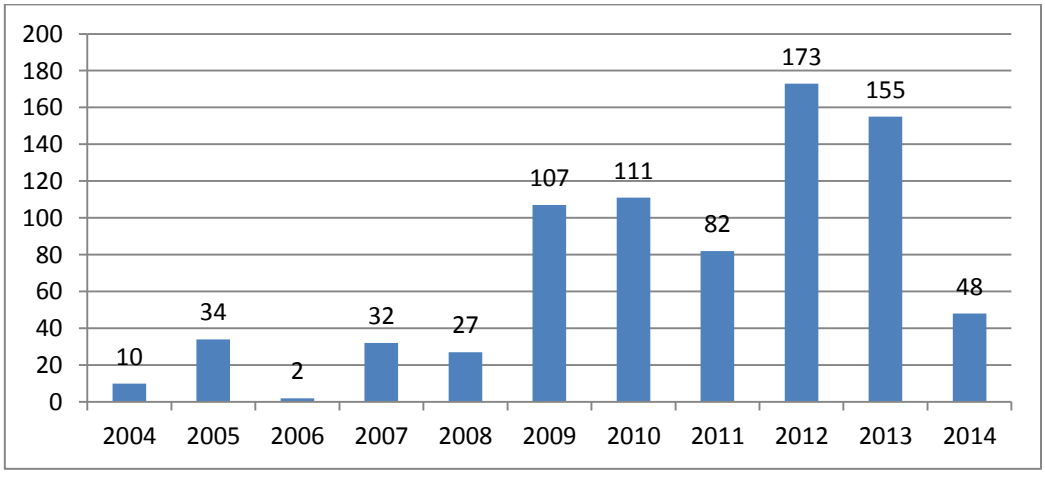


Source: http://tia-mysoa.blogspot.com/2014_02_01_archive.html accessed 11-03-2014.

The above cartoon by Siwela appeared in the Citizen newspaper and highlights some of the common sights in the wave of service delivery protests which have spread across the country for the past 10 years (2004 - 2014). Since 2004, the country has witnessed a sharp increase in the number of violent community protests occurring in our townships. In 2014, studies by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) indicated that the country experiences an average of four to five public protests a day (Dolley, 2014). Over the years, more people are taking up the streets as a platform to express their frustration of inadequate service delivery and lack of job opportunities. Crowds of angry protestors have burnt tyres and hurled stones at police and passers-by as a way to express their anger (Globler, 2009).

The Municipal IQ, a specialised local government data and intelligence service, has released key findings from its Municipal Hotspots Monitor which illustrates the protest activity in South Africa for the past 10 years (Municipal IQ, 2014). The findings are quite alarming as they depicted a sharp rise in the protest activity with the worst affected year being 2009/2010, where there was a sudden upsurge in the recorded figures. The year 2012, had the worst recording of service delivery protests 173 protests were recorded (see figure 1.2). The Multi-level Government Initiative (MLGI) in the Western Cape University recorded a 66% increase in service delivery related protest between 2010 and 2014 (Demian, 2015). Other publications such as the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) have noted a 96% increase in public protests since 2010 (IRR, 2015). The inconsistency in the protest data available illustrates the difficulty in obtaining the information is largely based on media reports. With the discrepancies with the data the real challenges has been to establish the root cause of service delivery related protests and the reasons why more communities are resorting to protesting as a means to get the attention of the authorities.

Figures 1.2: Service Delivery Protests, by year (2004 – 2014*)

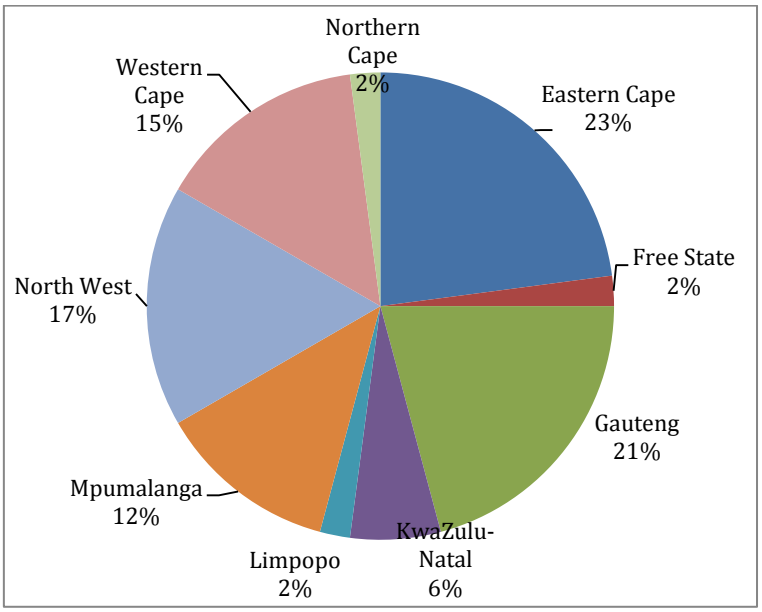


Source: Municipal IQ Municipal Hotspots Monitor *as of 31st March 2014

At a provincial level, "Gauteng and the Eastern Cape remain the most protest-ridden provinces in 2014, with the Eastern Cape just slightly ahead as of the end of March" (see figure 1.3) (Municipal IQ, 2014). In 2013, 25% of these protests took place in Gauteng and the Eastern Cape, the most protest-ridden provinces for the first 11 months of

2013, followed by 14% for KwaZulu Natal and 12% for the Western Cape (Maqutu, 2014). It is arguable that the protests are high in the Eastern Cape province because it remains amongst one of the poorest municipalities that struggle with service delivery. Thus more people take on the street as a platform to voice their opinion. For Gauteng, this can be explained in terms of its position as the largest metropolitan and financial powerhouse of South Africa. People flock into Gauteng with high expectations, in pursuit of a better urban living and economic opportunities. This increases demand for better services. Socio-spatial disparities also heighten the frustration amongst communities who are living in poor conditions.

Figure 1.3: Percentage of Protests by Province



Source: Municipal IQ Municipal Hotspots Monitor *as of 31st March 2014

The protest situation in Gauteng has been worsening. For the first three months of 2014, the province experienced more than 500 protests. Of these 500 protests, more than 120 turned violent (Cronje, 2014). During the 2014 general elections, there was an expected upsurge in protest action. Service delivery related protests often occur on the eve of the national or local government elections. Burger (2009) elaborates on how "South African elections normally take place in the April/May period, immediately before winter when its harsh realities exacerbate the absence of life's immediate necessities". Public protests are also believed to be fuelled by political infightings, where

political parties use protests as a way to place doubt in people's minds about the government of the day (Khumalo, 2013). The national or local government elections together with the lack of service delivery seem to be immediate spark that cause public protests. Although government elections and lack of service delivery have been identified as one of the reasons why the public protest, there are other deep rooted issues that need to be unearthed.

Areas with political instability can spark unrest in a community due to the differences in political ideologies. This is particularly evident in the case of Midvaal Local Municipality, south of Gauteng (figure 1.4). Grootes (2013) points out that Midvaal Municipality is a highly contested battlefield between two political parties namely the African National Congress (ANC), the ruling party, and Democratic Alliance (DA), the main opposition party. The municipality is considered as the jewel in the DA's sparse non-Western Cape crown. It is the only municipality the DA controls, outside of the Western Cape, in an ANC led province and ANC controlled district. The municipality consistently wins awards and commendations for being the best run council in Gauteng (ibid). The presence of the ruling and opposition party in one municipality has led to conflicts between the officials and result in a decrease in the standards of services delivered. There was a decrease in services which triggered some dissatisfaction among residents about the rate of delivery. As mentioned above, such dissatisfaction encourages communities to engage in invented spaces of communication and take to the streets as a platform to express their concerns. In the past year Midvaal has been in the news concerning a possible merger with Emfuleni local municipality. This news has not been well received by the public, and they have expressed their frustrations on the streets and by getting 8 000 objections, from Midvaal residents, to the proposed merger (Magubane, 2013).

Figure 1.4: Location of Midvaal Local Municipality in Gauteng Province



Source: http://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/how-the-anc-is-targeting-midvaal accessed 13-01-2016

Scholars have painted a dim image of some of the scenes that transpire during a protest action. The report published by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), relates events by a group of angry protesters in Voortrekker, Pretoria,

> "*…protesters erected barricades of burning tyres around the township, which police, armed with tear gas and rubber bullets, tried to dismantle. During the night, municipal buildings including the clinic, the public library, the community hall and municipal offices in the township were torched. The following day all access roads were barricaded and most residents stayed away from work. In the course of the day the crowds torched the houses of three councillors, including the mayor…"* (Von Holdt et al. 2011: 8).

Protest activities in Midvaal have often become violent with protestors barricading the streets and threatening to burn down a house of a local councillor. Despite all the praises directed to the municipality for achieving its service delivery targets, the community in Midvaal have expressed their concerns with service delivery in the municipality. The housing problem in Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement, in Midvaal Municipality, has been a challenge facing the municipality for years now (City Press, 21-05-2011). Sicelo informal settlement is located adjacent to the affluent Meyerton area, and consists of over 2000 informal structures. The settlement is juxtaposition to the surrounding affluent Meyerton residential area, which is the home of the Oprah Winfrey Leadership Academy for Girls.

In 2012, the community of Sicelo, held a protest march starting from Sicelo settlement to the Midvaal Council Offices in Meyerton. Residents were protesting and slamming the DA-led municipality for forgetting the poor and only developing the white residential areas (Daily Sun, 12-11-2012). Furthermore, there were allegations that Midvaal's service delivery was biased in favour of the white people (City Press, 21-05-2011). Indeed the Midvaal Local Municipality IDP highlights how there are an average performance in the status of service delivery in informal settlements (IDP, 2013/2014). Also figure 1.5 reflects poor performance in the delivery of electricity and the address of the housing backlog in Sicelo (see figure 1.5). The ANC-led provincial government is responsible for addressing the housing problem in the area. It was also alleged that Sicelo informal settlement is located on dolomitic ground, which presents a number of challenges when developing the area (www.parliament.gov.za accessed 23-06-2014). It is such challenges that add fuel to the frustrations of the public and lead to more public demonstrations in the streets of South Africa. Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement has a poor performance in the delivery of electricity as well as in addressing the housing backlog.

Figure 1.5: Status of Service Delivery in Informal Settlements

Status of Service Delivery in Informal Settlements								
Ward Number	Settlement	Number of Structures	Services				Housing Backlog	Settlement linked to Housing Project
			Portable Water	Electricity	Sanitation	Refuse Removal		
1	Mamello	348	😐	☹	☹	☺	☹	☺
1	Bantu Bonke	82	☺	☺	☺	☺	😐	😐
2	Boitumelo	130	😐	☹	☹	☺	☹	☹
3	Piels Farm	215	😐	☹	☹	☺	☹	☹
4	Alewynspoort-Harold	73	😐	☹	☹	☺	☹	☹
5	Sicelo	2696	😐	☹	😐	☺	☹	😐
6	Put-Put/ Varkeng (Kayalitshca)	258	😐	☹	☹	☺	☹	☹
Total per Settlement		3766						

Source: Red Ant Survey 2009 & 2012, in MLM IDP 2013/2014.

Good performance/implementation/standard ☺

Average performance/standard OR policy in place with average implementation 😐

Poor performance/standard OR no performance/function ☹

1.2 Research Questions

The research aims to answer the following questions:

> *What are the planning challenges of delivering housing in the Sicelo Shiceka informal Settlement, Midvaal Local Municipality*?

In order to further explore the challenges, the following supporting questions are raised:

- To understand the profile Midvaal Local Municipality
- What is the situational analysis of housing in Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement?
- What institutions and processes are involved in addressing the housing grievances of the community?
- What interventions are in place to address the housing challenge in the Municipality?

- What gaps between policy and practice need to be addressed order to minimise the challenges?
- What are the main causes for the public protests in Midvaal Local Municipality?
- Who are the communities involved in the service delivery protests?
- What planning interventions can deal with the challenges of delivering services?

1.3 Aim of the Study

The study seeks to understand the challenges of service delivery in Sicelo informal settlements with a specific focus on the housing project. This is done through unpacking some of the planning challenges experienced in the delivery of housing in Midvaal from 2004 – 2014. This research is essential as it will assist in identifying some of the motivating factors leading to the development of community protests. The report is also aimed to comprehend the disjuncture between planning and practice or between the envisaged and the experienced. Furthermore, the study looks into how planning can intervene in the mitigation of conflicts associated with service delivery as a manifestations of the disjuncture between plan and practice (implementation) in South Africa.

1.4 Rationale of the Study

Friedmann (1987) argues that the practice of planning is a political process which involves various actors in the politics and economics process. The research and sub-questions in the study seeks to gain in-depth understanding of how planning is a political practice in the delivery of housing services in Sicelo. The study will identify different stakeholders of the housing project, and explore the political roles of various players in the planning and implementation of projects. The exploration of these different roles will lead to the assessment of how the plans met or missed the interests of different stakeholders. Thus, this will be a gauge of pragmatism in terms of how the housing plans (theory) met the practical needs of the community. Pragmatism seeks to understand a practical approach as opposed to abstract ways of seeking solutions or planning development. There is an apparent gap between theory and practice, which occurs when the "plan or development project touches the lives and livelihoods of households and communities" (Watson, 2003: 396). Therefore this research is

necessary in the sense that it explores the challenges of service delivery in protest infested municipality and some of the dynamics which hinder the successful delivery of services. The understanding of this case will provide a lens through which to understand service delivery in South Africa, and the political influence of parties in the planning for community development.

1.5 Research Methods

The research will adopt a qualitative approach in the attempt to answer the research question. This will involve using multiple qualitative research procedures mainly including, library research, case study, field observations (mapping and photography) as well as interviews. According to Philip (1998: 267) qualitative studies are typically intensive pieces of research in which everyday life experienced by all sorts of people and communities at different times and in different places is explored, and the position of the researchers, their perceptions, experiences, expectations, and prejudices are viewed as important. This approach allows the researcher the opportunity to engage with the various encounters and realities that people experience in life through the insider's point of view (Spradley, 1980).

1.5.1 Literature Reviewed

The study will made use of a desk top study in order to gain a better understanding of the theories and debates pertaining to the topic. It will also provide a background into the process of service delivery; the challenges encountered and identify some of the gaps between plan (theory) and practice. The sources for such data include academic books, journals, policy document, and internet research. The scope of literature that is utilised in conducting the research was drawn from journals on the political economy, urban studies and urban governance, African studies as well as development studies. Local newspapers and newsletters were also utilised in gathering some of the recorded instances of service delivery protests on housing in Sicelo informal settlement. Over the years, the media has used newspapers as a platform for documenting some of the protests and well as the instability they have caused.

1.5.2 Case Study

In the attempt to respond to the research question and unpack the challenges of service delivery, a case Study was utilised. Zainal (2007: 2) states that "Case studies, in their true sense, explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationship". They enable the researcher to closely examine the data within specific context (ibid). In this research, the case study assists in understanding some of the challenges municipalities face when it comes to delivering services. Use of a case study will provide the researcher the opportunity to gain an in-depth understanding of some of the challenges of achieving service delivery in local municipalities. This case study also explores other internal and external forces such as the political and socio-economic factors, influencing service delivery.

The rationale for choosing Midvaal as a suitable case study for the research is its contextual dynamics as well as its history with service delivery related protests. Akinboade et al. (2013: 458) lament how "Midvaal, is an opposition-controlled municipality that ranked lowest in practically all areas of public service delivery". Midvaal Municipality is a category B2 municipality, which is pre-dominantly rural areas with developed small towns, which bring into the fore the issues of class, rural-urban tensions and scale. These issues are crucial in the understanding of the urban politics and planning in a particular area. The issue of power is also crucial in this case study because of the situations where the DA-led municipality is operating under an ANC-led provincial government. This highlights how there is a political overlay that influences the practice of planning and in the municipality when it comes to the delivering services.

1.5.3 Field Observation and Experiences on Site

The researcher had to spend some time on the site to familiarise with the context and making observations. Observations are "useful in exploring topics that may be uncomfortable for participants to discuss" (Creswell 2009: 179). They are a way to reveal the 'invisible' aspects that were not adequately communicated in the interview with the informants. The field observations involved the mapping and photography in the site. This was useful in providing the visuals or visual representation of the traces of

impact of the protests in the physical environment. Pictures of the Sicelo settlements were taken as they spoke more than words and provided a realistic visual record of the context. These pictures illustrated some of the housing conditions there as well as the dolomitic areas. Mapping was done for the contextualisation of the area.

The research involved the researcher having to go conduct site visits and interviews in Midvaal Local Municipality and Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement. The fieldwork component was conducted between December 2014 and February 2015. The fieldwork component of the research was an insightful experience which brought to light the various realities and experiences that people living in informal settlements continuously encounter. Further exploration into the municipality yielded interesting results on the dynamics in Midvaal Municipality and particularly Sicelo settlement and its housing challenge. One had to carefully manoeuvre through the historical, political, environmental and social layers in order to respond to the research question which probed 'the planning challenges of delivering housing in the Sicelo Shiceka informal Settlement, Midvaal Local Municipality?'.

Interviews were conducted with 10 community members from Sicelo, the local ward councillor and the officials involved in the housing delivery from the municipality and the provincial Human Settlements department. As reiterated by Spradley (1980), in order to understand the world from someone else's point of view, you have to walk in their shoes in order to understand their outcry. The interviews with 10 community members provide insights from the community's perspectives, as to why they protests and what triggers the protests. The local councillor from ward 8 was interviewed on the basis that they ast as the mediator between the state and the public in our communities. They are the middle man between the two parties (public and state) and have indepth understanding of both the parties. The housing officials from the provincial department and the municipality provided insights on the housing project in Sicelo from a municipal and provincial perspective. The interviews were useful in providing the researcher with informed insights into the housing projects in Sicelo as well as the challenges encountered in the delivery of the projects.

The data from the fieldwork was gather between mid-2014 and early 2015, and it reflects the responses from the community and officials concerning their experience on service delivery in Sicelo/Midvaal. However, respondents were at times hesitant to provide any response on the subject matter. The hesitation was sparked by the continual unfilled promises they received from government and municipal officials together with people conducting research in the area. One young man, who has been living in Sicelo since 2001, complained about how people including politicians, government officials and researchers always flood into the settlement bearing various promises for the community yet they do not see any tangible results.

> *People always come here telling us many promises yet they do not come back to give us any feedback. We always see politicians and government officials passing here yet there are still no improvements to our lives* (personal communication, 29 January 2015).

The unfulfilled promises fuel the community with disappointment and rage directed towards the promise bearers. The community was still imprisoned by the 'false' hope that someone is going to come and assist them with services and help improve their lives. From the responses they gave and the attitude they displayed, it was apparent that the community of Sicelo is still awaiting the change and 'better life' they were promised.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

The ethical considerations in a research are important if the research involves interaction with members of the general community who serve as participants in a research. These are interactions that include in-depth interviews, focus groups, surveys and observing people's behaviour (Polonski, 2004). Respectively in undertaking the research interviews, ethical considerations had to be made. Another important ethical consideration was the treatment of the respondents/informants information with respect and dignity. This involved the communication of the aims of the research as well as the protection of their identity. The researcher ensured that the questions asked during the interviews were not insulting or embarrassing. It was communicated to the respondents/informants that any information provided would be treated with the utmost confidentiality and solely used for the purpose of the research study. Therefore, respondents gave information on a voluntary basis and permission was granted by

certain respondents. Since the study utilised a qualitative research approach, it was essential that the research findings were both fair and truthful, and did not show any bias. This means that an accurate account of the findings had to be recorded/documented and not a fabrication of the findings to suit the researcher's expectation.

1.7 Outline of Chapters

The research report comprises of six chapters. Chapter One will provide the introduction and setting the scene for the research. It also introduces the research topic; the main research questions; as well as the purpose or aim of the study and the key concepts. The second chapter provides the literature review of some of the wide variety of literature related to the study. This provides some of the emerging debates and arguments around the topic as well as how they are used in the research. Chapter Three is an introduction to the case study, the Midvaal Local Municipality in Gauteng. This chapter gives an introduction into Midvaal its history and socio-economic context as well as some of the planning information/proposals for the area. Chapter Four will look into the specific case study of the service delivery challenges in the municipality. It will explore and unpack the reasons behind the challenges and how this has resulted in frustration from the community. Chapter Five will be a detailed account of the findings obtained during the research and will also interpret the obtained findings. Chapter Six will be the closing chapter summing up the essence of the research and findings. This chapter will also make some recommendations on how planning can intervene to ensure the successful delivery of services to the local constituencies.

Chapter 2:
The Dynamics of Service Delivery in South Africa

CHAPTER TWO: THE DYNAMICS OF SERVICE DELIVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Figure 2.1: A Journey to an Unknown Address



Source: http://africartoons.com/cartoon/6888?filter=5039 accessed 27-02-2015.

2.1 Introduction to the Chapter

The above cartoon appeared in the New Age newspaper and questions whether the country is heading towards the right direction in terms of ensuring a 'better life for all'. In the dawn of democracy, the voting public of South African were promised access to water, sanitation, electricity, education, economic opportunities, healthcare and adequate housing. This was encapsulated in the ANC 1994 election slogan, 'a better life for all'. However, throughout the years, the delivery of services has proven to be a complicated process that involves more than just ensuring that people have access to basic services. It is a complicated process that involves a number of uncertainties and challenges. In the attempt to grapple with the notion of service delivery, a number of people have researched and written on the concept in order to unpack and understand the processes involved. This chapter will discuss some of the literature and what other people have said about the challenges of service delivery in South Africa. This will be

done through providing a discussion of what service delivery is in South Africa using three perspectives namely the historical, economic geography, sociological and theoretical. This discussion will assist in identifying some of the challenges municipalities face when delivering services.

2.2 The Changing Playing Fields

> *"Political transition is a time of considerable fluidity and opportunity as institutions, policies, and legislation are reconstructed."* (Harrison cited in Platt, 2004)

Over the past 21 years, South Africa has made remarkable progress in the transition from apartheid to democracy. Advances have been made in the policy and legislative environment (Platt, 2004). The significant changes are evident in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), which provides the legislative framework, structure and functions of government. The different levels of government are assigned different roles and responsibilities. National government is responsible for policy formulation and the co-ordination of provinces and municipalities. The sphere of local government is the one the closest to the people and deals with the implementation of services at a local/community level. The transformation in the political sphere created a conducive environment for the development of integrated and inclusive planning policies/programmes (www.etu.org.za accessed 19-09-2015). The transformations in the legislative and institutional environment have impacted the manner in which service delivery is conducted in South Africa**.** Before 1994, service delivery was fragmented and only available to the minority group. Certain areas in the country were left underdeveloped and spatially fragmented. Post 1994, the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery of 1998 (WPLG 1998), advocated for the transformation of public service delivery in the post-apartheid era. The transformation would be achieved through integrated development planning and coordinated delivery. The white paper further highlighted how municipalities faced immense challenges in developing sustainable settlements which meet the needs and improve the quality of life of local communities (WPLG 1998).

Coupled with the political transformations, the playing fields of the planning profession have also undergone some changes. Former president of the South African Planning Institute (SAPI), Christine Platt wrote an article discussing the planning field 10 years (1994 - 2004) into democracy. Platt notes how planning has transformed in both its nature and state especially the structures and instruments which planning is using i.e. policies, legislation etc. The period transition period into democracy was one of confusion and provided the opportunity to come up with new approaches to undertake planning through the introduction of integrated development plans (IDP's) and Spatial Development Frameworks (SDF's)- to mention a few (Plaatt, 2004). In recent years (2010 - 2012) the National Planning Commission (NPC) was established to develop a long term vision and strategic plan, the National Development Plan of 2030 (NDP) for South Africa (nationalplanningcommission.wordpress.com accessed 04-10-2015). In June 2011 the NPC released the Diagnostic Report, which highlighted some of the strengthens and shortcomings of development in SA since 1994. The uneven and poor quality of services was identified as one of the pressing primary challenges which needed to be addressed.

Transformation was in the legislative sphere has also been evident in the programmes being implemented, especially in the housing sphere. In the dawn of 1994, housing programmes were more focused on the delivery aspect of things. Since 1994, 3.3-million low-cost homes have been built. In 2004, the Breaking New Ground policy was implemented and sought to respond positively and proactively to the processes of informal housing development (DOH, 2004). This would encourage the creation of sustainable human settlements which are well integrated into the fabric of the city. According to the National Public Housing Conference of 1948,

> *"Housing is, in fact, one of the great universal tests in this difficult and dangerous postwar world: a test of ideals, ideas, skills, resources, of our domestic capacity for change and growth; of the effectiveness of both private enterprise and government and their ability to cooperate; of the intelligence of consumer and voter as well as producer and administrator*"- National Public Housing Conference, February 1948, cited in Meyerson & Banfield 1955.

Deliberations from the first National Public Housing conference held in 1948 in the Washington DC reveals how housing can be used as a litmus test to validate governments' success to achieve the housing ideal in South Africa. It tests the governments thrust and ability to dismantle the fragmented apartheid settlements and create new sustainable and integrated human settlements. In 1994, the government inherited a mammoth housing dilemma that required immediate attention. For the previously disadvantaged groups and the urban poor having access to adequate housing is an important factor to help them to gain formal property rights; have security of tenure; escape the poverty cycle as well as to help build their wealth. Enshrined in the Freedom Charter, adopted in June 1955, the clauses '*There shall be houses, security and comfort*' and '*All people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security*' have haunted a number of governments practices. The clauses reveal the desire to house all South African citizens in adequate and quality housing conditions. However, a number of failures were evident in South Africa's housing programme. Marie Huchzermeyer, an academic from the University of the Witwatersrand, commented on how,

> "*The South African housing programme gave rise to rows and rows of 'one-size-fits all' houses at the edge of towns and cities, far from workplaces, study institutions and medical facilities*" (Chiumia, 2014)

Other scholars have added,

> *"South African towns and cities today are more spatially divided than they were in the days of apartheid, but for reasons no longer traceable to segregating legislation but rather of the operation of the market and to growing economic inequalities"* (Harrison et al., 2008: 11).

The housing programmes in democratic South Africa has been heavily criticised for their lack of integration to the existing urban fabric as well as the intensified uneven development created (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). Large development projects often tend to cause gentrification where the disadvantaged groups are excluded and marginalised in the city. Coupled with the gentrification, a number of development induced evictions have occurred in informal settlement areas. The private sector often wants to capitalise on the land which informal settlements are situated in. An example

of this is the mass evictions that occurred in Lwandle, in the Cape Town. In early 2014, the South African National Roads Agency Limited (Sanral) evicted and demolished the shacks of people occupying their land after Sanral obtained a court order authorising the evictions (Sapa, 2014). The case revealed some of the complexities and controversies involved with housing delivery in South Africa.

2.3 Understanding Service Delivery in South Africa

The notion of service delivery is a complex one which can be understood using different perspectives including the historical, sociological, philosophical and rhetorical perspectives. In South Africa service delivery can be understood differently according to the different government administrations, namely the (late) Mandela (1994 - 1999), Mbeki (1999 - 2008) and Zuma (2009 - present) era of government. The three government administrations had different ways of defining its role in society and service delivery. This affected the different aims that they were targeting to address. The ideology that the three governments adopted has in turn had implications for the way in which service provision is undertaken as well as the public's understanding of the government's role. In South Africa, the delivery of services to all citizens, more especially the previously disadvantaged areas, has been amongst the priorities since the dawn of democracy. Since 1994, the democratic government has targeted the acceleration of service delivery to communities through its developmental objectives of 'meeting basic needs of the millions of South Africans living in poverty' (COGTA, 2011: 6). This is seen as necessary to eradicate inequalities that were a result of the country's past and ensure that development occurs. The notion has also been interpreted differently by the various governments as different approaches have been employed in the attempt of realising the benefits of democracy.

In South Africa, service delivery has a rather complex meaning which encompasses more than delivering user focused services. According to Mc Lennan (2009: 19) "public service delivery is highly politicised in South Africa because it represents some of the contradictions of the transition from the apartheid to democracy". It (service delivery) has a wider meaning as it is associated with development, redressing the injustices of the past, alleviate poverty and promoting economic growth (Mc Lennon 2009). This

meaning of service delivery has various connotations attached to it, which makes achieving it a rather difficult task to realise. As reiterated by the first democratic government in 1994, it is a means of ensuring 'a better life for all', which confirms the citizenship of many South Africans in the new democratic South Africa (Hemson & Owusu-Ampomah 2005). This notion of a 'better life' is a phrase that protests continue to sing in the public demonstrations. Impoverished communities are still holding on to the promise of 'a better life' and justify their protest action as the means of claiming the benefits of democracy (Mc Lennon 2009).

In the late 70s Barnes et al (1979) predicted that unconventional political participation would become the norm in advanced industrial societies because they are a part of the process towards intergovernmental change (Inglehart & Catterberg, 2002). According to Tshabangu cited in Kunene (2013: 98), "There will come a time when the individual South African, uninfluenced by any political ideology but influenced mainly and only by what lies in the interests of the country will come together and advance a course of uniting the people and fighting for the people against this government. It has happened all over the world in many democracies where when tendencies like these creep in, the people depend upon themselves and they will take over. I am seeing this coming slowly, unless the ANC corrects some of these things".

The above quote is by Tshabangu, a former ward councillor from Phomolong Township who was forced to resign as a councillor after the local protests in 2005. His words together with Barnes proved prophetic as the people of South Africa are increasingly becoming aware of the injustices confronting them and are standing up against it. South Africa this has not been an exception as the upsurge in service delivery protests reflects the rise in the invented spaces of participation where communities are establishing new approaches to address the state. Under the Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma administrations, the country has experienced a varying types and frequency of public demonstrations. There were various factors that influenced the nature of the protests in each administration. This section provides a discussion of the characteristics of service delivery under the three administrations as well as the nature of public protests under each government administration. The different factors that influenced the public demonstrations are also discussed.

2.3.1 Mandela's Administration (1994 - 1999)

Under the leadership of the late former president Nelson Mandela, the government was confronted with the challenge of transforming fragmented service delivery system (Mc Lennan & Munslow, 2009). This government had the daunting task of addressing the inequalities of the past and ensuring that all citizens get to realise the freedom from oppression and deprivation (SONA 1994). This led to the development of the Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP) which was the government objective for the creation of the people-centred society (ibid). "The RDP was not overtly socialist but was rather a neo-Keynesian programme for state-led investment in infrastructure and basic services to address the backlogs and inequities of the past" (Harrison et al., 2008: 58). With the guidance of this programme, planners had the responsibility of promoting the vision of integrated and equitable development (ibid). Through the RDP, the government was able to provide housing, water, electricity and other infrastructure to the previously disadvantaged areas.

Since 1994, it is evident that substantial investments have been made in social welfare, health, water and sanitation, education, health, housing as well as other social infrastructure (Khosa, 2000). At the end of the first term of the first democratic government (1994 - 1998), improvements had been made in the provision of services. The table below (Figure 2.2) illustrates some of the progress and backlogs made in the service provision from 1994 to 1998. It is evident that much of the emphasis was placed on the quantity of services delivered, rather than the quality. From the table, there was still a large backlog that existed as just over half of the population had access to some of the services. Local governments had certain targets they had to meet, if this target was not meet, the local authority would be seen as underperforming and inefficient. This notion of focusing on the numbers, paid little attention to the quality of services being produced; whether they created sustainable human settlements as well as to what extent it empowered the poor communities. From the above discussions, it is evident that much emphasis was placed on the quantity of services delivered to the public. This was similar to the Apartheid governments' notion of the mass delivered of 'match box' houses to communities living in the Black Areas. The houses were standardised and little emphasis was placed on the quality of the houses or the creation of integrated human settlements.

Figure 2.2: Rate of Service Delivery

Service	Number with Access	% Access
Electricity (households)	4 932 000	58
Water (population)	22 980 000	59
Sanitation (population)	18 162 000	47
Telephone (households)	6 150 000	71

Source: Development Bank of Southern Africa 1998 in Khosa, (2000: 3)

During this period (1994 - 1998), South Africa's laws, policies, political and economic systems (institutional environment) were undergoing quite a number of transformations in order to meet the abovementioned objective. Such policies include the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service of 1995, which provided a framework for the provision of services to all citizens. The White Paper noted how in the past "service delivery was inefficient, fragmented and top-heavy in its approach" (Service Delivery Review, 2005: 107). Provision was mostly restricted to the 'white areas' of the city, while the townships and places in the periphery were inadequately serviced. Due to the apartheid legacy, public services became a legitimate expectation for all citizens, and national and provincial departments were to make service delivery a priority (White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service 1995; Constitution 1996).

Other developmental programmes including the Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Committee (PICC) and the Urban Renewal Programme (URP), have attempted to do away with the fragmented and unequal spatial landscape in the country and provide services where necessary (Harrison et al. 2008). These programmes ensured that special attention and significant investment were being injected into townships. According to Harrison et al. (2008: 67) "the implementation of urban renewal in South Africa involved the selection of eight nodal places targeted for large-scale upgrading and development projects". These programmes would facilitate the upgrade of townships and improve their access to housing, services and amenities. Thus huge investments had to go into ensuring the townships were upgraded and had adequate services. However, in as much as programmes were put in place to ensure

redistribution and that services reached the various communities, especially previously disadvantaged groups, a number of challenges were encountered along the way. These challenges included the increasing poverty and service backlog as well as the non-payment culture amongst residents (Mc Donald & Pope, 2002).

Even though service delivery challenges were beginning to peak up, the period under Mandela's administration (1994 - 1999), did not experience much protest action. Researchers have described this period as being 'lull' in protest action (Ballard, et al. 2006). Analysts described the Mandela era as the 'honeymoon' phase when people were hopeful and adopted a positive attitude that the new government would bring the necessary transformation. Between the years, 1994 and 1997 low level strike activities were occurring which were not really targeting service delivery. It was only between 1997 -1999 when ideological contestation emerged against some of the policies and campaigns the government was adopting. The Masakhane (Let's build together) Campaign was one of the first campaigns where residents displayed resistance to the government's programmes. The campaign was launched in 1995 that sought to urge residents to pay for their services (Pape & McDonald, 2002). Masakhane was a response the 'rates boycotts' under the apartheid era. The boycotts were a tactical attempt by the ANC together with the public to make the country ungovernable through the refusal to pay for rates and taxes. For the post-apartheid government, the Masakhane campaign would become the means to cost recovery and instil a sense of responsibility in build of the nation together (ibid). However, the campaign was met with great resistance as new organisations such as 'crisis committees' and 'concerned resident groups' reflected the resident's opposition to the campaign and their impatience with development in their area (Ngwane, 2012). The crisis committees would conduct public protest, even though they were not as violent and intense as the current public protests.

2.3.2 Mbeki's Administration (1999 - 2008)

Thabo Mbeki's Administration had a different way of viewing how services are to be delivered to the public. Due to the non-payment culture and the challenges encountered when delivering services under the Mandela administration, new approaches were implemented to ensure effective service provision. During the second wave of

democracy (1999-2004), the emphasis was on ensuring that services were delivered in both an effective and efficient manner. The notion of effective and efficient service delivery was informed by the New Public Management (NPM) principles. According to Cameron (2009: 912) "New Public Management is inspired by the values and concepts of the private sector. It was seen as a way of cutting through the red tape and rigidity associated with old-style public administration and as a way of improving efficiency and service delivery". This approach made use of market-inspired mechanisms such as the privatisation of services; the formation of public-private partnerships in service provision and the setting of standards for service provision (Cameron, 2009). Great faith was invested to the private sector to provide the much needed services and ensure redistribution. The state would shift its focus from its traditional role of being the provider or the universal service delivery approach, to it being an 'enabler' or 'facilitator' which was demand-driven and informed by modern management practices (Mc Donald & Pope, 2002; Mc Lennan, 2009).

This notion had an effect on the way in which the user services were delivered to the public. Emphasis was also placed on the creating partnerships to "deliver on the promises of democracy and development" (Mc Lennon & Munslow, 2009: 2). Government adopted a number of market-oriented policies which entrenched power to cooperate capital (Mc Donald & Pope, 2002). This was informed by neo-liberal principles of high cost recovery, corporatisation and the privatisation of state services (ibid). Public services such as water, electricity and waste removal services were either provided through public-private partnership or outsourced in order to cut on costs (ibid). This approach affected the way in which services were provided, where the new agenda was ensuring that delivery was more efficient and effective (Mc Lennon, 2009).

The relationship between the state and the public was also redefined. The public was now perceived as customers and clients. This redefined relationship changed the manner in which the state provides services to the public (Mc Lennan, 2009). As emphasised by the former president Thabo Mbeki, the era would be one where a 'nation is at work for a better life for all'. This notion saw every citizen becoming active members in the development of the nation. The public, especially the undeserving poor, had to be actively involved in ensuring economic growth rather than relying on 'hand-outs' and being heavily dependent on the state (Everatt, 2008). As noted by Everatt

(2008: 299) “the role of government…is ‘to cultivate that sentiment among our people to say: ‘I too have a responsibility to do something about my own development’”. The new redefined relationship between the state and the public was heavily criticised as it was seen as a way of passing on the costs of providing essential services to those who needed them the most and could not afford them (Mc Lennan, 2009). Those who could not pay received only a minimum standard of the services (Bond et. al, 2000).

At the dawn of the third democracy (2003-2008), it became evident that there was a growing dissatisfaction with the way in which services were being provided. This was also evident in the wave of service delivery related protests which began in 2004. More demands are being made for the state to provide the basic services (Mc Lennan, 2009). This saw the government aiming itself to become a developmental state, which would secure accelerated economic growth in order to achieve expanded service delivery (ibid). The idea of the developmental state was juxtaposition to the NPM, where there was minimal state intervention (Crous, 2004). The developmental state advocated for a strong interventionist and activist state (ibid). It was during this period that much of the responsibilities for service delivery became the responsibility of the local governments and local institutions (Mc Lennan, 2009). The thrust of the argument was that the strong activist state will be able to deliver on its mandate (ibid).

The Mbeki administration saw a rise in the service delivery related protests. In the late 90s, social movements were established including the Thembelihle Crisis Committee, Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee, Wynberg Concerned Residents, Mandelaville Concerned Residents, etc. According to Bond & Mottiar (2013: 288) “these movements reflected contemporary struggles that focused on the democratic government’s failures to address socio-economic rights, and they also challenged an emerging policy of repression”. The new crisis committees and concerned resident groups continued to reflect the dissatisfaction and concerns of the community. The crisis committees were strategically planned out as a series of workshops were conducted in preparation for the protests. The workshops aimed at educating the protestors about the ideology of globalisation and neo-liberal policies in South Africa. Amongst the protests, academics, civil society, labour unions and the elders were part of the crisis committee. Mobilising protestors from different backgrounds and educating them about the matters at hand,

increases the residents awareness about the issue and allows them to be better informed about whats going on. Sinwell et al. (2009) notes how the 'spirit' of crisis committees and concerned groups can be traced in the current "service delivery protests" as they protesting about similar issues.

Under President Thabo Mbeki's leadership, protestors had a new bone of contention to pick. Communities in support of the trade unions were contesting the new policies being implemented at the time including Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), the neoliberal macroeconomic policy. In 2001 COSATU together with the South African Municipal Workers' Union (SAMWU), National Education Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) and the general public held a two day strike against the privatisation of electricity supply (Hamilton, 2001). Through the implementing of the neoliberal policies and the privatisation of state entities, the state role in public matters would be diminished. This was a way to get people actively involved in nation-building rather than depending on state handouts (Everatt, 2008). This did not sit well with the public especially the working class felt that they would be left at the mercy of private developers. Trade unions together with the crisis committees played a crucial role in the mobilisation of the marginalised and disadvantaged groups in the attempt to give them a voice in matters affecting them. It was only in Mbeki's second term as president when communities across the country became more active in matters affecting them following the up rise in service delivery related protests. The demands of the social movements expanded and part of their demands included access to healthcare, water, electricity and housing (Bond & Mottiar, 2013).

2.3.3 Zuma's Administration (2009 - present)

The notion of a developmental state, continued on into President Jacob Zuma's term. As highlighted in his first State of the Nation Address, President Jacob Zuma stressed how "a developmental state requires the improvement of public services and strengthening of democratic institutions. We have established two Ministries in the Presidency to strengthen strategic planning as well as performance monitoring and evaluation" (SONA, 2009). This called for the state to work with the markets and citizens in order to meet the basic needs and achieve social engagement (Mc Lennan, 2009). Therefore the

vision was for "the state and society working together at all levels to advance social justice, economic growth and development" (COGTA, 2011).

It was during this period where there was an upsurge of a wave of service delivery protests which hit the country. Research by the Municipal IQ, reveal that there was a sharp increase in service delivery protests in 2009. A total of 107 protests, from 27 protests the previous year, were recorded in 2009 (see figure 1.2 in chapter one) (Municipal IQ, 2014). Other diagnostic reports revealed how there was a growing lack of confidence and trust in the state (COGTA, 2011). This disenchantment with the state was predominantly fuelled by the growing alienation of citizens from local government (ibid). As the sphere of government which is the closest to the people, local government is responsible for the implementation of government programmes and the delivery of service delivery occurs (Constitution, 1996). This includes the provision of services such as electricity, public housing, public infrastructure, health care facilities and education. Although services were being delivered allegations of corruption, incompetence and maladministration and mismanagement of funds by government surfaced in the media. The late Minister for Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, Sicelo Shiceka, admitted that many of the municipalities are in a state of paralysis and dysfunction (Burger, 2009). In 2009, the State of Local Government Report provided a comprehensive picture of the root causes to some of the challenges facing local government in South Africa. There was the increasing lack of confidence in local government which included the huge service delivery backlog; poor communication and accountability relationships with communities; corruption and fraud; poor financial management, e.g. negative audit opinions; as well as the insufficient municipal capacity due to lack of scarce skills (COGTA, 2009).

For the first few months of the Zuma administration being in office, much of the focus was to identify some of the root causes to some of the problems in delivering basic services. From there onwards, a number of initiatives were implemented in the attempt to accelerate the delivery of much needed services to the community. A Presidential hotline was put in place in 2009 as a platform for the public to express their concerns and frustrations about government (www.thepresidency.gov.za accessed 21-08-2014). The composition of the government's Cabinet clusters was restructured in order to

improve coordination and service delivery (City Press, 2014). Changes were being made to the administration of the country and the practices of government especially how the state relates with the public. The Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation was implemented in order to improve government outcomes and impact on society. Local government was becoming more decentralised as a way to get closer to the ground and the concerns of the community. Similar to the Arab Spring of 2011, not listening to the concerns of the public would be the peril of the government, since street protests or demonstrations have become a way to make townships ungovernable and destabilise the good order. The lack of satisfaction in service delivery and the continuous worsening physical conditions represent the threat to the good order of development, and is a testament to the failures of government (Martin & Mathema, 2006). With local government facing such challenges, it makes it difficult to achieve the set out targets of ensuring that by 2014, all households have access to the minimum standard for each basic service. The table below sets out the minimum standards for basic services for the year 2014 in order to meet basic needs and promote growth (see figure 2.3). At the current rate at which local government is operating and the challenges confronting it, it will be rather difficult to achieve the targets.

Figure 2.3: Service Delivery 2014 Target

Sector	Minimum Standard 2014 Target
Water	All households to have access to at least clean piped water 200m from household.
Sanitation	All households to have access to at least ventilated pit latrine on site.
Electricity	All households to be connected to national grid.
Refuse Removal	All households to have access to at least once-a-week refuse removal services
Housing	All existing informal settlements to be formalised with land-use plans for economic and social facilities and with provision of permanent basic services.
Other (education, health, roads, transport, sports and	Standards of access for all other social, government and economic services must be clearly defined,

recreation, street trading parks, community halls etc.)	planned, and where possible implemented by each sector working together with municipalities in the development and implementation of IDPs.

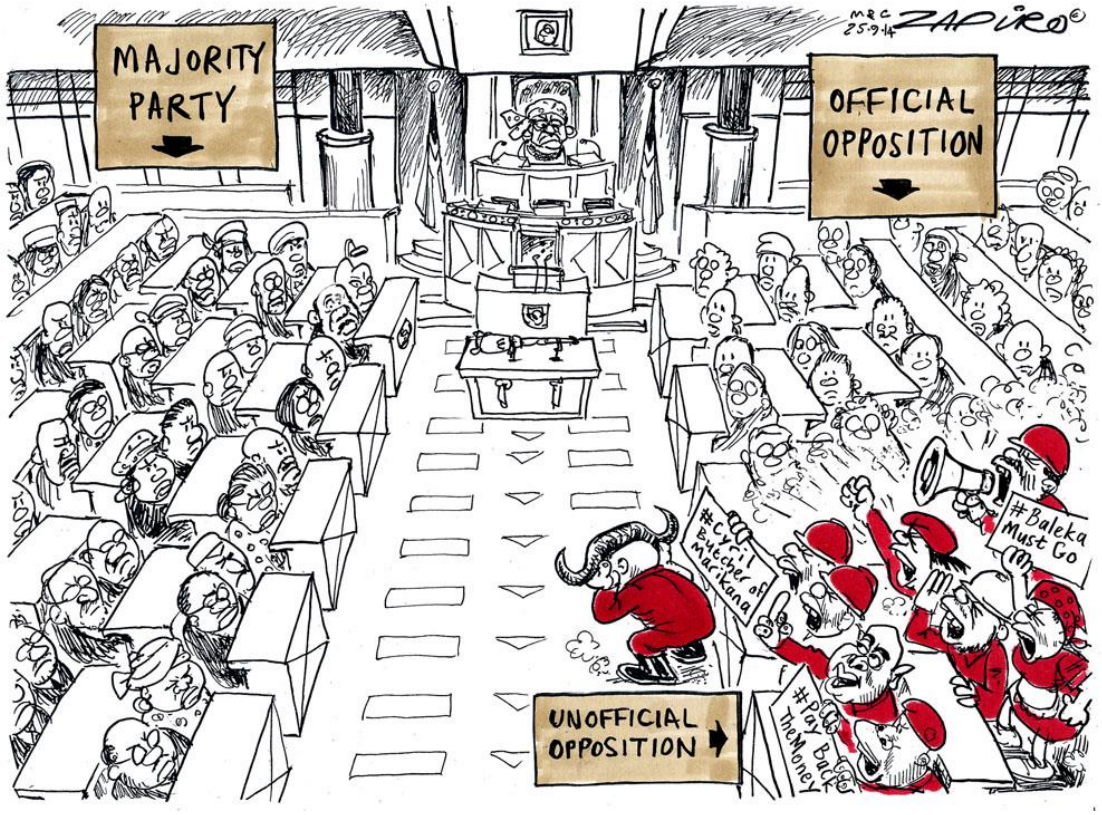
Source: Local Government Turnaround Strategy (2009: 6)

As the years progressed (2004-2014), the frequency, intensity and nature of service delivery related protests increased. Contemporary protests have been labelled as 'popcorn protests' because of their tendency to 'flare up and settle down immediately' (Bond & Mottiar 2013). Under the leadership of President Jacob Zuma, the protests occurred at a local level and protestors were now targeting municipalities. Unlike the crisis committees, contemporary protestors are comprised of workers, students as well as shack and township dwellers (Alexander 2010). Issues with housing, sanitation, infrastructure and electricity became the order of the day together with lack of response from local authorities. The reasons for the protests escalated to xenophobic attacks as protestors were now complaining about the foreigners taking the jobs and other business opportunities. Other commentators have noted how 'service delivery' is usually the umbrella term to label all public protests however, protestors are often 'attempting to exert their rights to participate and have their voices heard' (Pithouse 2011 cited in Bond & Mottiar, 2013: 290). This is evident in the new focus of targeting local government. This was due to the fact that the state had devolved its powers and people had a direct link to government now. Communities had lost trust in their municipalities and there was growing concern on the weak responsiveness and accountability in municipalities as well as the inability of municipalities to deliver basic services (COGTA, 2009). Local government was further perceived to be incompetent, disorganised and 'riddled with corruption and maladministration (Burger, 2009).

With local government devolving, protestors were now employing new tactics which included "mass meetings, drafting of memoranda, petitions, toyi-toying, processions, stay-aways, election boycotts, blockading of roads, construction of barricades, burning of tyres, looting, destruction of buildings, chasing unpopular individuals out of townships, confrontations with police and forced resignation of elected officials (Alexander 2010, 26). Not only were protestors targeting municipalities, they were also targeting individuals including the president, ward councillors and government officials.

In 2012, the painting by Brett Murray titled *'The Spear'* depicting President Jacob Zuma with his genitals exposed highlights the bold and fearless character in which individuals address the President. The notion of attacking an individual and the upheaval in the streets has begun to overspill into Parliament with the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), a revolutionary socialist political party, demanding the President to 'Pay Back the Money' in a parliamentary proceeding. The cartoon below by Zapiro, illustrates the insurgent behaviour of the EFF as well as their 'personal attacks' on the Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa and the Speaker of the National Assembly Baleka Mbete (see figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4: The Uprising in Parliament



Source: http://mg.co.za/cartoon/2014-09-26-the-eff-and-baleka-mbete/ accessed 27-02-2015.

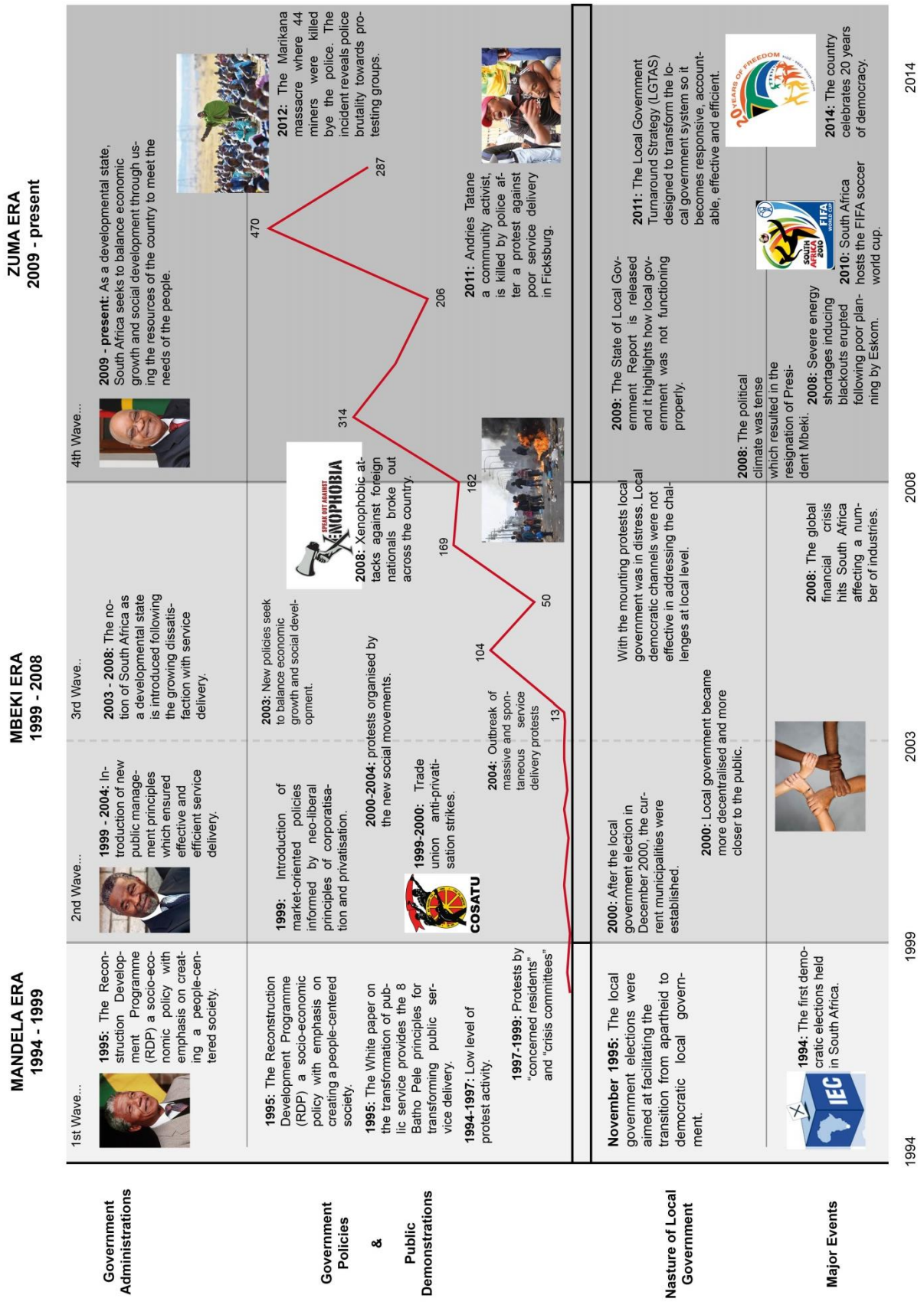
Local ward councillors have also become the new target as their homes have been torched down by anger protestors. Commenting on the difficulties faced by ward

councillors, two councillors from Diepsloot and the inner city of Johannesburg (respectively) noted how they have become targets of angry communities,

> *"Being a councillor is a very difficult position. The councillor is expected to be the jack of all trades! They expect you to have all the answers to everything. The only two people who are in trouble, in as far as governance is concerned, is the president and the councillor, No one else in between. The top one and the bottom one and those are the two people that always burnt when things are not running well… most of the complaints in the service-delivery protests, are directed to the councillor and the president. Not the mayor, premier or the ministers, but it is directed to the councillor and the president"* (PR Cllr Mulauzi 2014 and Cllr Tyobeka, 2014 cited in Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014).

The new space of contestation is not about ideological wars but now about more practical stuff. This can be described as a period of high pragmatism as communities were comparing the current situation in their location to what government promised to deliver in post honeymoon phase. From the discussion above, it is evident that the struggles with social issues began showing signs under Mandela's leadership but were not as dramatic or violent as in the second and third wave of democracy (Ballard, et al. 2006). Figure 2.5 below, illustrates the challenges of services across the three administrations. According to Ballard, et al. (2006: 2) "unlike in many other transitional societies where the political honeymoon tended to drag on for decades, new social struggles in South Africa emerged surprisingly quickly". Ten years into democracy, the public were mobilising in protests against the inadequate services they were receiving. Other the years the nature and reasons of the protests changed as communities began to identify deep rooted issues within the democratic system. No personal attacks were being made to the late Mandela as people perceived him as the messiah who came to liberate the nation from its oppressors. Without understanding some of the processes and complexities involved in service delivery, communities began expecting immediate results from the government. The rise in protests has been explained in three different perspectives namely the sociological, theoretical and rhetorical.

Figure 2.5: Service Delivery Challenges in South Africa



2.4. The Economic Geography Perspective: The Migration Challenge

According to the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) (2011: 1) "Service delivery protests cannot be attributable solely to the lack of delivery of basic services by municipalities, the developmental role of local government is complicated by migration flows across South Africa and the uncertainties associated with it". The continuous influx of people into cities makes it difficult to provide the adequate services in the location. Statistics show that for the period 2011-2016, Gauteng can expect an in-migration of an estimated 1 106 375 people (StatsSA, 2011). With the expected influx of people into the province, it will place an immense pressure on the current infrastructure. This makes it difficult to deliver services to the public because of the increasing demands making it difficult to close the backlog. In 2013, the housing backlog was sitting at 2.1 million housing units. This figure increased from the 1.5 million housing units in 1996 (Ndenze, 2013). Bongani Khumalo, head of the Finance and Fiscal Commission (FFC), suggests the country will need a miracle or R800 billion in order to address the housing backlog (ibid). When services are not or inadequately provided to the public, they resort to informality as a means to support and sustain their livelihoods in the city.

People resort to informality as their last resort for survival as well as based on the cost/benefits analysis of the individuals (Fransen & van Dijk, 2008). The sprawling informal settlements in the City of Johannesburg can be attributed to the unavailability of affordable accommodation for the low income groups. With the lack of affordable housing, people often resort to evading municipal or private land in order to build their shack (SALGA, 2011). This tends to create conflicts and frustrate amongst the poor communities, who have held on to the promise of a 'better life for all'. Not only do resort to alternative informal accommodation, they also use 'informal' means of communication such as public protests in order to express their grievances. From the various reasons provided as to why protests occur, the most common one is the frustration and dissatisfaction with the pace in which services are delivered. Year in and year out, the government states various objectives it seeks to achieve and outlines some of the promises it has for the public. When these promises do not materialise, people often harbour anger and frustration within them which manifests itself in the form of

public violence and protests. It can be rather difficult to provide services with the increasing people moving into the area.

In 2015, the City of Tshwane in Gauteng experienced a number of land invasion in the Nellmapuis area. Communities were illegally occupying the land and erected their own shacks there (Evans, 2015). The land invasions illustrate the growing demand for land and being closer to the opportunities the urban living has to offer. When there is limited land available to house the growing influx of people migrating into the cities, people often resort to forceful means to access the land. Therefore the above argument presented by SALGA is a plausible one however; it should not be used as an excuse for government's inability to deliver. Instead of sitting back and failing to respond to the challenges posed by migration, government officials can employ strategic approaches to planning. Strategic planning is more flexible and attempts to respond to the key issues in the given context. According to Balducci et al. (2011: 485) "the world in which strategic spatial planners attempt to plan is messy with potentialities, possibilities and uncertainties mostly beyond their control". In the increasingly complex contexts with dynamic migration patterns, planners need to be a step head in order to adequately deliver services to communities. Flexible planning can be problematic as it is rather reactive as it responds to the occurring trends instead of being proactive. With the increasing uncertainty in the world, it becomes difficult to develop concrete plans to address a particular issue.

2.5 The Sociological Perspective: The Political Culture of Protests

President Jacob Zuma, commenting on the police brutality during the protest, expressed how the protests are rooted in South Africa's 'culture and the legacy of apartheid violence' (Bruce, 2014). This indicates the emergence of a new generation of 'fighters'. According to Dwyer & Seddon (2002, cited in Banjo & Jili, 2013: 253) "the popular protest characteristic of the period from the mid-1970s to the late 1980s has not been extinguished, but rather it has continued throughout the 1990s". The current wave of public protests seems to echo similar characteristics, contentions and tactics of the struggle against apartheid (Pfaffe, 2011). They originate in the insurrectionary violence which emerged in the June 16 uprising in 1976. This violence spread across South

Africa's townships which saw communities mobilising to express their resistance. "The techniques of violent resistance to authority became widespread at that time were encouraged by the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies as part of the strategy of making the country 'ungovernable'" (Bruce, 2014). Historically, there were various mobilisations of people's power on the streets, which made townships more ungovernable due to the increasing riots and protests rebelling against the apartheid government (Jaffee, 1986).

Figure 2.6: The New Generation of 'Fighters'



Source: http://mg.co.za/tag/service-delivery-protest accessed 10-04-2014

In contemporary protests, the new generation of 'fighters' is often the poor, marginalised and disadvantaged communities who are not impressed with the way service delivery is done by government. According to Bruce (2014) "it is frequently marginalised groups in the local political elite who mobilise "subaltern" groups on the basis of popular grievances". These actors create new spaces of interaction between the state and civil society. This is what, planning scholar, Faranak Miratab refers to as invented spaces of citizenship. In this arena, people strategically mobilise themselves and operate successfully in political society. Chatterjee (2004) notes how certain claims

can only be made in contexts or political terrains where the rules may be bent and stretched and not on terrain of established laws and procedures. The avenues of engagement including imbizos (community gatherings), local councils, as well as the presidential hotline have often been extensively exhausted by the protestors, with no success. "Often when people start hitting the streets they should have a banner saying 'all protocol observed'" (Grant, 2014). Their pleas for adequate service delivery and accountability from the municipalities frequently fall into deaf ears and they end up receiving a raw deal. Thus as a last resort, communities take on the streets as a way to voice out their concerns and get necessary attention, from local government. However, deputy CEO of the South African Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR), Frans Cronje highlights how these arenas undermine democratic institutions and poses a threat to the rule of law (Cronje, 2009). This in turn threatens and contributes to the de-stability in the democratic order in South Africa (Devenish, 2011).

The argument of a new generation of fighters emerging is a credible one when considering the fact that throughout history the disadvantaged groups have utilised public protests as a means to express their concerns. The women's march against the pass laws in 1956 and the Soweto uprising in 1976 are some examples of the revolt against government during the apartheid era. In recent years, the battle is not against an oppressive system but rather about the rising social inequalities. Throughout the years protestors have had a new bone to pick with government. Due to the history of protest in this country it can be expected that communities will continue to stage public protests in the near future. Therefore instead of trying to suppress the protests, government officials can explore new means to try including them in the spaces of participation. The public protests can be problematic as communities disregard the state and the proper channels of engagement. They often demand for those in power to come down to their level on the ground.

2.6.1 Invented Spaces of Participation

Public places in the city are becoming spaces of expression and public demonstrations. Various reasons have been cited for the upsurge in public protests or demonstrations in South African cities. This action has been described as a new form of participation in the

democratic era. Public protests are now being viewed as new and more democratic ways of engaging with the state. There are various channels available in order to make claims and engage with the public. Such include the invited spaces (Cornwall, 2004) and the invented spaces of participation (Miraftab, 2004). Miraftab further describes the public demonstrations as the invented spaces of participation where citizens invent their own space of participation. It is seen as an effective way of making their claims or getting their voices heard and getting the necessary attention from government officials in any outcry about services.

In the invited spaces of participation, participants are invited by the municipality to participate in the decision making process, meetings and workshops etc. This process of participation is perceived to be as a way of getting information, understand what is happening in local government as well as build a sense of community (Cornwall, 2004). According to planning theorist, Forester (1982: 67) "despite the fact that planners have little influence upon the structure of ownership and power in this society, they can influence the conditions which make citizens able (or unable) to participate, act and organise effectively regarding issues affecting their collective lives". Citizens perceive the invited spaces, as talk shops which are sterile and sedative, where people attend the meetings but not much is done. Information is a source of power in the planning process. The person who has the information can influence the conditions which make citizens able (or unable) to participate, act and organise effectively regarding issues affecting their collective lives (Forester 1982).

Invented spaces of participation are a harsh display of power and more insurgent planning practice. These spaces are perceived to be a more authentic platform for citizens to manifest their power and voice their concerns (Miraftab, 2004). One's structural position will influence the type of response they display. Thus a community which is marginalised and oppressed is prone to react in more antagonistic way. With the increasing dissatisfaction with the rate of service delivery, more communities are utilising this platform to gain attention. Invented spaces of participation can often led to invited spaces or vice versa. It could be only after the community's voice has been heard through invented spaces, that they become more cooperative and able to participate effectively in invited spaces. In order to engage effectively with the public, the

government has to create effective channels of engagement/participation. However, the government has been encountering a number of challenges when it come delivering services or engaging effectively with its constituency.

However, in as much as the invented spaces of participation offer the citizen the opportunity to display their voice, it raises moral and ethical dilemmas on the extent that one goes beyond the invited spaces is subjective. Through the increase in invented spaces of participation, the image of the state and the post-apartheid era is being reinvented. This can be seen as a shift from polyarchy democracy to authoritarian or organic forms of democracy. With the reinvention of the democracy, there is a redefinition of urban citizenship in a more narrow way. The notion of citizenship is now recast, to place emphasis on inclusive participation as the very foundation of democratic practice and suggests a more active notion of citizenship. This recognises the agency of citizens as 'makers and shapers' rather than as 'users and choosers' of interventions or services designed by others (Gaventa, 2002).

The notion of active citizenship links up with Karl Marx's, a German economist, arguments on class struggles. Marx predicted that there will come a time when the proletariat groups in society (the working class) will lead a revolution to overthrow the bourgeoisie (owners of the means of production) and oppressive/exploitative capitalist system. In South Africa the protesting communities can be seen as the proletariat groups leading the revolutionary processes. Besides the service delivery related protests, there are a number of revolutionary practices, by the disadvantaged working class groups, emerging across the country. In October 2015, students across the country embarked on a nationwide 'Fees Must Fall' campaign, where they protested over university fee hikes and free quality education. The protests signify the shift in political power from the top to the bottom and assert the mass power of the groups in the bottom (Harber, 2015). The student protests is one of the many revolutionary practices which will emerge unless the state rethinks that which it has to prioritise.

2.7 Pragmatism: The Disjuncture between Plan and Theory

A central theme to understanding the challenges of service delivery is the philosophical concept of pragmatism. The concept was first introduced in 1878, by Charles Sander Pierce and was further developed by physician, William James. Pragmatism is a philosophical concept, centred on the linking of practice and theory (Blunden, 1998). Pragmatism seeks a practical approach as opposed to abstract ways of seeking solutions or planning development. The concept accepts a theory or principle on the basis of its capacity to deliver; its practicality and its historical credentials. Thus planning should be implemented in a manner whereby the implementation of a plan is a true reflection of what is said in the plan and seek to accommodate, as far as possible the needs of the people planning is done for. There should be an emphasis on establishing context based solutions which address the needs identified on the ground as opposed to having top-heavy solutions (Campbell & Marshall, 1998).

According to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR, 2014: 1) "the demonstrations are not simply a response to failed service delivery. Rather, they reflect two decades of misguided policy making, which is strangling the economy and holding back investment, growth, and jobs". Municipalities often encounter the challenges or failures when the policies and plans are translated from plans (theory) into practice. Local government is the sphere which is closest to the 'ground', where it is confronted with the cross-cutting issues and realities facing the city and its inhabitants. Such issues include, to mention a few, multiculturalism, governance, politics, urban livelihoods, the dynamics of housing and informal settlements, as well as community participation. These issues reflect the continuous conflict of rationalities evident at both the macro and micro - scales in the city. As noted by planning theorist Vanessa Watson "Current planning theories which attempt to respond to diversity, difference or multiculturalism are still unable to comprehend the very real clash of rationalities which so frequently occurs when plan or development project touches the lives and livelihoods of households and communities" (Watson, 2003: 396). Thus it is essential to understand the realities (conflicts), but to also establish adequate solutions to address the challenges. The 'one size fits all' approach does not consider some of the challenges encountered in various contexts (COGTA, 2009). When planning practices are unable to

address current issues and the conflicts in interests, there is a growing detachment of planning theories from the actual subject areas (Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000).

2.7.1 The Art of Persuasion

Linked to pragmatism is the issue of media. Within the media space government generates the rhetoric on service delivery. Through the State of the Nation Address (SONA), State of the Province Address (SOPA) and State of the City Address (SOCA), the government is able to express certain rhetoric which enflame the expectation of the people. The budget for the financial year is another thing that is presented to the public which describes the monies collected the previous year will be spent. When people interrogate what the government is saying in the SONA, SOPA, SOCA and budget speech they begin to compare it to what the government is doing in their communities. Quite often a gap can be identified in what is being said and what is delivered. When a gap is identified between what is said and what is done, it generates anger amongst the public resulting in protests. Communication and linguistic failure, seems to be another reasons at the heart of community protests (Harber, 2009). From the discussion provided above, it is evident that the phrase 'service delivery' is highly politicised and captures an issue at a particular time (ibid). Rhetorical theorists have analysed how words and phrases have been used to "manipulate and seduce others into behaving or thinking in some desired way" (McGee & Lyne cited in Throgmorton, 1991: 155). Through analysing the challenges of service delivery and the public protests, from a rhetorical viewpoint, one is able to unpack and understand the persuasive discourse, the quality of speaking and the interplay of media messages conveyed to the public concerning the delivery of public services (Nelson, Megill & McCloskey, 1987).

According to the former editor of the Mail & Guardian Anton Harber (2009),

> *"Service delivery is not a neutral phrase. It contains a host of assumptions, policies, attitudes and promises – which are starting to haunt a government which has built its promise entirely on the notion of improving service delivery. They did not promise better opportunities, better access or better support in getting services, as these did not making ringing election slogans. They promised delivery, simple and straightforward".*

From the dawn of democracy, the government has established a developmental objective of delivering services to the South African population (COGTA, 2011). This has been the case ever since, the late former President Nelson Mandela came into office in 1994, where the African National Congress (ANC) election manifesto made a number of promises to the public including houses, jobs and education (www.anc.org.za accessed 21-08-2014). People have held on to the claims and still hold government accountable for the things they had promised. Leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi stressed how "strong nations were not built on promises but on honest leadership. It was irresponsible to promise what could not be delivered, and then have to hide the failures under a thin veneer of sporadic success…promises raise expectations and when promises are broken, people protest" (www.parliament.gov.za accessed 23-06-2014).

Over the years, each administration has had a 'slogan' it has used to brand itself as well as capture the hearts and attention of the general public. This is a strategy to present a certain narrative and image to the public (Richards and Wilson, 2004). In the early years of democracy, the ANC's first election manifesto promised to providing 'a better life for all'. This was also evident in the 1999, the ANC also made bold claims, in its election manifest, of a successful delivery of services and infrastructure since 1994 (Khosa, 2000). The branding or slogan has been utilised as an incentive to mobilise citizens behind various government initiatives to reassert the county's past (Mlangeni, 2008). Promising a 'better life for all' and that the government will provide on this promise, has constructed an illusion in people's minds. All the rhetoric creates a culture of entitlement which is expressed in the form of demand. This has created issues in terms of service delivery as twenty years later, people have still held on to that promise and when government does not deliver on the promise, people become disgruntled as a result of service delivery expectations not being met. Communities have often expressed that they are protesting because during election season, the politicians and government made promises of certain services in exchange for public votes. This is what Gay (1998) would refer to as political clientalism, where communities and politicians, are able to make a direct exchange of public goods in exchange for political support. Communities take advantage of the exchange, when the promises are not met

and they take their frustrations to the street. This illustrates how service delivery has been socially constructed to carry a host of assumptions, policies, attitudes and promises (Harber, 2009). In the South African context, service delivery has been constructed in a way that entails the government plays the central role in providing services.

Another communication and linguistic failure is the notion of the state being the provider. The notion of a 'provider approach' has created problems in South Africa, in the sense that people have the entitlement and expectation mind-set, where they sit back and wait for the state to provide services. Those who want and need services, expect it to arrive any day now, like manna from heaven (Harber, 2009). "By using the word "delivery", we are telling people that they only need to act when there is a failure to deliver. The only form of action is protest, and the only way to be heard is probably to make that protest violent" (ibid). This attitude undermines and disempowers the individuals as they lack the confidence and will to show initiative and develop their own creative and innovative solutions. This notion has been problematic as the public have been reliant on the government to provide the necessary services to them. Communities often feel they are entitled to certain goods and services, when their demands are not met the public revolts in uprising. The certain goods and services were promised to the community which led to them feeling entitled to certain things. Access to the particular goods and services would symbolise their citizenship in the new democracy.

Often communities do not know or are not sure of what exactly they want since we are living in a diverse society where there are multiple and changing interests. Thus a roll-out approach to services will not be able to address some of the basic needs. According to Harber (2009) service delivery "implies that development comes from above without the involvement or contribution of citizens, that are recipients of development rather than participants that we can be passive and expect it to arrive and don't have to be active in pursuing or shaping it". This influences the type of citizens we are creating which are 'users and choosers' of interventions or services designed by others instead of being 'makers and shapers' (Gaventa, 2002). In order to develop plans which respond to the needs of the people, it is important that they (community) become actively involved in decision making processes which directly affect them. Different

stakeholders have to come into the picture participate in a collaborative manner. Allowing stakeholders to participate in a collaborative manner can be problematic as other stakeholders may perceive their permission to participate as a means to being entitled to certain things.

2.8 Conclusion

The discussion in the chapter, have presented some of the complexities involved with service delivery in South Africa. From the discussions provided above, it is evident that there are various challenges encountering service delivery in South Africa. As highlighted by Haber (2009) the notion of service delivery has to be carefully disaggregated in order to understand the dynamics and complexities involved in it. The notion of the state being the central provider of services to the greater public is a culture that has been imbedded in South Africans mind-set. Throughout the three administrations, it is evident that the state has solidified its role as being the main provider of services. The provider approach can be seen as a way of the state legitimising its own practices and that it is the entity that knows what should be done. Upholding that which is in the public interest which includes providing services is a way of legitimising planning as a state activity (Alexander, 2002). The centralised role of the state in service delivery can be seen as a way to centralise power and administration of the system. This is a role similar to that of the apartheid government. However, the real challenge is that the public, more especially the protesting communities are disregarding the states central role and are demanding the state comes down to their level on the ground. As highlighted by two councillors from Johannesburg, protesting communities target the person on top (ie. the president) and the one who links to the people on top (ie. the local councillor). The public protests are a reflection of deeper social dynamics and conflicts in society.

In as much as the state has perceived itself as the provider, there are a number of issues that have risen from this ideology. Firstly, the state is not well capacitated to deliver quality services to the public and there are still issues with translating the plans and policies into practices. In the dawn of democracy, it is apparent that the state inherited a number of developmental challenges from the previous government. Therefore were a

number of issues which required the attention from the government. Coupled with the mammoth challenges, there are still various internal dynamics that local government's face which hinder the success of any implementation plan. The identified issues of the lack of funding, local governments being ill-capacitated, the lack of political will and the expectation mind-set, are some of the many reasons leading to the inefficient delivery of services. Secondly, people have internalised the notion that the state is meant to deliver services to them. This has created a culture of entitlement amongst the public. Hemson & Owusu-Ampomah (2005) highlight how the promise to free education, houses, and other basic services, is a way to confirm ones citizenship in the new South Africa. With the increasing dissatisfaction and demands from the public as well as the growing number of challenges to address, it would be interesting to see which issues to prioritise first.

In as much as the facts and figures highlight the challenges encountered as well the need to change the adopted approach in delivering services, these facts do not necessarily speak for themselves as they are confronted by subconsciously and emotive informed and driven motivators. Having the state change its approach from being the provider to being the facilitator or supporter, can be rather difficult to achieve since the public, especially the previously disadvantaged, are still holding on to the promise of a better life for all. Recently the NDP 2030, advocated the notion of having enhanced capabilities and active citizenry. In this approach the state together with the citizens would be involved in developing the nation and improving the lives of the public. With the call for the public to be involved in the development process, various stakeholders have to manoeuvre through the diverse power relations and political dynamics in a given context. The look into a single case study of Midvaal Local Municipality will identify a detailed account of some of the challenges encountered in the attempt to improve the lives of the public and the approaches utilised to address the challenges.

Chapter 3:

Midvaal Local Municipality, The Political Battlefield

CHAPTER THREE: MIDVAAL, THE POLITICAL BATTLEFIELD

> *"Midvaal is the best municipality in Gauteng and has been governed by the DA since December 2000. This isn't me saying this but the ANC provincial government itself when it released the results of a report which ranked Midvaal as the best in Gauteng in terms of quality of life… The ANC knows it will never win at the ballot box as the DA is simply doing what it is supposed to do too well"* (de Freitas, 2013: added emphasis).

3.1 Introduction to the Chapter

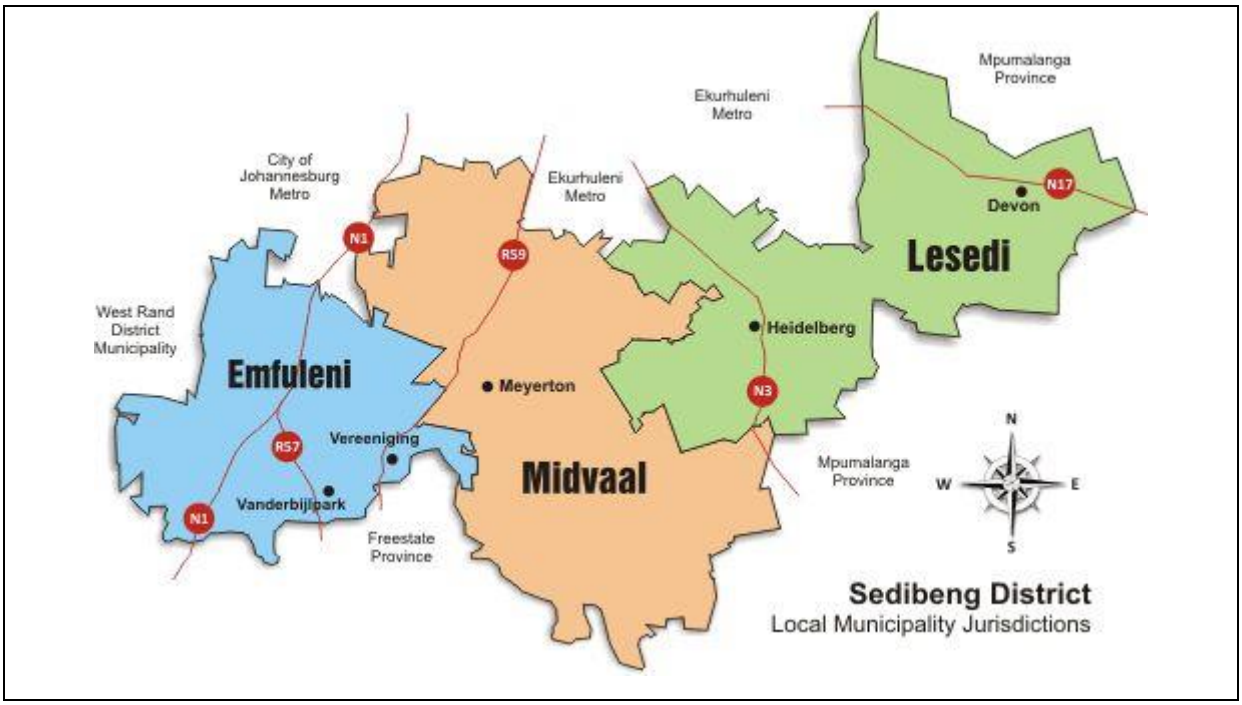
This chapter provides a contextual background into the chosen case study of Midvaal Local Municipality. It unpacks some of the history, dynamics and challenges that the municipality is confronted with. As the only municipality run by the Democratic Alliance (DA) in Gauteng province, Midvaal epitomises the political landscape in South Africa. The chapter discusses the distinguishing characteristics and status quo of the municipality as well as the political landscape in the area. The chapter further outlines the historical overview of the municipality and unpacks some of the dynamics and challenges the area encounters. The last section provides a background into the events that led to the community protests in Midvaal.

3.2 Midvaal and its Distinguishing Characteristics

Located in the southern parts of Gauteng, Midvaal Local Municipality (MLM) is known as the thorn inside of the ANC-led Gauteng province since the municipality is led by the main opposition, the DA. The presence of the two political parties creates awkward working relations as the two political parties lock horns. The Municipality is located in Sedibeng District Municipality and is sandwiched between Emfuleni and Lesedi Local Municipalities. The name Midvaal is derived from its geographical location which is halfway between Johannesburg/East Rand and the Vaal/Vereeniging area (IDP, 2013/2014). According to the Municipal Structure Act of 1998, the municipality (Midvaal) is a Category B2 municipality. Category B2 municipalities are local municipalities with large towns at their core and surrounded by agricultural areas (COGTA, 2011). The municipality may be described as being a pre-dominantly rural area with extensive farming constituting approximately 50% of the total area of jurisdiction (IDP, 2011/2012). The large core towns include Waterval, Randvaal and

Meyerton is situated in the north-eastern half of the municipal area. The challenge of with the municipality being comprised of 50% of agricultural is the limited access communities have to basic municipal services.

Figure 3.1: Location of Midvaal Local Municipality in Sedibeng District



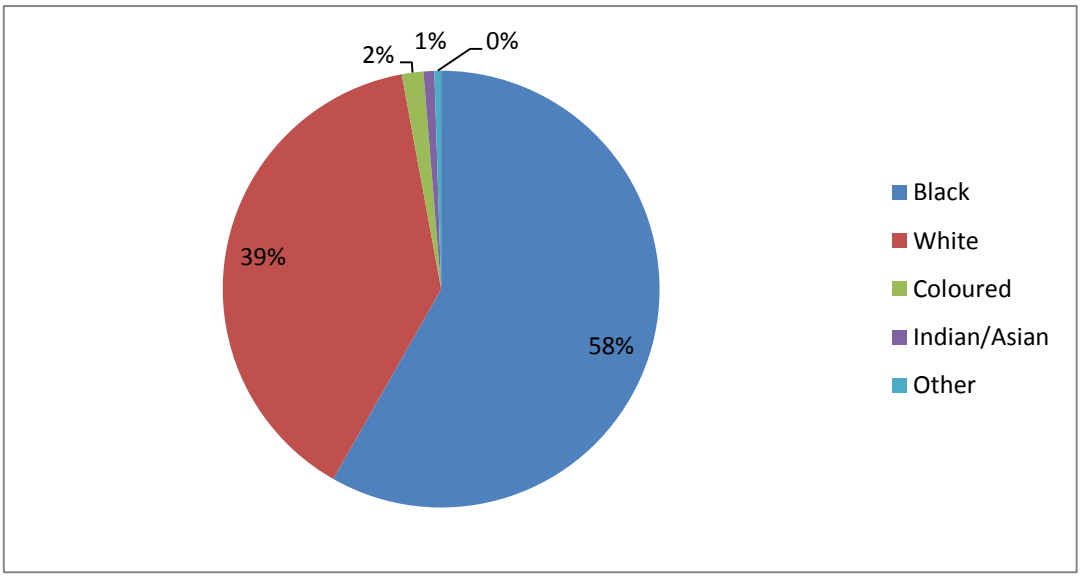
Source: http://led.co.za/municipality/sedibeng-district-municipality accessed 19-11-2014

There are large concentrations of development around the R59 freeway in the east and the R82 freeway in the west (IDP, 2011/2012: 32). Meyerton is the highest order town in the Midvaal area, with a relatively large business and residential component. The other towns mentioned are mainly service centres to the surrounding rural areas. (www.midvaal.gov.za accessed 09-11-2014). Some of the major developments in the municipality include the famous Oprah Winfrey Leadership Academy for Girls; the Sedibeng Breweries which houses the Heineken's headquarters; Ferrero Roche chocolate factory as well as the Golfing Estate development by the famous Australian professional golfer, Greg Norman (de Freitas, 2013). The new developments happening in the area can be seen as a way to attract more investment to the southern regions of Gauteng. With the mounting development and increasing investments in the area it can

be expected that more people will migrate into Midvaal since the developments act as a pull factor attracting more people and business into the area. With more people being attracted to the municipality the demands for services increases. This places more pressure on the municipality to meet their demands. The increasing new demands make it difficult to address the current demands for services (see chapter 2).

In 2011, the estimated population in Midvaal was 95 301 persons. The population has grown steadily from 52 679 people in 1996 to 95 301 people in 2011 (IDP 2013/2014). With the increase in population and in-migration of people into the area, the demand for services is expected to increase, placing pressure of the municipality to meet the growing demands. As indicated by the head of the Finance and Fiscal Commission (FFC) Bongani Khumalo, it becomes difficult to close the backlog when the demands are rising (see chapter 2). Midvaal is also an ethnically diverse municipality, with the Black African being the predominant population group comprising of 58% of the population and the White or European group make 29% of the population (see figure 3.1). About 73% of the population are economically active and 26.9% are not economically active (Stats SA, 2011). The low unemployment level can be a result of the education levels that the people have, where 32% of the population have completed their secondary schooling or have a higher education. This improves their chances of attaining employment (ibid). The presence of major developments improves people's access to employment opportunities.

Figure 3.2: The Racial Composition of the Population in Midvaal



3.2.1 The Political Landscape in Midvaal

Midvaal Local Municipality is characterised by rich political dynamics. It is a highly contested political battlefield between two political parties namely the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC) and the main opposition party in South Africa, the Democratic Alliance (DA). The two parties have differing ideologies governing their course action. The DA ideology can be described as centre-right politics, also known as moderate-right politics. As moderate-right wing, the DA abides to more conservative principles which believe in equity and a society where everyone should be actively involved in looking out for themselves (Cronje, 2008). The ANC is more at the centre-left, and adheres to principles of social justice and liberation. With the two similar yet opposing views, it can make the working relations of the political parties rather difficult as they have different visions of how society should be.

From its early days in the 2000s, Midvaal Local Municipality has had to deal with an ambiguous relationship with the ANC-led provincial and district government. This ambiguous relationship is particularly evident in the housing departments, where housing is a function that has been vested on the provincial department, led by the ANC government. Commentators highlight how housing developments have been delayed by the relations between the two political parties (Hlubi, 2013). The municipality is a

theatre of political rife evident in some of the municipalities in the country. For years, the municipality has been considered as the jewel in the DA's sparse non-Western Cape crown as it is the only municipality the DA controls outside of the Western Cape (Grootes, 2013). This is a strong hold the DA has had since the year 2000. In the 2011, local government elections, the DA won 15 seats in council and were tightly contested by the ANC which won 11 seats (City Press, accessed 21-05-2011). The DA run Midvaal, consistently wins awards and commendations for being the best run council in Gauteng (Grootes, 2013). The political diversity in the council in Midvaal resembles the multiparty political system in South Africa where each party brings its own visions of how society should be. Conflicts may arise as all the parties have different ways of doing things.

In recent years (2012 - 2013) Midvaal has been in the news concerning a proposed merger, by the Municipal Demarcation Board, of Midvaal Local Municipality and Emfuleni local municipality. According to Magubane (2013) the merger will "move Midvaal — the DA's only municipality in the province — onto a new political battlefield as it merges with the ANC-run Emfuleni". This move has been heavily criticised by the DA as a being politically motivated in the attempt to steal that which the ANC cannot win by votes (Grootes, 2013). The changing of municipal borders would mean the Democratic Alliance would no longer run a town in Gauteng (City Press, accessed 31-05-2012). This will decrease the DA's power and strong hold in Gauteng.

The presence of the ruling and opposition party in one municipality leads to conflicts between the officials since they have different approaches to service delivery. As a result there is a decrease in the standards of service delivery. Midvaal municipality has a fairly good record in service delivery with over 60% of the residents being satisfied with the services delivered (Mazibuko, 2012). In contrast, residents from Emfuleni Local Municipality (ELM) have been complaining about the little improvement in the delivery of basic services such as running water, electricity and toilets. Emfuleni municipality has not adequately addressed this issue as it has been rather reactive in its approach to service delivery (ELM, 2010). Merging the two municipalities with create difference in the access to services in the merged municipality. A decrease in services may spark some dissatisfaction from residents about the rate of delivery. As mentioned

above, such dissatisfaction encourages communities take to the streets as a platform to express their concerns.

3.3 The Midvaal Story: The Theatre of Struggle

The municipality was not always thriving and sprouting with development. Midvaal Local Municipality was formed from humble beginnings in the year 2000 following the split of Meyerton from Vereeniging. Meyerton was combined with five other rural local authorities/councils in order to form the present day Midvaal (Mazibuko, 2012). The split from Vereeniging came in the year 2000 after the restructuring of municipal boundaries and the introduction of the 'wall-to-wall' municipal system in South Africa. The restructuring saw the creation of the eight Metropolitan Municipalities, and 53 district municipalities which share power with 226 Local Municipalities (Meyer, 2014). The formation came at a time when Thabo Mbeki was serving in his first term in the Presidency. The state was devolving its powers and local government was establishing a close relation with the communities at ground level (see chapter 2). The newly formed local government area was under-resourced and disadvantaged. The local councils were under resourced as the services had to be delivered to an estimated population of 83 000 people using outside contractors. Other assets for the daily functioning of the municipality including such as computers, desks, chairs and light bulbs had to be sourced from the neighbouring Vereeniging. Financially, the new municipality was strained as it had a mere R50 in its local authority's account which was from the municipal managers own pocket (Mazibuko, 2012). Former Executive mayor Tim Nast recalls how back in 2000,

> *"Very few people were interested in living in Midvaal, infrastructure was badly neglected and there was no investor confidence. People would que outside municipal buildings in order to hand back vacant stands because land values were low that is was not worth paying monthly rates and taxes"* (Nast, 2012: 2).

From its humble beginnings, Midvaal had to balance its limited resources properly in order to successfully meet the social needs of the public as well as improve infrastructure. The municipality adopted an approach where pro-poor and pro-growth agendas were implemented in the municipality ensure that its growth is parallel to

delivering services. The balancing approach is also evident in the municipality's vision statement where Midvaal aims to be "*renowned for robust economic growth and a high quality of life for all*" (IDP 2013/2014). The progress the municipality has achieved since 2000 is testimony that the efforts made into ensuring that the municipality delivers on its mandate to the public (www.da.org.za accessed 09-11-2014).

Despite its humble beginnings, in 2009 Midvaal was bundled up in allegations of corruption and maladministration. In early 2009 a businessman in Midvaal, Mr Pypers together with Mr Hoffman, a former Councillor for the DA and Member of the Mayoral Committee in finance (MMC) lodged a complaint to the Public Protector, Advocate Thuli Madonsela, concerning a number of irregularities in the municipality (PPSA, 2011). The complaints were around the appointment for Odendaal and Summerton Inc. (OSI) as the sole legal services provider in the municipality. The appointment was allegedly not in accordance with the Municipal Systems Act 2000 (MSA) and the Municipal Finance Management Act 2003 (MFMA) which aims to ensure municipalities to be transparent in their financial affairs (mfma.treasury.gov.za accessed 14-10-2014). Other complaints included the inappropriate use of municipal equipment for the private use of the former Mayor; as well the irregularities in the payment of bonuses of certain municipal employees (PPSA, 2011). With Midvaal experiencing a number of developments in the area, there were complaints of corruption and fraud in the municipality's role on the development of the Uitvlugt Country Estate (ibid).

Opposition parties were furious about the allegations and reiterated how the allegations had been continually brought into the attention of the municipality, however they fell into deaf ears (Mulder, 2011). Freedom Front Plus (FF+) MPL and leader in Gauteng, Jaco Mulder lamented that Midvaal was probably the most corrupt municipality in South Africa (ibid). The Public Protector's investigation into the municipality revealed that there was no corruption in the municipality but found evidence of maladministration and irregularities in the appointment of Odendaal's as the sole attorney in the Municipality (van Onselen 2012; Sosibo 2011). The Public Protector's report titled, '*It Can't Be Right: Remedying Self-interest in Midvaal*' found that there were irregularities in the appointment of Odendaal as the municipal attorney; municipal resources were utilised for private purpose and there was no evidence found on the

irregular payment of bonuses (PPSA, 2011). The Public Protector made no investigations into the fraud and corruption allegations as they fell outside her office's jurisdiction. In May 2011 President Jacob Zuma signed a proclamation authorising the Special Investigating Unit (SIU) to investigate the fraud and corruption allegations in Midvaal municipality. To date no conclusions have been established in the SIU investigations as they are still in progress (Sosibo, 2011).

Following the allegations on corruption and maladministration, in 2010 Midvaal climbed up the ladder to be ranked as the top municipality in the province and was also ranked among the top 10 municipalities in the country with a good service delivery record (Mazibuko, 2012). Under the leadership of the DA, Midvaal has received eleven unqualified audits from the Auditor-General (www.midvaal.gov.za accessed 09-11-2014). According to the South African Institute of Chartered Accountants (SAICA) an unqualified audit indicates clean and efficient financial management in the municipality (www.saica.co.za accessed 27-11-2014). The unqualified audit is from a municipality that once started off with an operational budget of R125m in 2001/02 with not budget available for capital expenditure. In the 2012/13 financial year, the municipality had an operational budget of R680m and R120m for capital expenditure. Today the municipality is also dependent on its own sources of funding which makes up 90% of its income.

3.4 The Dynamics of Service Delivery in Midvaal

Midvaal is one of the fastest-growing municipalities in Gauteng (de Freitas, 2013). The municipality's ability to attract private investors into the area is a testament to it being one of the fastest growing municipalities. Midvaal together with Emfuleni Municipality constitute the major centre of economic activity in the southern parts of Gauteng Province (MLM SDF, 2013/2014). The presence of large companies such as the distributors of Heineken, Ferrero Roche chocolate factory, Sedibeng Breweries, the Eye of Africa Golfing Estate development and the Oprah Winfrey School has been beneficial to the different communities in the municipality. In 2010 the unemployment rate was at a staggering 26%, which is far below the unemployment rate in other ANC run municipalities (Nast & Wenger, 2010). The services and manufacturing sectors provide

a majority of the employment in the municipality. These sectors contribute 60.4% and 25.1%, respectively, to the municipality's GDP (www.midvaal.gov.za accessed 09-11-2014). Thus the presence of the large developments with major economic activity has had a 'trickle-down' effect which has resulted in employment opportunities for the local residents as well as small businesses.

Nast & Wenger (2010) argue that Midvaal's service delivery record mirrors the performance of the DA elsewhere, such as in the Western Cape. In 2014 the City of Cape Town, which is also DA run, came out on top in a "national survey of the eight largest metros, with more than 70 percent of those surveyed saying they are satisfied with their municipal services" (Lewis, 2014). Over the past 10 years, Midvaal has had an impressive service delivery record. The municipality's listing in the 2011 Municipal IQ's top 10 municipalities in South Africa and the satisfaction from the residents, are testament to the work the municipality has done (Mazibuko, 2012). The Quality of Life Survey for the Gauteng City-Region was released in 2011 and sought to establish the level of residents' satisfaction with as well as their access to services. Other issues that were covered in the survey included the economy, migration, mobility, transport, employment, education, values and attitudes, green behaviour and sustainability (GCRO, 2012). The results of a Quality of life study also revealed that over 60% of the residents in Midvaal are satisfied with their local government. The performance of the DA run municipalities as well as the response from the public, illustrates the DA's competency in ensuring that services are delivered to the public. Midvaal's impressive service delivery record is illustrated in figure 3.4 where over 70% of the population have access to formal housing, hygienic toilets, pipes water and electricity connections.

Figure 3.3: Percentage of Service Delivery

Percentage of Service Delivery	
% of households with formal housing	76.4
% of households with hygienic toilets	84.1
% of households with piped water at or above RDP level	75.8
% of households with electricity connections	79.3
% of households with formal refuse removal	83.1
Number of households in informal settlements	3 766
Unemployment rate (broad definition %)	18.8
Unemployment rate (narrow definition %)	9
% of people employed in the formal sector	73.2
% of people employed in the informal sector	10.11
% of people employed in private households	16.68

Source: IDP 2013/2014

3.4.1 Access to Basic Services

Since the municipality comes from humble beginnings where the municipality was notably poor, extensive resources had to be invested to upgrade the neglected infrastructure. With the large agricultural area and developments taking place in the municipality, there is a greater demand for water supply for the domestic, agricultural and industrial sectors. Most farms do not make use of municipal water thus the agricultural sector has a low demand. In the 2010/11 and 2011/12 period, the industrial and domestic sectors had the highest demand for water at 4 000 000 cubic meters (Annual Report 2011/2012). The top three industrial consumers of water contribute to the local economy of the area. The top three consumers include Samancor, Sedibeng Breweries and African Products (ibid). With the municipality attracting more developments, in future the industrial and domestic sectors will have a greater demand for water. Throughout the years the municipality has made impressive progress in reducing the water supply backlog in the municipality. In 2001, the backlog was at 14% and in 2010 water was supplied to parts of the municipality leaving it with a zero backlog (Mazibuko, 2012).

The current sanitation infrastructure has insufficient capacity to provide services to the whole municipality. The new residential developments also seem to place more pressure/demand on the existing infrastructure. The issue with insufficient capacity dates to the early days of Midvaal when the municipality had a backlog of 29% in 2001 (Mazibuko, 2012). In the 2011/12 period, approximately 74% of the population had access to sanitation. It is mostly the rural areas, areas outside the urban edge as well as informal settlements that have inadequate access to the sanitation facilities (Annual Report 2011/2). However there are some improvements being done in providing sanitation in the informal areas through the upgrading of informal settlements such as Sicelo and Mamello informal settlements. In 2011, the former Gauteng MEC for local government and housing, Humphrey Mmemezi handed 1 000 toilets to the community of Sicelo Shiceka after visiting the area and realising that people make use of nearby bushes as well as open pit toilets (www.iol.co.za accessed 12-05-2011). In areas where there are no sewerage networks, people make use of pit-latrines or septic tanks, and French drains. Farmers usually assist the farm workers residing on farm areas with the alternative sewerage networks (MLM SDF, 2013/2014).

In terms of housing, Midvaal is comprised predominantly with formal houses. Some of the formal houses are part of the new residential developments occurring in the municipality. Among the residential developments, there are gated communities which provide controlled access and high security. The development of gated communities has many implications for the municipality as they lead to spatial segregation as well as the social exclusion of certain people who cannot afford to live there (Landman, 2004). These populations are pushed out of the private spaces and find alternative accommodation in places like informal settlements.

The municipality inherited no formal apartheid townships but has 16 informal settlements with an estimated 4 436 informal dwelling (Stats SA, 2011). The largest of the informal settlements is Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement which has over 2 000 households with approximately 12-13 000 people (Mazibuko, 2012). Other informal settlements are located on private land as well as government own land (ibid). Some of the informal dwellings are located in agricultural land and are referred to as ‘shack farming’. Shack farming occurs when farmers rent out a portion of their land to the farm

workers who establish their own informal settlements there (MLM SDF, 2013/2014). These settlements do not have secure tenure and residents have the inadequate access to services. In total, there are seven settlements located on farming land (ibid).

Despite the municipality boosting about the impressive service delivery, there are a number of challenges encountered. Delivering basic services to the informal settlements in the privately own farm land, is a challenge to the municipality. An example is Piel's Farm Settlement, which was owned by a Portuguese farmer and most of the farm workers were from Mozambique. When farming ceased in the area, the farm was abandoned and the farm workers continue to live on the farm settlement with inadequate service provision. Even though there housing upgrades being conducted by the Department of Housing in some of the informal settlements, it is different to upgrade places such as Piel's farm settlement as the Mozambican descendants do not qualify for the development grants (Mazibuko, 2012).

3.5 Mounting Tensions in Midvaal

Despite the municipality having an impressive service delivery record, there have a few service delivery related protests occurring in the disadvantaged areas. In Midvaal there were no protests recorded around the time of the municipality's formation since it was still early days and the municipality had not yet established a service delivery record. Nevertheless, trouble was beginning to brew in the municipality, which would cause disruption in the years to come. The trouble was brewing at a time when public protests were gaining momentum in the South African landscape. Despite the entire accolades awarded to the municipality, cracks were beginning to appear in the municipality. Issues of maladministration, racism, political bickering, and service delivery struggles became the order of the day. In a report titled, '*It Can't Be Right: Remedying Self-interest in Midvaal*' the Public Protector Thuli Madonsela revealed how there were some maladministration and irregularities in the municipalities dealings (PPSA, 2011). With such findings by the Public Protector, critics felt they were being fed lies about the accolades of the municipality. Maseko for example questions

> *"The lies being fed to the public about this particular municipality as the best place make the Midvaal municipality unique indeed. It makes the DA authorities and*

> *structures running this municipality so crafty as to have duped the country's courts, institutions for human rights, the law society, among others - or was it a question of turning a blind eye? - to believing that all's well and rosy in Midvaal"* (Maseko, 2011).

With new developments and more investors coming into the area, the spatial disparities became more evident to the impoverished public in Midvaal. Poor communities living in informal settlements noticed how the grass seemed to be greener in the neighbouring locations. In a protest march to the Municipal offices in Meyerton, protestors lashed out at the municipality for developing the 'white areas' and not the surrounding black areas. Another resident slammed the municipality for conducting itself like an old apartheid state (Stuijt, 2010). To add more fuel to the communities accusations, Gauteng MEC for Local Government Humphrey Mmemezi, accused the DA-led municipality of practicing apartheid by not providing basic services to the poor and disadvantaged communities in the area. He further suggested that the presence of the statue of Hendrik Verwoerd in the municipality was a testament of their racism (Hlubi, 2011). Mr Mmemezi was commenting about the statue of apartheid architect Hendrik Verwoerd that used to stand outside the municipal offices in Meyerton. However the statue made a quick disappearance overnight, a few days before of the 2011 Municipal elections. Former ANC spokesperson, Jackson Mthembu, released a comment lambasting the DA council for their reluctance to remove the Verwoerd's statue. Mthembu lamented how

> "*To the majority of South Africans, except in the eyes of the DA, Verwoerd remains a symbol, embodiment and apartheid architect of all ills of the country's terrible past and his statue should be confined to a museum… (This) is yet another confirmation that the DA shares apartheid sentiments and philosophies, which for years racially polarised the South African society*" (O'toole 2011; www.iol.co.za 05-05-2011).

The reluctance to remove the statue was sparked by comments from the white residents who did not want the statue to be removed. Former Midvaal mayor Timothy Nast believed people will be very angry if he removed the statue from municipal premises. One resident who shared the same sentiments felt,

> *"The statue is part of our history. We cannot remove it just like that. The community has to be informed of the decision and be given an opportunity to either object or agree"* (Mkhulisi & Moeng, 2011).

Other commentators added,

> *"…Dr Verwoerd was born in Heidelberg and had a historical connection with Meyerton (town in the Midvaal municipality) and this step by the DA shows disrespect for a piece of the town's heritage*" (iol, 2011).

The presence of Verwoerd's statue in Midvaal had a number of connotations attached to it which included accusations of the municipality being racist in its endeavours as well as claims of the municipality perpetuating the apartheid style planning. Its presence in the municipal premises was a symbolic representation of the segregation period in South Africa and kept the memory of Verwoerd and that which he stood for alive in people's memory (Swart, 2008). Therefore the call to have the statue of Verwoerd removed, is an attempt to erase that memory and create new identities. Similar to the recent 'Rhodes Must Fall' campaign in Rhodes University and the University of Cape Town and the political rebranding of streets in Pretoria, the presences of the colonial symbols epitomises the institutionalization of racism in the country. The racial accusations can be perceived as the perfect ploy for the ANC to use in its elections campaign to discredit the DA-led municipality. During the 2011 elections, both political parties were in lock horns in the attempt to gain political power in the Midvaal. In a door-to-door campaign around the municipality, the ANC spoke to communities gathering their grievances and attempting to secure votes. Their campaign continued to slam the DA's performance in the municipality. Pamphlets handed out to during the campaign, pronounced how the ANC has exposed the corrupt practices and how they know the community has lost trust in the municipality (Sapa, 2013). The ANC's strategy did little to address issues of service delivery in the area.

3.5.1 Brick vs Ballot: Community's Frustrations on Service Delivery

However behind all the political squabbles the community of Sicelo and other areas in the municipality were bearing the burden of inadequate service provision. Patiently awaiting to cast their vote, one resident from Sicelo lamented how:

> *"The DA politicians never came here to talk to us about our living conditions until recently. They know very well what our issues are around here, but, instead of fixing things so that we can live like decent human beings, they put up a makeshift park next to a dumping site"* (Ncana, 2011).

Amidst the election season, it was evident that the communities in Midvaal felt that their struggles were being ignored by local officials as they were more concerned with party politics rather than the plight of the community. The process of service delivery was slowed done by the political differences in the municipality. David Makhura, who was provincial secretary of the ANC at the time, suggested how efforts to attract development into the area were futile as:

> *"The DA has been trying to delay development in the area… Our provincial government has been stopped from developing"* (Sapa 2013; added emphasis).

The MEC Humphrey Mmemezi shared the same sentiments with Makhura and added:

> *"The DA is deliberately blocking our attempts to develop the area…We gave this municipality [the] opportunity to approve the housing plans we submitted, but they are forever delaying the process"* (Hlubi 2011; added emphasis).

The side-lining of community grievances and the delays in housing developments is at the detriment of the municipality as the community became frustrated and took their rage to the streets. Protests have become a common site in Midvaal and seem to intensify each time in separate incidents. In 2009, small business owners and residents from Sicelo informal settlement barricaded the streets of Meyerton in protests for small businesses to be included in the municipal development plans/projects (Seleka, 2009).

> *"Midvaal is not the property of the DA and their white minority…We all belong to the municipality – both black and white. The voices of small business people and*

residents must be heard. Designated vendor sites should be allocated to small businesses as well as public toilets should also be erected in Meyerton for shoppers and traders" (ibid, added emphasis).

A walk about through the Meyerton CBD and questions to some shop owners/assistants revealed that very little had been done to change the situation. One respondent revealed how there are no lavatory facilities working in the Meyerton CBD and they had to make use of the facilities in a nearby KFC franchise.

A year after the small business owners protested another violent protest broke out, when indigent households went on a rampage after the municipality confiscated their household belongings. Other households were evicted from their property and their homes were demolished. The seizure of the household's goods was motivated by the failure of some households to pay their rates and taxes. Jeff Rademeyer, the spokesperson for the ANC task team commented,

"You must understand that this is a conspiracy between the municipality, a private law firm run by André Odendaal, law enforcement agencies and the courts. We have a case where a double-storey property was sold for R100. The municipality said the person owed rates and taxes, but did they recover the debt by selling the property for R100?" (The Sowetan, 4-05-2011).

Another resident who stood in solidarity with the poor households reasoned that,

"*Besides being indigents, there was no notice or a chance given to them to arrange for payment terms. This was unfair, but the council did not see it in that way and residents decided to protest to prevent more furniture being confiscated… A list was given to the sheriff in which there was no indication as to who were indigents. This protest would not have happened had they not attached the possessions of indigents*" (Tau, 2010).

The year 2012 seemed to be a busy year as the municipality experienced a number of protests. This is a year when the number of protests increased nationally. In 2012, the Municipal IQ recorded an astounding 173 protests nationally. This is an increase from

the 82 protests recorded in 2011. In June 2012, municipal workers from Midvaal began a protest following a racial comment by one of the municipal officials from the ruling party in the municipality (Sapa, 2012). The protest situation became worse as protestors were burning tyres and destroying goods in their path. With a few support from civil rights movements, the protest did not get that much attention. In another intense protest march the community was able to harness in more support from civil rights movements such as SANCO, COSATU, the ANC and the SACP. In preparation for the protest march, the SACP was able to conduct door-to door campaigns in order to establish the community's grievances. However in a surprising turn of events, the SACP was refused permission to hold their protest march. (see Appendix B). In a press statement released before the protest march,

> "*After several months of DA`s dirty tricks and desperate manoeuvres to deny the SACP and members of the Midvaal community their democratic and constitutional right to march, SACP is deeply pleased that finally the DA gave in and the march is now firmly on track*" (Mamabolo 2012, see Appendix B).

Following much persistence, the protestors were granted permission to hold their march. From the above discussions on the timeline of events leading to some of the public protests it is evident that protests in Midvaal were triggered by a string of events. The national department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) has suggested that a number of the protests were sparked by "petty political squabbles" at branch level (City Press, 15-06-2012). In Midvaal petty politics and bickering comes in to play and even interferes with the process of service delivery. Discussions from the fieldwork yielded more in-depth responses on the challenges of service delivery in Sicelo and Midvaal municipality.

3.6 Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, Midvaal is a very dynamic landscape that displays an interesting yet complex characteristic. The growth and development the municipality has been experiencing, reaffirms that service delivery has a wider meaning associated with it which often includes development poverty and promoting economic growth (Mc Lennon 2009). The ability of the municipality to attract investors into the area has had

positive spin-offs for the area. The development of Savanna City is one of the large developments that seek to include citizens from a range of economic backgrounds. The service delivery record in the municipality as well as the percentage of people who have access to services indicates the municipality's commitment to ensuring that services are delivered in an efficient and effective manner to all citizens in the municipality. The increase in development can be expected to attract more people into the municipality. With this more pressure will be placed on the municipality to deliver on public goods to the community. As noted in chapter two, the increasing in demand for services The Municipality's emphasis on the economic and social agendas in developing the municipality illustrates how service delivery is socially constructed and perceived in the municipality (see chapter 2). In the 2013/2014 IDP, the municipality aimed to achieve a "*renowned robust economic growth and a high quality of life for all*" (IDP 2013/2014). In the municipality service delivery has been constructed to ensure that economic growth is achieved together with ensuring that the quality of life for all residents is improved.

The complex relations between the DA led Midvaal municipality and the ANC led provincial government reinforces Mc Lennan's argument that service delivery is a politicised practice, more especially in Midvaal (see chapter 2). Many of the comments about service delivery in the municipality have been directed to the DA as the ruling political party rather than the work they are doing in the municipality. The plight of the poor and disadvantaged has been used as a means to undermine the opposite political party. The delivery of basic services is at the heart of a number of election campaigns where government provides services, not because they are obliged to do so but rather as a way to secure votes from the public. This is similar to the arguments presented in chapter two, on how the state and often political parties make use of emotive words to grab the attention and votes of the public. Political analysts Gareth van Onselen (2012), argues that the ANC is using the state to target its political opponent as they believe that Midvaal should be governed by the ANC. He further reiterates that the appointment of the SIU to investigate the corruption allegations in the municipality is a political attempt to discredit the DA run Midvaal. However, Jaco Mulder (cited in van Onselen 2012) strongly interjects that the SIU investigations are not based on a political vendetta on the DA. The investigations to Midvaal are not because the municipality is a political target for the ANC, rather they are based on ensuring the principles of good governance

are upheld. Any government, be it in power or the opposition is subject to ensuring that its public affairs are handled in a transparent and accountable manner. Thus any whistle blowing on irregularities in municipalities should not be perceived as one party having a vendetta on the other.

Chapter 4:

‘Silahliwe’: The Struggle for Housing in Sicelo Shiceka Informal Settlement

CHAPTER FOUR: 'SILAHLIWE': THE STRUGGLE FOR HOUSING IN SICELO SHICEKA INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

Figure 4.1: The Dynamics of Housing



Source: http://africartoons.com/cartoon/3839?filter=1366 accessed 03-12-2014

4.1 Introduction to the Chapter

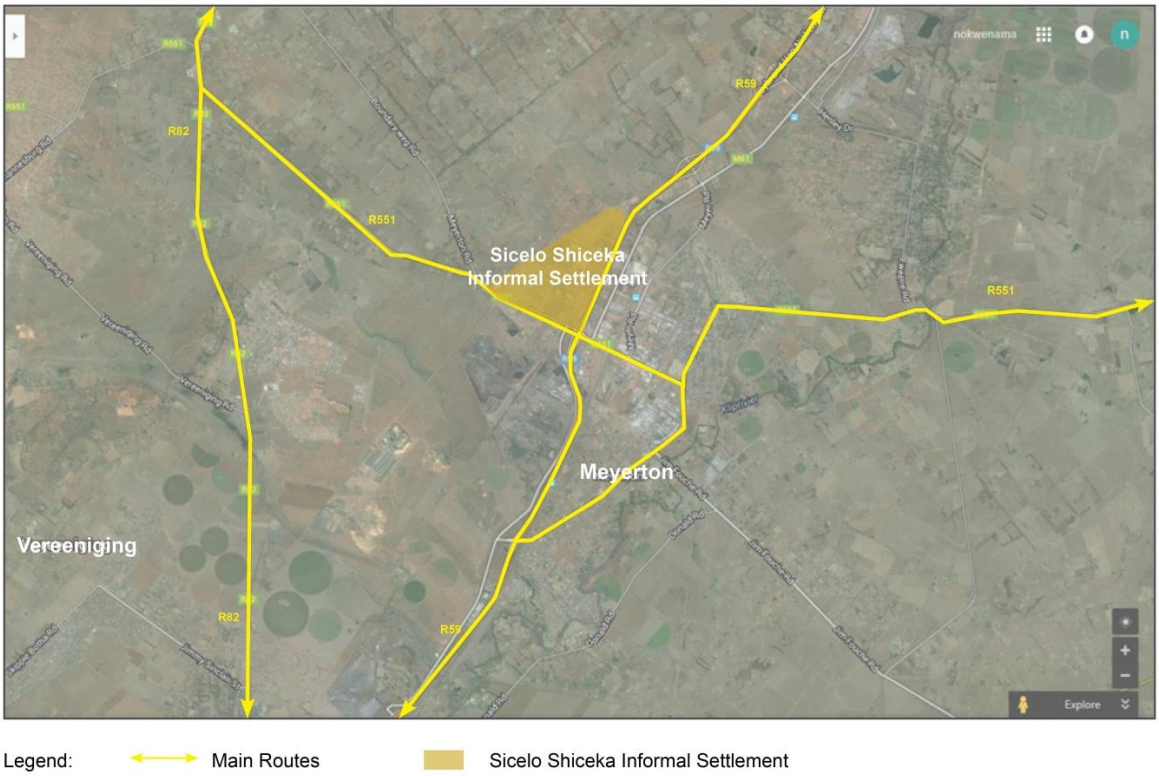
The cartoon by Mark Wiggett appeared in *The Herald* newspaper after the 2011 local government elections and highlights how a number of political parties are making various promises to the local communities during the election season however, there is little evidence to show the politicians have kept their promises or addressed the public's concerns. Communities then establish alternative means to support and sustain themselves. Henceforth, Sicelo Informal Settlement in Midvaal is a case in point where the community was faced with a housing challenge, within the context of service delivery. This chapter provides an introduction into the housing challenges that were experienced in Midvaal Municipality. The case of Sicelo Informal Settlement in Midvaal Municipality presents a microcosm for the understanding of the challenges that municipalities encountered when delivering services to the community. This chapter does this by providing a profile of the Sicelo Settlement, where the socio-economic and

socio-political context will be discussed. The chapter will then discuss the challenges that the municipality and provincial housing department encounter when it comes to delivering houses in the area. With Midvaal being a political volatile environment, there are some set-backs and or advantages that it provides for the community in terms of housing delivery. The chapter will further discuss some of the different means that the community has utilised in order to voice their concerns to the relevant authorities. In essence, this chapter forms the crux in responding to the research question as well as paving the way to understanding and situating the findings gathered in the fieldwork.

4.2 A Walk down Sicelo Shiceka Settlement: its History, Dynamics and Challenges

Sicelo settlement is the largest informal settlement situated at the west of the R59 and Meyerton CBD in Midvaal Local Municipality (see figure 4.2). The Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement, popularly known as Sicelo and is home to over 2 000 households. The settlement was established in 1996 and is named after Sicelo Shiceka, the late Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA). Having an informal settlement named after a prominent public figure such as the late Mr Shiceka is ironical especially since informal settlements are seen as a threat to the good order of urban development and are testament to the failure by government to fulfil its role in providing housing and preventing the urban blight (Martin & Mathema, 2006). Informal settlements named after prominent political figures include the Cyril Ramaphosa informal settlement in Ekurhuleni, Winnie Mandela in Tembisa and Chris Hani informal settlement in the Western Cape. Therefore having the Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement named after the late Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, a department responsible for ensuring improved service delivery, placed pressure on the late minister that his department was not performing their duties well.

Figure 4.2: Locating Sicelo Shiceka Informal Settlement



Source: Google Earth Maps

The settlement is predominantly comprised of informal housing structures together with RDP houses. The RDP houses are located at the western part of Sicelo (ward 10) while the eastern section (ward 8) is predominantly comprised of informal housing structures (see figure 4.3) (Mazibuko, 2012). With Midvaal municipality experiencing a number of major developments a large number of people with various skills, will be drawn into the area in search for employment opportunities. This can cause informal settlements like Sicelo to grow as they have to accommodate the influx of people into the area.

Figure 4.3: The Housing Typology in Sicelo



4.3.1 Socio-Economic Profile

In the post-apartheid era, South African cities are experiencing large scale mushrooming of informal settlements which represent not only the failures of government but also the universal human needs for shelter; home-making as well as the access to a livelihood (Lohnert, 2001; Martin & Mathema, 2006; Huchzermeyer, 2009). Like many other informal settlements in South Africa, Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement is faced with various social issues such as crime, unemployment, poverty, poor living conditions and inadequate access to basic services. With Sicelo being the largest informal settlement in Midvaal, there is a great demand for adequate services to be delivered to the public.

The settlement has an approximate population of 7 200 people residing there which is comprised of 50.8% females. Unemployment still remains high in the settlement at a staggering 48.9% where 33.5% of the labour force is employed formally and the remaining 17.6% is informally employed (UGM, 2010). About 12.8% of the residents in Sicelo have attained a grade 12 or other forms of high education. With only a small percentage of the population having a Matric of some form of higher education, a vast majority will have to rely on informal or unskilled forms of employment. With the high unemployment rate and the large percentage of people without formal education or skills based training, makes it difficult for the households to escape the poverty cycle.

Households have to them employ alternatives livelihood strategies in order to survive in urban environments.

A study done by Chirau (2014: 13), from the Department of Sociology at Rhodes-University, revealed how men from Sicelo were:

> *"noticeable at all corners streets waiting for an employer to come and pick them for a part time job. The part time jobs… included painting, cutting trees, offloading haulage trucks, digging trenches and demolishing structures amongst others".*

The payment they receive for such jobs is quite little and is most often used for personal luxuries such as cigarettes, alcohol and entertainment. On the other hand, a majority of the female respondents from Sicelo are working as domestic workers doing household chores in the surrounding low density suburbs. Other women work in hair salons in and around the Meyerton CBD. In comparison to their male counterparts, females received better remuneration at the end of the month. For instance, females working as domestic workers receive remuneration that range from R1 500 - R2 000. Unlike the males, the female's remuneration went towards the purchase of household goods, and the payment of the children's schooling (Chirau, 2014). The disposable income that households attain is quite small and not enough to attend to all the household needs. This worsens the poor living conditions the community lives in and contributes to the poverty cycle in the settlement in which approximately 50% of households live in poverty (UGM, 2010). The part-time jobs do not offer any employment security or a steady monthly income which could assist in the monthly household expenses. This increases their insecurity to a number of measures including food security, social support, housing and access to services (De Wet et al. 2008).

Due to the limited access to work opportunities in Sicelo, other females have resulted to commercialised sexual activities in order to attain an extra income. The venture into commercialised sex is also a result of a lack of a stable income (Chirau, 2014). The highest prevalence of HIV is found in urban informal settlements where people have unstable employment, poor living conditions and inadequate access to services (Vearey 2011; WHO 2010). This increases the public's vulnerability to various opportunistic illnesses such as cholera, diarrhoea and HIV. From the abovementioned issues in Sicelo,

it is evident that health issues in South Africa should not be addressed on its own but rather in a holistic manner where housing and socio-economic factors are considered. The proliferating informal settlements and the developmental issues prevalent there reflect the government's inability to address the increasing urbanisation rate which has resulted in the sprawling of informal settlements, perpetuating poverty cycle and the increasing pressure on the current infrastructure.

4.3.2 A Struggle for the Basics

Like any other informal settlement, accessing basic services is quite a challenge in Sicelo informal settlement. There is inadequate provision of basic services such as water, sanitation and electricity. An elderly resident of Sicelo who has been living there since 2005 reiterated,

> *"We want houses, electricity, schools and ablution facilities. The municipality is not doing anything for us. Early this year we marched to the municipal offices demanding service delivery but nothing was done. The area is crammed with shacks and there is no space for children to play around. We need land where decent RDP houses can be built"* (Ramothwala, 2012).

The elderly resident's outcry epitomises the situation in Sicelo informal settlement where residents have inadequate access to services which makes conducting household activities a rather difficult task to execute. The provision of clean water for domestic purposes has been a challenge in Sicelo. The residents had to make use of nine taps that were shared by the approximate 7 200 inhabitants (Sibanda, 2013). Accessing the taps can be rather difficult for the residents who lived further away from them. One community member from Sicelo expressed how they had to seek alternative water sources, especially when there is a lack of water in the area. She lamented,

> *"…what else can we do if there is no water, we end up fetching water from the nearby river to use in our houses…we cannot do anything without water. I remember there was an outbreak of diarrhoea and mostly our children were affected. The municipality is doing nothing to give us water, political parties have promised us but after we vote nothing comes…we are tired"* (Chirau, 2014: 10).

To add more to the community's frustration, they had to make use of nearby bushes and open pit toilets to relieve themselves since there were no proper ablution facilities in Sicelo. There is no or little safety and security measures for women and children who have to make use of the bushes. This leaves them vulnerable to being attacked or raped while making use of the bushes. Midvaal Municipality officials were oblivious to the situation as it was after a visit by Humphrey Mmemezi, the former Gauteng MEC for Local Government and Housing, when the community was able to receive 1 000 chemical toilets which totalled R5, 7million. Humphrey Mmemezi commented that,

> *"I realised after the walk about in the area that there are no toilets and people use nearby bushes and open pit toilets to relieve themselves. I made a commitment that we will get funds so that we can buy toilets for the community"* (Sibanda, 2013).

However, in as much as the Sicelo informal settlement has a number of service delivery issues, the community together with the help of the South African Communist Party (SACP) have being quite vocal in expressing their concerns. In November 2012, the community members of Sicelo together with the SACP held a protest march to the council offices in Meyerton where they handed over a memorandum with a litany of their demands (see appendix B). The community demanded better service delivery in Sicelo and houses to be built for residents residing in informal settlements and farm workers in Midvaal (Ramothwala, 2012). Madala Masuku, an SACP committee member slammed the municipality reiterating how,

> *"You have forgotten about the Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement, but you are doing a good job here" –referring to the well serviced white residential areas in Meyerton"* (Kunene, 2012).

Meanwhile, the SACP provincial secretary, Jacob Mamabolo lamented how they

> *"want provision of infrastructure for schools, proper roads, cultural and sports facilities, housing and water. Children travel far and risk their lives crossing rail lines to access education and school facilities"* (Ramothwala, 2012).

Through the mobilisation of the marginalised and disadvantaged groups, they illustrated insurgent planning practices where they destabilise the normalised order of things (invited spaces) and invent new spaces where they are able to invoke their

citizenship (invented spaces) and claim their right to the city (Miraftab, 2009). Being vocal about the challenges being faced in Sicelo, empowers the community be active participants in the democratic process rather than stepping back and doing nothing. The presence of the SACP, the ANC, COSATU and SANCO in the community's protest march, strengthens the community's outcry as it has outside support from external organisations. Thus the protesting community has a stronger voice when making their demands.

4.4 The Housing Challenge in Sicelo

Even though the community still struggles with accessing some of the basic services, there are a few developments that have been made in the settlement. From its early days back in the year 1996, Sicelo settlement has experienced a number of developments over the years where approximately two-thirds of the settlement is developed (Mazibuko, 2012). While ward 10 has seem a variety of developments including the provincial housing project, Sicelo Community Hall, the Sicelo Library and a soccer field, the eastern part of the settlement (ward 8) remains a challenge to develop due to the dolomite underground (see figure 4.4). The disparities have not gone unnoticed to the community of ward 8 who feel neglected by the Municipality; hence the name of the area is 'Silahliwe' meaning we have been neglected in isiZulu. The section called Silahliwe also happens to be the dolomitic part of Sicelo informal settlement. The dolomite in the area creates a number of challenges when it comes to developing housing for the community (Gubula & Mboyisa, 2013).

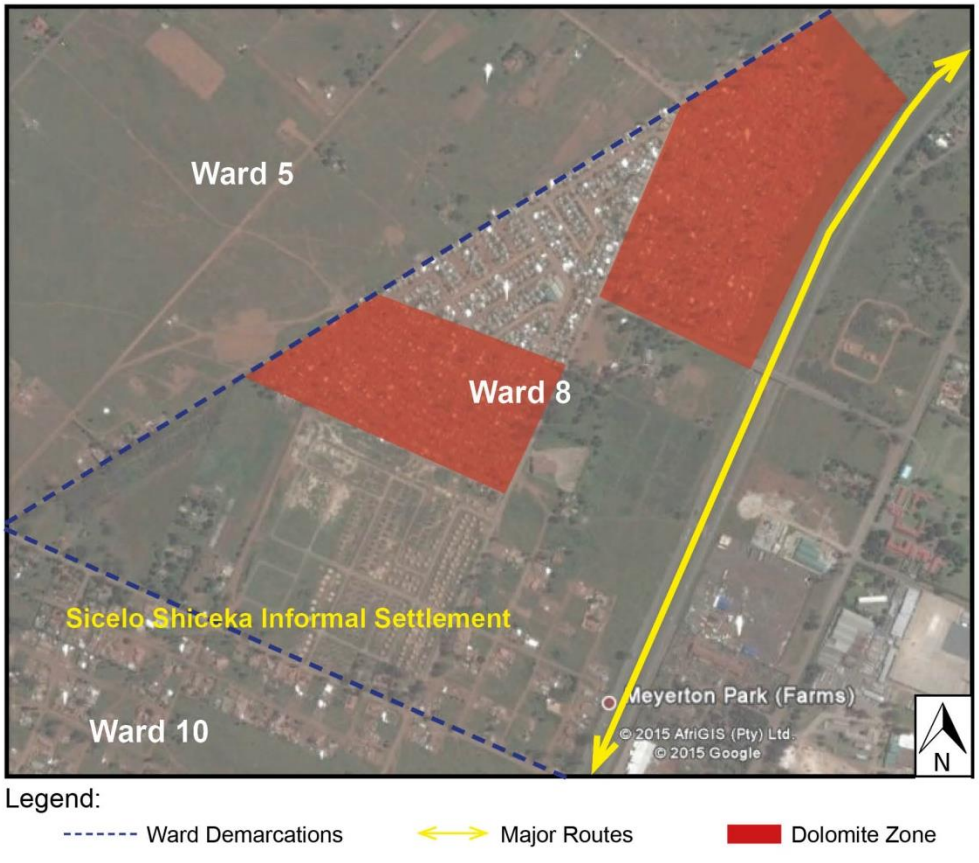
Geotechnical studies conducted by independent consultants have revealed that a portion of Sicelo informal settlement is located in a dolomite region. Figure 4.4 below, indicates the region which is affected by the dolomite. The dolomite has created a number of issues for the community who feel their lives are at risk in the area. One community member lamented the dolomite challenges stating that,

> *"Living in shacks is bad. They can catch fire anytime and quickly too. It would be nice to have a piece of land that we can be relocated to. But the other big problem in our area is dolomite. We are suffering big time"* (Dimakatso Hlakotsa cited in Gubula & Mbuyisa, 2013: 8)

Another elderly woman living in an RDP house in the area added, how her RDP house was falling apart, with cracks opening up all over the walls. Following the outcry from the residents of Sicelo, the Parliaments Portfolio Committee on Human Settlements visited the area and was taken aback by the conditions the people of Sicelo are living in. The chairperson of the committee commented how,

> *"During our oversight visits, we came across areas that experienced sinkholes because houses were built on dolomitic land. We understand that building on this type of a land is risky, but this should not be used to disadvantage our people. We believe that something can be done to prevent these sinkholes from occurring"* (Gubula & Mbuyisa, 2013: 9)

Figure 4.4: Dolomite Areas in Sicelo



Source: Google Earth Maps

Despite the geotechnical challenges in Sicelo informal settlement, the municipality together with the Department of Housing is in the process of constructing 430 housing units for the community of Sicelo. The project was initiated by the Gauteng Department of Housing back in 2008 and is still in progress. Due to the geotechnical issues on site, there are certain requirements that the Department had to adhere to. The construction of the 430 units cannot be at high residential densities which are unsuitable for the dolomite in the area (UGM, 2010). Despite the geotechnical challenges in the area, the community of Sicelo have remained adamant in their desire for proper houses.

4.4.1 Responses to the Dolomite Challenge

The issue of dolomitic land is prevalent in various parts of the Gauteng including, Carletonville, Centurion, Soweto, Midvaal and Ekurhuleni (Gubula & Mboyisa, 2013). The presence of dolomite underground presents a number of challenges when it comes to the construction of roads, physical infrastructure and the development of housing, since the ground is prone to collapse due to the mineral composite of the rock and the formation of sinkholes underground. In early 1960s the Blyvooruitzicht family from Carletonville, in the West Rand, disappeared after their house tragically fell into a sinkhole that had formed beneath their home (www.sahistory.org.za accessed 22-01-2015). Therefore great caution and proactive innovation has to be considered when developing such disaster prone environments. As suggested by the current Mayor in Midvaal, Cllr Baloyi, the challenges presented by dolomitic soil will always be there therefore local authorities needed to mitigate them:

> "*By adopting a pro-active approach, local authorities can contribute to delivering low-cost housing opportunities and improving the living standards and conditions of many of our informal settlement dwellers*" (Gubula & Mboyisa, 2013: 8).

However, in other municipalities geotechnical challenges have been cited as one of the reasons to justify the eradication or the relocation of communities living in the disaster prone areas. Poor communities such as those living in informal settlement, often live in close interface with the environment and therefore any stress to the environment impacts the community directly (Tschakert et al, 2013). Quite often ocal government authorities perceive informal settlements as a 'problem' and the way to solve this

'problem' was through 'death'. In this instance, death means the elimination of the settlements through upgrading, formulisation, regulation, eradication and relocation (Martin & Mathema 2006; Mbembe 2003). This notion goes back to the discourse which has negative connotations on informal settlements and perceives them as 'slums areas' infested with criminal activities, extreme poverty and health problems. They are seen as places of death where no life or creative thinking can emerge from there. This discourse has influenced the way in which the state perceives and responds to informality and informal housing. As reiterated by the Mayor, Cllr Baloyi:

> *"The idea of developing low-cost housing on dolomitic land is often met with negativity because of possible sinkholes. It is imperative that municipalities, before developing on dolomitic land, take steps to determine dolomite extent, risk profile and management plan/ policy. This information can be determined by means of a comprehensive study on the piece of land in question"* (Gubula & Mboyisa, 2013: 8).

The case of the dolomite prevalent underground in Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement has similarities with the cases of three informal settlements in Gauteng, confronted with geotechnical issues. These settlements are namely Thembelihle and Protea South, both in the City of Johannesburg as well as Harry Gwala in Ekurhuleni. The geotechnical issues include being located close to a dumping site, undermining as well as the presence of dolomite underground (Huchzermeyer, 2009). The above mentioned issues create a number of challenges when it comes to providing housing for the communities located in the areas. The states response in the three case studies has been to relocate the communities living in such disaster prone locations. With the aid of legal representation, the affected communities of Harry Gwala, Thembelihle and Protea South have contested the decisions to relocate the community stating that the relocations will disrupt their livelihoods (ibid). Relocations or resettlements have been highly criticised for the disturbance to people's livelihoods as well as the displacement and impoverishment of the affected communities. In the 2007-2008 periods, statistics revealed that involuntary resettlements were one of the widespread human rights violations that affected an estimated 4.31 million people globally (COHRE, 2009). In South Africa Therefore, relocating communities due to the geotechnical issues at hand is not always the best solution to the problem.

However, in Sicelo some of the households living in the dolomitic areas have expressed how they would prefer to be relocated elsewhere, to a more spacious location where they would not have to deal with the dolomite and their RDP houses falling apart (Gubula & Mboyisa, 2013). The Gauteng Housing Department is still in the process of relocating some of the households living in Sicelo into the new mixed income housing development called Savanna City. Huchzermeyer (2009) a Housing academic, interjects by emphasising that the notion of relocating communities is a poorly conceived idea by planners and officials where they assume that poor communities are like figures on a chessboard to be moved around in order to solve the problem elsewhere. Relocating households from Sicelo may not be the best option as they would further away from the employment opportunities offered at the Meyerton CBD.

4.5 The Politics of Service Delivery

In 2012, the community of Sicelo together with the SACP held a protest march, demanding improved services for the community (see chapter 3). Housing and access to quality services was amongst the community's demands (see annexure B). In the memorandum the community demands that the municipality,

> *"Build and provide decent housing to all the residents of Midvaal and those living in informal settlements and farmworkers… immediate provision of Infrastructure for schools, proper roads, cultural and sports facilities, housing, water and other infrastructure needs in many African and Black areas. Children travel very far and risk their lives crossing rail lines to access education and school facilities" (Sacp, 2012)*

The community's plight for housing has gained momentum when the SACP. The housing challenges in Sicelo have not gone unnoticed by devious politicians looking to bag a few votes through using the plight of the urban poor. Following the communities request to be relocated, ANC officials in the municipality were quick to accuse the DA accusing them of failing to deliver services and address the housing situation in Sicelo. Ahead of the 2011 general elections, Jackson Mthembu former ANC spokesperson complained that the DA was doing very little for the community of Sicelo,

> *"Go to Sicelo Shiceka, go and see for yourself. Everybody knows they haven't done a good job… There are many townships in Gauteng where we (the ANC) have started the process of formalising the informal settlements—our track record on informal settlements is far better"* (Rawoot, 2011).

The ANC's elections head, Ngoako Ramatlhodi also added by expressing:

> *"I don't think the DA did a good job at all. They have been servicing the interests of the minority. It's just the opinion of opinion-makers that the ANC is not doing a good job… elections were not won simply on the basis of service delivery and doing a good job"* (Rawoot, 2011).

The DA strongly objected to the claims by accusing the ANC run provincial Housing Department for not doing their job in Sicelo, since the DA had made land available for housing back in 2006. The pieces of land still remain vacant and not a single house has been built there for the community of Sicelo. The DA run municipality replied by adding that land was made available since 2006 however the ANC led Human Settlement Department failed to make any developments in Sicelo (Ndaba, 2011). This reflects the ambiguous relationship between the DA led municipality and the ANC run provincial department of human settlement.

With the two political parties locked into the dispute about which party is not doing their job, it is evident the notion of service delivery is highly politicised in Midvaal Local Municipality. Something as simple as accessing ones constitutional right to basic services has been transformed into a political debacle. The delivery of the 1 000 toilets by MEC Mmemezi ahead of the 2011 elections, can also be seen as a way to soften the public's heart in return for votes for the ANC. Other ANC 'heavy weights' including Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, former Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe, and former ANC youth league leader Julius Malema, are some of the people that have graced the communities of Sicelo and surrounding areas with their presence in the attempt to gain more public vote in the elections (Mammburu, 2011). In one of the rallies held at Sicelo stadium, Madikizela-Mandela stressed how:

> *"We are here to say that this municipality (Midvaal) belongs to the ANC. We worked here during the underground days. We fought here. We were fighting*

against Inkatha (then a cultural movement, now a political party). A lot of our comrades fell here and some of the most important commanders of Umkhonto weSizwe came from here" (Mammburu, 2011).

Through the delivery of toilet facilities and the presence of prominent ANC people 'heavy weights' in Sicelo, the political parties are making use of the plight of the community of Sicelo to influence them into voting for the party. This is a form of clientelism in where the public receive the much needed public goods in exchange for political support for a certain political party or individual (Gay, 1998). The clientelistic relationship between the ANC and community of Sicelo is somewhat beneficial for the community as services delivery is more direct and faster than usual. Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa (2014) exclaimed how the public struggles to get basic services delivered to them and whenever government delivers something, it feels as if it has done the public a favour. Service delivery is not a favour but it is rather a duty.

With Madikizela-Mandela conveying the history of the ANC in the municipality during the years of the struggle, she is emotionally manipulating the community of Sicelo to vote for the party. Through the use of such emotive informed motivators, the public may feel obliged to the party in order to show their continual support and loyalty for the ANC. The use of the ANC brand and the manipulation of the public, is the art of persuasion where people are inclined to thinking and behaving in a certain way due to the words and phrases used as well as the presence of prominent people such as the former Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe in their area (Throgmorton, 1991).

Figure 4.5: Fishing for Votes



Source: http://africartoons.com/cartoon/3441?filter=6263 accessed 03-12-2014.

Another strategy that both political parties have utilised in order to manipulate the hearts of the public is through their election campaigning. At the centre of the DA's election campaign at the 2011 local government elections was the notion of service delivery. Timothy Nast, the former mayor of Midvaal, reiterated that the Democratic Alliance was campaigning about service delivery with emphasis on refuse removal, housing and sanitation. This was a different stance in comparison to the ANC, which was more focused on the racial rhetoric and continuously accused the Midvaal municipality of failing to deliver services to the black population in Midvaal (Rawoot 2011; Ndaba 2011). The racial tenor insinuated by the ANC suggests that the DA run municipality is a mere replica of the apartheid state which only serviced the minority groups. With such comparisons to the apartheid government, it associates the municipality with the painful past thus limiting any progressive thinking towards addressing the challenges confronting the community of Sicelo. This is evident in both political parties being locked into a blaming and shaming game while the needs of the community are not being met.

The issue of political interference in public service delivery is evident in many cases across South Africa, but one that stands out was the toilet saga in the Western Cape. In this case, the City of Cape Town provided unenclosed toilets to the community of Makhaza without fully engaging the community. The City's action was met with countless outcries concerning the gross violation to human dignity and how poor people's situation became a political game to gain votes. At the forefront of the whole toilet saga were the two affected political parties the ANC and the DA busy playing the blame game and pointing at the other as being responsible for the unenclosed toilets rather than being concerned about the protection of the dignity and privacy of affected residents. Through the Makhaza case, one gets to understand that political interference in service delivery matters or the use of politicking to get more votes reduces people to nothing but passive and powerless recipients of government handouts (De Vos, 2011). This in turn undermines the democratic participatory processes as communities become inactive puppets in the planning process. In the case of Sicelo, the public's input was not considered in the provision of the toilets. The municipality needs to meaningfully engage with poor and be empathetic to their living conditions. Had that been done by Midvaal Municipality, the process of housing the community in the vacant lands could have been in progress and the community of Sicelo would not be living in fear of their house falling into sinkholes.

4.6 Concluding Remarks

The chapter has illustrated some of the dynamics and challenges Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement is confronted with. From the discussion above it is evident that Midvaal Local Municipality and Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement is a politically volatile environment which is confronted with various conflicts and contestations. The housing challenge in the municipality presents planners and municipal officials with the opportunity to be more innovative and employ new methods to address the geotechnical issues and provide houses for the community. The 2011 census revealed that there are approximately 1.9 million informal dwellings across the country (Wilkinson, 2014). With the limited land availability and the increasing number of informal settlements in the country, there will be a greater demand for housing.

The political dynamics in Midvaal has largely impacted the manner in which services are delivered in the municipality. It is evident that in some instances service delivery in Midvaal and more particularly Sicelo settlement is done as a favour rather than duty, where communities are inexplicitly getting services in exchange for political support or votes. This politicises the practice of service delivery since communities are acquiring other methods (invented spaces) to receive the much needed services.

In the build-up to the 2006 local government elections, studies revealed how "protests and voting were rated equally as mechanisms to attain improved levels of service delivery" (Booysen, 2007: 21). These new methods are strengthened by the art of politicking where politicians and other government officials are making use of rhetoric in order to melt the hearts of the public. The choice of language and medium impinges on the inclusivity of meetings in the participatory process (Naidu, 2012). The affected parties are engaging in political commitment where political support is awarded in exchange for goods. This requires the community of Sicelo to be on par with the new methods of communication. The clientelistic relations between a political party and the public are problematic as it can result in inefficient distribution of services in an area. A number of communities in South Africa are displeased with the undelivered promises the government sold to them at the dawn of democracy. An example of a promise that has not materialised yet is the call for free education. In 2015, students across the country embarked on a 'Fees Must Fall' campaign. The call for free education was amongst the items in the agenda. The political commitments the politicians make are binding and once they fail to deliver on their promises, communities revolt in protest on the undelivered promises (see chapter 2).

The new spaces of interaction including attaining services through political commitments ensure that the urban poor get to tag along in the political game in order to gain access to the required resources and get direct accountability from their elected leaders. In the case of Sicelo, the residents were able to get necessary toilet facilities they needed through the MEC Mmemezi. From the chapter, issues of power also come into play as there is now power coming from both above and below. Power exists in both the state and society. Not only does society have voting power but also the power to influence decisions in the planning process. Through the public demonstrations

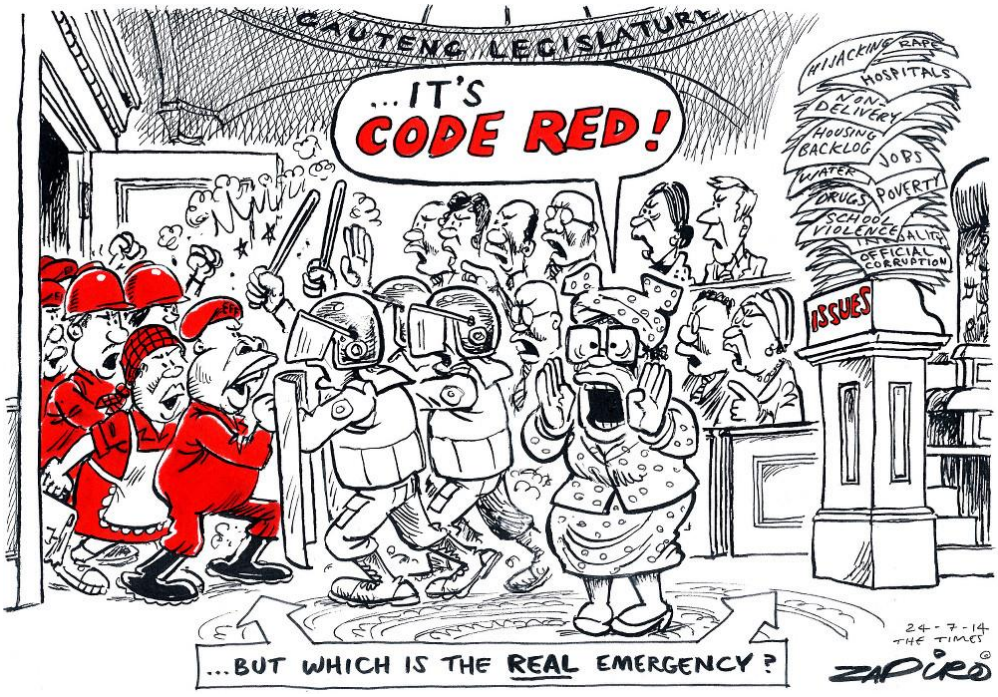
taking place in Sicelo and various local communities, the general public are asserting the power they have in the development process. Proper mitigation measures have to be implemented to balance the two conflicting rationalities. As note by Udy (1994) planners must balance the idealism of the professional training together with the reality of what goes on in the political world.

Chapter 5:

The Politics of Planning in Sicelo Shiceka Informal Settlement: Key Issues Emerging from the Fieldwork

CHAPTER FIVE: THE POLITICS OF PLANNING IN SICELO SHICEKA INFORMAL SETTLEMENT: KEY ISSUES EMERGING FROM THE FIELDWORK

Figure 5.1: Upheaval in Gauteng Legislature



> *"It is an insult to my intelligence for people to think we are marching because someone has bought us liquor. We are not mindless. People, especially you who are educated, think we are marching because we bored. We are dealing with real issues here. Like today we don't have electricity. We have not had water for the whole week."* (Von Holdt et al. 2011: 23)

5.1Introduction to the Chapter

The above quote is extracted from the research report titled *The Smoke That Calls*, which reflects the insurgent behaviours South African communities are expressing. As indicated in the extract, protesting communities are dealing with real issues that affect their everyday life. Discussions on the reasons as to why communities protest (see chapter 2) reflect that protests are not part of the petty bread and butter issues but rather a labyrinth of complex developmental issues. However, the cartoon above by Zapiro illustrates that there seems to be lack of clarity on which issues the country is meant to focus on. With the insurgency occurring in the grassroot level, more attention

is central on the revolt in parliament rather than the 'real' confronting the country. The issues facing communities are side lined, at the detriment of the government as communities may revolt in protest when they feel ignored. As emphasised by Grobler and Montsho (2011) "there is a perception that because you are poor, you don't understand what the government is meant to be doing for you. But people know what the realities of their lives are and they know when the wool is being pulled over their eyes". Haber (2009) has expressed how the notion of service delivery contains a host of desires, promises, and assumptions that have imprisoned poor and marginalised communities with the hope for a 'better life'. The community of Sicelo is still adamant and hopeful that change will happen in their area.

This chapter delves on the real issues that the community of Sicelo informal settlement are confronted with. This is done through providing a discussion of the key issues emerging from the fieldwork in Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement, particularly the interviews and field observations done on site over the period December 2014 to February 2015. The data collected on site was read through, analysed and grouped into different themes, which were useful in understanding the key planning challenges relating to service delivery. From the discussions in the previous chapters and the data collected in the field, it is evident that the predominant theme emerging is that planning and service delivery are politicised in Midvaal Local Municipality. The first section looks at the researchers experience in the field as well as some challenges encountered there. The chapter then provides a discussion and analysis of the findings gathered from the interviews with the 10 community members, the local ward councillor both from Sicelo settlement and the officials, from the municipality and the provincial Human Settlements department, who were involved in the housing project. The research questions were divided into two main sections namely, the service delivery/housing delivery situation in Sicelo and then questions on the service delivery protests in Sicelo settlement. The data is analysed under three headings namely, the politicised approach to service delivery; the challenges to service delivery and the public protests. The last section is an analysis on the findings gathered and an identification of the key issues emerging from the study.

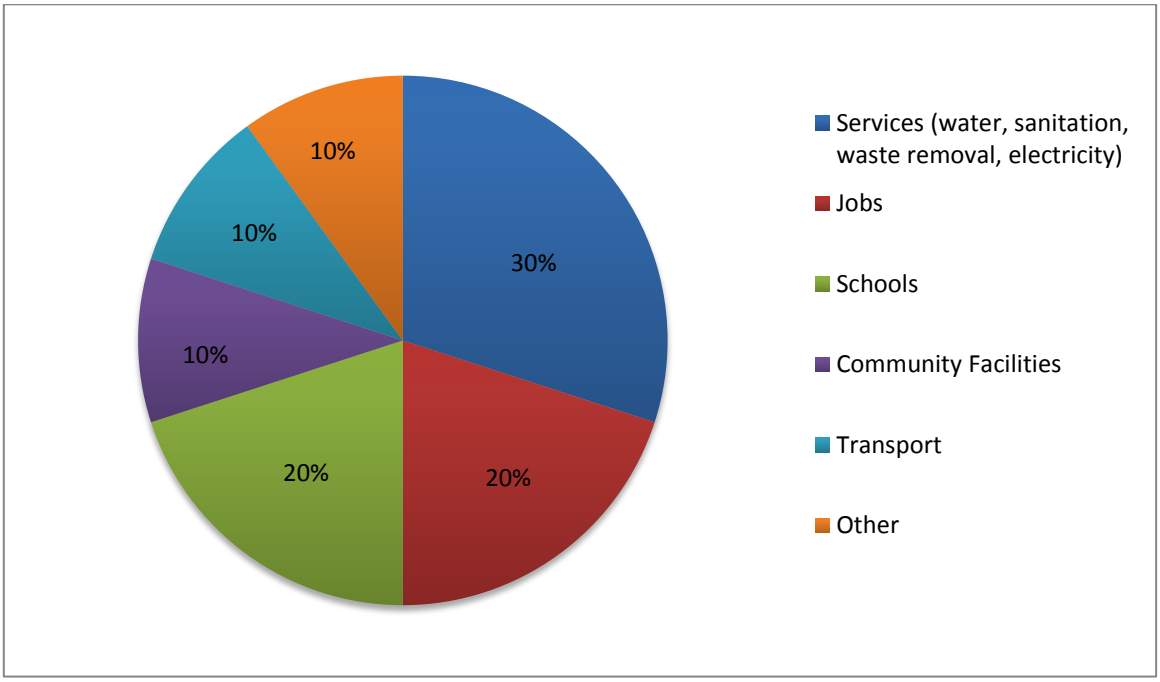
5.2.1 The Challenges to Service Delivery

From the discussions in the previous chapters, it is apparent that accessing basic services is a challenge in Sicelo informal settlement. Community members have indicated how it is still a challenge to access basics such as housing, water and electricity, even after they have communicated their concerns with the municipality. Upon reaching Sicelo, the community complained about how they have been living in Sicelo informal settlement for over five years now yet there was no tangible difference in their surrounding location. Another young man who has lived in the Sicelo for approximately seven years indicated,

> *"I only live to make my life better. I don't really care about community issues anymore or attend the meetings here because our municipality is pointless. I worked in the municipality for a few years and saw how the municipality does not care about people from Sicelo"* (personal communication, 29 January 2015).

From the 10 interviews conducted with the community members, inadequate or no provision of basic services such as sanitation, water, waste removal and electricity together with the lack of employment opportunities in the area; were the main challenges cited (see figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Service Delivery Issues in Sicelo



Issues with the current sanitation system were also expressed by the community. The chemical toilets that were provideded by MEC Mmemezi created a number of health issues for the community. Respondents explained how the provision of the chemical toilets was not thought through as they can go for weeks without being cleaned. One elder man complained,

> *"The VIP toilet I had was a lot better than the chemical ones the government provided for us. They are very unhygeinic as maintenance to these toilets only happens after a week or two"* (personal communication, 29 January 2015).

This is also a similar case when it comes to waste removal services in the settlement. Respondents alluded how the lack of waste removal in the area caused a number of health complications for them. Poor communities live at a close interface with the environment; therefore any stress to the environment impacts the community directly (Tschakert et al, 2013). The overflowing household waste creates a breeding ground for mosquitoes and other water-borne diseases to the area.

Figure 5.3: The Uncollected Waste in Sicelo



The community expressed grave dissapointment on the rate at which services are delivered, particularly the taps they requested about two years ago. In 2012, the community of Sicelo together with the assistance of the SACP, SANCO and the ANC, held a protest march to the municipal offices presenting a memorandum with their requests. Attached in the memorandum, the community demanded that the municipality provide

amongst others, water services to the predominantly African and Black areas (refer to Appendix B). The memo was submitted in 2012, but it was only in mid 2014 when taps were installed in the area. One elderly community member, complained how the municipality takes its time when it comes to delivery. Commenting on the challenges the Housing Department is confronted with when it comes to deliverying services, the provincial planner indicated how connecting to bulk infrastructure such as water, electricity is a challenge such as water and electricity when it comes to delivering houses in Midvaal. Although it is outside the housing departments responsibility, the planner alluded how funds allocated for housing are sometimes reallocated and spent on connecting to bulk infrastructure such a water and sanitation systems.

> *"At times we have to resquest the National Department of Human Settlement to use a portion of the funds allocated to us towards connections to bulk infrastructure. We have to take care of the basics first then you can think of the housing"* (personal communication, 17 February 2015)

The above mentioned challenges some of the reasons as to why service delivery is delayed in the municipality. Communities often do not have knowledge of the intricate details that goes into the service delivery process. The lack of this knowledge and the delays in service delivery, cause tension to brew amongst the community which can cause insurgent behaviour. The delays in delivery is also evident in the provision of electricity in Sicelo. In all the interviews conducted with the community, the respondents complained about how they have no electricity connections in the informal part of Sicelo. They expressed how the RDP settlements, located opposite the informal dwellings, had electricity connections yet there was no connection in the informal dwellings. This has created a number of problems as the households living in informal dwellings had to rely on alternative sources of energy such as candles, gas and parafin which can easily catch light and cause a fire destroying a number of informal dwellings. In the attempt to provide electricity in the area, residents have resorted to creative self-help approaches in order to support and sustain their livelihoods through 'illegal' electricity connections. Walking through the dusty streets of Sicelo, one could notice electric wires proturding out of the ground (see figure 5.3). These were some of the make shift connections the community resorted to. The connection were extended from

the RDP settlement to the informal dwellings. One elderly man living in an informal dwelling expressed how,

> "*We are not connecting the electricity illegally but are simply extending the connection from the RDP settlement in Sicelo, since the municipality did not want to install electricty for us. We have to pay R 300 a month to the 'service provider' for the electricty"* (personal communication, 29 January 2015)

Figure 5.4: Illegal Electricity Connections in Sicelo



The community makes use of alternative methods in order to sustain their livelihoods. Informal communities often have to resort to alternative methods in order to access services inadequately provided by the state. Fransen & van Dijk (2008) note how people resort to informality as their last resort as it offers services which are not or inadequately provided by government. Similarly public protests are also perceived to be the last resort that protestors employ after exhausting the available channels of engagement. This reveals the non-collaborative approach to service delivery between the state and general public. The Joe Slovo case study is an exemplary of the collaborative processes between residents from informal settlements, private

organisations and government in order to address the sanitation issues in the area. The interactions between civil society, the state and community encouraged the dialogue between relevant stakeholders as well as encouraged communities to be actively involved in the building the ablution facilities rather than relying on the government the whole time (Bolnick, 2010). The collaborative engagement between Midvaal Local Municipality and the residents of Sicelo in the electricity matter will facilitate the learning and exchange of knowledge between the affected stakeholders. This approach however, does little to change the power relationships that exist in the community. It ignores the role of the powerful and their capacity to impede the implementation of agreed actions as powerful stakeholders can influence the direction of the project for their benefit.

5.2.2 The Challenges with Housing Delivery

Imbalanced power relations are also evident in the relations between the provincial Department of Human Settlement and Midvaal Local Municipality. In Midvaal, the responsibility of ensuring housing delivery is vested on the provincial housing department. However, since the municipality is unaccredited[1] it has to rely on provincial department to ensure that housing is delivered to the community in Midvaal. Therefore the municipality is quite restricted on the projects it is able to undertake. Adding to the matter, the municipal planner expressed how,

> *"With the delays in housing delivery and the number of projects we are able to undertake, the housing backlog just keeps growing and we struggle to address it. When there is nothing being done, the community begins to protest. At times, communities have unrealistic expectations but do not understand the process involved in housing delivery"* (personal communication, 17 December 2014).

[1] The Housing Act (1997) allows accredited municipalities the full range responsibility to manage and co-ordinate human settlement delivery. Administration of national housing programmes is then vested in the municipality. "In order to be accredited (and ultimately assigned the functions), municipalities will have to demonstrate their capacity to plan, implement, and maintain both projects and programmes that are well integrated within IDPs, and within the 3-year rolling capital investment programmes mandated by the MFMA" (SALGA, 2012: 11).

The political relation between the entities also tends to hamper the delivery process as some projects get side lined. In a shameful manner, the provincial planner explained since the dawn of democracy the department has only been able to successfully complete two housing projects in Midvaal. The municipality has only been able to undertake three housing projects, with the first one being complete, the second one is still in progress and the third one in still in the planning phase. The second housing project which has been in construction since 2008 is only expected to be completed by June in 2015. The lack of funding and the political issues were cited as one of the main reasons for the disappointing progress. At times, funds that were allocated for housing projects were being utilised to finance the connections to bulk infrastructure in the area for the department has to consider the infrastructural connections before constructing the houses. Due to their limited knowledge of the planning and the decision-making process and the lack of response from council, the community of Sicelo become restless and feels as if they are being side lined.

Figure 5.5: The Housing Project in Progress in Sicelo



The councillor made an interesting observation concerning the delays to service delivery in Sicelo. Nestled in the tiny shack that has been converted into the ANC ward 8 local office, the councillor stressed how it has been a struggle to receive basic services in the area. He stated that the municipality makes use of a political lens when it comes to service delivery in Midvaal. Due to their role of serving in both the community and council, councillors have the advantage of knowing the information of both council and the community.

> *"Following our protest to the municipal offices, there has been very little response we have received concerning the grievances we presented in the memorandum. They keep making excuses and say there is no money available to implement our requests…. instead of addressing the service delivery issues raised by the community of Sicelo the municipality has approached the matter politically"* (personal communication, 1 December 2014).

Approaching the issue of service delivery in a political manner creates a number of challenges for the municipality as it can make things difficult since there are new labyrinths of engagement that planners have to muddle through. The previous chapter (chapter 4) highlighted how certain communities receive services in exchange for political support. As the highly contested ANC ward amongst the DA stronghold in Midvaal, the community of Sicelo felt they were denied access to basic services due to their political affiliation. The politicised approach to development not only affects the community but also the officials who are appointed to protect that which is in the public interest. The planner from the provincial Department of Human Settlements expressed how the political differences and issues in the municipality can slow down the progress of housing delivery. The planner recalled an incident where,

> *"The ruling party in the municipality did not want the Housing Department to build any houses for the poor communities in the area. The municipality felt that this was a strategy by the ANC to get more people into the municipality so as to increase their voter numbers in Midvaal. This incident slowed down the progress of delivery in the area. The situation became quite tense and at some point we had to call in the MEC and Premier as the political heads of the department to go and talk to the political heads of the municipality. Eventually the situation settled down and we were able to continue with the project"* (personal communication, 17 February 2015)

In as much as the planning profession operates in the public domain where there are various factors influencing and contributing to our practices, however it is not politics (Albrechts, 2003). Therefore issues such as service delivery or that which is in the public interest cannot be approached in a political manner. In the innovative book titled

'*Politics, Planning and the Public Interest: The Case of Chicago Housing'*, city planner Martin Meyerson and political scientist Edward Banfield, describe the contested nature of public interest in the decision-making process. The book presents the case of the housing issue in Chicago, where local authorities and city officials were conflicted in the decision-making on the location of public housing in Chicago. From their discussions, it is apparent that the planning practice operates within the political sphere where there are various actors involved, each with varying normative positions, objectives and influence in the decision-making process. The politician's or political party's objective on housing issue in Chicago was to bag votes from the minority groups in order to survive and gain more power. Similar to the Sicelo case study, politicians and public figures have graced the area, in the attempt to manipulate the community into voting for their political party. This position is juxtaposed to the planner's stance, which is more concerned with collective ideals and social justice (Howe, 1983). The episode accounted by the planner, reveals how planning or development is used as an instrument by the political parties to reaffirm their stronghold in the area. The ideological differences and conflicting identities, creates a 'messy' context in which the planning profession has to operate in order to ensure effective service delivery to the public.

The community expressed a different stance concerning the delays in housing delivery in Sicelo. Similar to the ANC's rhetoric, the community members expressed a racial tenor as being amongst the reasons why the community did not receive certain services from the municipality. Another ANC affiliated community member also expressed how racism is still strong in the municipality and cited it as one of the reasons as to why service delivery is slow in the area. This racial tenor can be quite problematic as it just reduces the issue of inadequate service delivery to being black and white. However, the racial argument cannot be ignored due to the fragmented development based on racial lines under apartheid but is not the sole reason behind the service delivery protests. The previous chapters (see chapter 2) have revealed how the issue of service delivery is a complex matter that involves intricate relations between a number of factors. This misdiagnosis of the real issue creates problems as we are not really identifying and solving the root cause of the issue. Following the xenophobic incidence of 2008 and the recent looting of spaza shops in Soweto, analysts commented on how the issue of

violent attacks on foreign nationals is not based on the reasons that our fellow African brother's skin is darker than ours or the fear of foreigners. Commenting on the xenophobic attacks in South Africa, Patel (2013) insinuated that the xenophobic violence is triggered by the localised competition for political and economic power. People living in the margins of society feel that they have to compete with foreign nationals for the limited resources. The socio-economic inequality in the country perpetuates the violence on foreigners. Similar to the xenophobic attacks, the racial undertones to describe the inadequate service delivery in Sicelo is not viable as they ignore the complexity involved in the housing delivery process.

Different cultural belief systems also affect the manner in which services are delivered to the community. A three storey high-rise development project consisting of 800 units is still in the planning phase, yet it has already been met with unwelcome hands by the community. The councillor from Sicelo shockingly noted how,

> *"The community said they do not like the three storey housing development in the area because it goes against their cultural beliefs. Some community members have expressed how having different households living above each other will make it difficult for them to communicate with their ancestors. They say they prefer houses on individual stands so they can practice their beliefs without interference"* (personal communication, 1 December 2014)

In traditional African society, it is believed that the departed individuals remain in the community and have the power to make good things happen for a community (Muzorewa, 1985). The community of Sicelo still want to maintain that contact with their departed loved ones so that they can bring good luck for their families and community. The issue raised by the Sicelo community brings to attention the different cultures existing in the same space. In the city different groups have colonised the spaces in the city and have attached their own identity in the space. They preserve the space through the use of the cuisines, clothing, architecture, and design of the space. In her work on diversity and multiculturalism, Leonie Sandercock (1998) notes how society is structured by different grouping from a variety of political, ethnic, cultural and economic backgrounds. She further argues that the difference and diversity should be embraced in planning process rather than be supressed (ibid).

It is within the multicultural context that planners are meant to intervene and accommodate the diverse communities in the city. However, they are confronted by various challenges when it comes to implementing the plans they have developed. The different beliefs, values systems and ideas, do not always translate directly to spatial needs. Commenting on the Crossroads case in Cape Town, Watson mentioned how,

> *"Current planning theories which attempt to respond to diversity, difference or multiculturalism are still unable to comprehend the very real clash of rationalities which so frequently occurs when plan or development project touches the lives and livelihoods of households and communities"* (Watson, 2003: 396)

The planners from Midvaal and the provincial department seem to be oblivious to the communities concerns and are going ahead with their plan to construct the high rise development. Ignoring the concerns of the community can be at the detriment of the officials as the community can revolt against them in protest for improved service delivery. However, it can be rather difficult to work with some of the cultural concerns the community has raised. The availability of land is a challenge since a majority of the land in Midvaal is privately owned.

Another issue is the dolomitic nature of the area (see chapter 4). The current standards and class of the dolomite in Sicelo do permit for development to occur. Therefore with the abovementioned issues and the increasing housing backlog, it will be problematic to build houses on individual stands. In the attempt to address the housing backlog, plans are in place to relocate some households from Sicelo to the housing development in Savanna City. This development will be complete in the next 5 to 10 years and is located far from the employment opportunities in Meyerton. The relocation issue is also perceived in a political light as the community of Sicelo feels this is an attempt by the DA to gain its political stronghold in the ANC dominant informal settlement. Despite the issues, the community of Sicelo is still adamant that they want development to happen where they are located. To the community of Sicelo and the South African population in general, land is an important possession as it forms part of their identity formation. Through the individual ownership of land, the poor communities have security of tenure and the house is used to build their wealth. Hernando De Soto (2001), an

economist popularly known for his work on the informal economy, noted how there is 'dead capital' residing in poor communities and may be realised through gaining formal property rights. These formal rights allow the owner the opportunity to invest, gain access to credit and make money, which assists in alleviating the poverty cycle.

The construction of a new identity is important for the disadvantaged and poor communities in the multicultural contexts. Some of the discourse existing around the urban poor stems from the discourse on informality and informal settlements. Existing views on informality perceive them as places of crisis or ruins, being at the verge of 'death' namely, 'slum upgrading', 'formalise and regulate' and 'eradication' (Mbembe, 2003). This is a negative identity that disadvantaged communities are attempting to reconstruct. African identities are continuously being transformed and they are used to legitimise "the incorporation of ethnic diversity in the general structure of society" (Kallen 1982 cited in Bekker & Leildé, 2003: 119). Sicelo residents are seeking the inclusion of their identity in society. Simply relocating or eradicating the informal settlement excludes the resident's identity as informal dwellers in the multicultural context. Abahlali baseMjondolo, a shack dwellers movement advocating for improved living conditions and housing for the urban poor, is an organisation that has its identity linked to the context they are situated in. Eradicating or relocating them from their location, excludes them from the several identities in the African context. In the ground breaking documentary titled *Dear Mandela*; filmmakers Dara Kell and Christopher Nizza document the struggle of the Abahlali baseMjondolo as they attempt to negotiate their claims in the City of eThekwini, Durban. The filmmakers sensitively capture the fearless determination of the shack dwellers as they resist mass evictions; fight for their right to land and housing as well as build their own identity as the courageous shack dwellers standing for their interests (Kell & Nizza, 2011). Through their active in housing rights issues, Abahlali members get to be involved in issues that affect their everyday life. Therefore it is evident that as Sicelo residents raise their housing concerns, they are seeking recognition and inclusion of their own identity in the housing developments in the area.

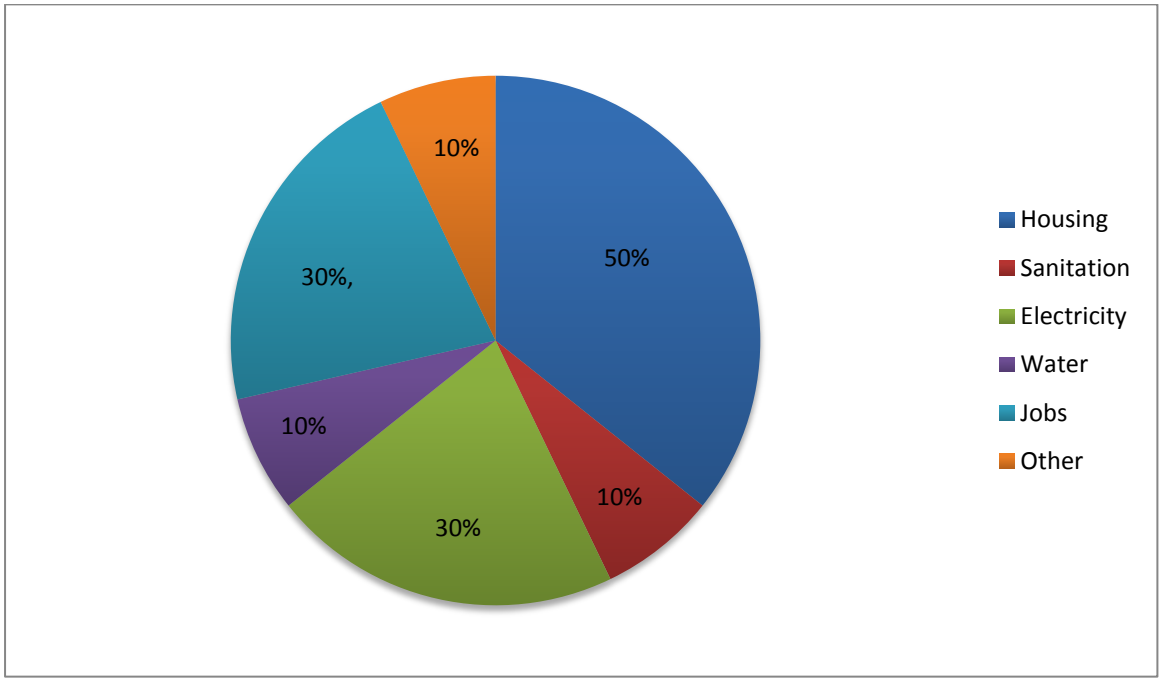
5.3 Public Protests in Sicelo

With the mounting headlines on service delivery being a constant bone of contention and the townships going up in flames, the community of Sicelo has been no exception as they have had their fair share of service delivery related protests. From the timeline of events, it is apparent that a number of service delivery related protests have occurred in the Midvaal area. Various reasons were provided for the protests in Sicelo. Commenting on the protests in Sicelo, the provincial planner noted how housing and the lack of service delivery are usually on the top of the list. From all the respondents interviewed housing together with electricity and employment opportunities were one of the main problems in the area (see figure 5.6 below). The community of Sicelo felt that they have utilised every channel available to raise their concerns to the government but nothing has been done. In a deep sigh, one respondent from Sicelo noted how,

> *"We are always protesting in Sicelo but we still have not received the houses and electricity we asked for. The municipality always promises to do things for our community but he (municipality) does not deliver on their promises"* (personal communication, 29 January 2015)

When no immediate results materialise, communities believe that protesting is the only and credible language that the government will understand (De Waal, 2012). Prominent urbanist AbdouMaliq Simone (2004) notes how African cities are continuously flexible, mobile, and provisional intersections of residents that operate without clearly delineated notions of how the city is to be inhabited and used. Communities, more especially the urban poor, are breaking away from the norm and are establishing new avenues to bring their issues into the forefront. Through their endeavours they engage with complex combinations between objects, spaces, persons, and practices (ibid).

Figure 5.6: Reasons for Public Protests



However, once the community has protested and submitted its memo, there are many other processes that take place before the actual services are delivered to them. Communities need to understand that even though conducting a protest gets them the immediate attention, they need from the government there are still proper procedure that have to be follow before and after the protest takes place.

> *"Before a protest can take place, the community has to first apply for permission to conduct their protest march. Once approval is granted, a meeting is held with leaders in order to establish what is acceptable and unacceptable. The community has also got to indicate if they are going to submit a memorandum and who they are going to submit it to, either the Mayor or the Speakers Office, so as to ensure that they are available on the day of the protest. After the protest, the response is given from the Mayor's office once he has consulted with the relevant departments within the Municipality in order to convey the grievances of the community and then establish a way forward"* (personal communication, 17 December 2014)

The procedures were designed to ensure that the necessary measures are in place before the protest action. Section 17 of the Constitution states, that everyone has the

right to demonstrate and present petitions in a peacefully manner. The Regulation of Gatherings Act of 1993 was instilled in order to "regulate the holding of public gatherings and demonstrations at certain places; and to provide for matters connected therewith" (FEI, 2007: 5). When the proper procedures are not followed, people can be arrested for public violence and conducting an illegal protest. In 2007, the community of a small mining town called, Maandagshoek in Limpopo, were arrested for public violence after they failed to submit a notice notifying authorities about their protest (FEI, 2007). Besides the proper procedures to follow when requesting a permit to protest, there are still events after the protests that can delay the response form the municipality. The municipal planner, who is working in the housing department in the municipality, further highlighted how it is sometimes difficult to establish a way forward as what the community asked for can be unrealistic at times. The planner added,

> *"I once received a memorandum from one of the informal settlement in Midvaal and the community was requesting electricity, houses as well as other things. That community wanted the development to happen where they are currently located, but it was difficult to do so since the settlement was not located on municipal land. This limits what the municipality can do in response to the community's demands… Therefore, whoever receives that memo had to be honest to the community because they are the ones who will have the memo for the longest and you don't want to make promises we can't keep"* (personal communication, 17 December 2014)

From the planners response, it is evident protesting grabs the attention government but it does not necessarily guarantee a positive outcome. There are still other processes that have to be followed which can cause delays. There are other factors such as the availability and ownership of land as well as other bureaucratic processes.

The protests are varied in their nature as well as the strategy that is utilised. Upon interviewing the local councillor from ward 8 in Sicelo, it became that the community from the ward were politically active in matters which concerned their surroundings and livelihoods. As the elected representatives of the people, ward councillors serve as the messengers of the community in council and should always be up to speed with the

happenings in council and the community. Failure to do so, the councillor and their family become the targets of the wrath of the community. The councillor described how their job can be rather difficult at times as they are sometimes the targets of the community's fury. As one of the targets of the wrath of the community, the councillor has to be strategic in their approach and devise alternative and effective strategies to actively engage the community. With the political context in Midvaal and the politicised approach to service delivery, community members will be able to engage with the municipality and become active members in society who are makers and shapers in the decision-making process rather than choosers and users (Gaventa, 2002). Other planning theorists have alluded how having the political approach to service delivery, deepens democracy through the strengthened interactions between the state and civil society. Gaventa (2002) notes how the approach bridges the gap between the state and its citizens through an active notion of citizenship. The councillor emphasised how,

> *"As a ward, we have realised that there are different approaches to solving the issues we have raised to the municipality. Information is key. Therefore we can't continue being violent and burning the streets… we have to be smart in the way we approach things. We have to internally strategies on how we are going to be active participants in the IDP meetings or workshops so that we will be able to get our grievances across"* (personal communication, 1 December 2014)

From the responses of the ward 8 councillor it became apparent the protesting in order to express their grievances was not always the only option when it comes to raising their concerns. Instead of protesting and becoming violent, they have resorted to using other methods to empower the community. Prior the protests in November 2012, the ward committee together with the SACP conducted a door-to-door campaign where the leadership was able to gather the grievances of the community (refer to Appendix B). Conducting door-to-door campaigns and devising strategies on how they are going to raise their grievances to the municipality, communities get informed about how to engage with local government in a progressive manner. Having the community informed about the endeavours in council is essential so that they are empowered to participate effectively in municipal gatherings. With the community of Sicelo being actively involved in decision making and the planning process it builds the trust

between the affected parties. The recast nature of the relations between the state and its citizens, create new channels of engagement for planners. Urbanist AbdouMaliq Simone (2004) notes that within the context that planning operate in there are complex combinations of objects, spaces, persons, and practices. These combinations are intricately arranged in the urban fabric and require planning to learn the rules of the game so as to effectively manoeuvre through the system. This requires the planners to have the ability to infiltrate and work within the existing political system (Friedmann, 1987) and become active 'political animals' rather than faceless bureaucrats. In an admirable manner, the planner from Midvaal noted how,

> *The community of Sicelo is amongst the active community in Midvaal when it comes to community participation meetings. When you go to that community for workshops or IDP meetings, you really need to be prepared and you have to know your business because the community comes with an attitude that we want to see change and we as the municipality must deliver on the promises we made to them. So when they protest and ask questions in meetings, it wakes us up in order to make sure we deliver (*personal communication, 17 December 2014)

However, in as much as the community is becoming more strategic in their protesting, media reports reported how protestors from Sicelo became violent as they looted shops and blocked roads with stones and burning objects (Ngobeni, 2014). This behaviour indicates protestor's faith in violence as their desirable approach to get a response from government. Protestors from Azania commented,

> *"Violence is the only language that our government understands. Look we have been submitting memos, but nothing was done. We became violent and our problems were immediately resolved. It is clear that violence is a solution to all problems"* (Von Holdt et al. 2011: 28).

As indicated in the sociological reasons for service delivery protest, being protesting and violent in order to get a certain message across is something entrenched in South African culture. This act of violence has been carried on throughout the apartheid era and into post-apartheid South Africa, as it is a durable manner to send across a message to government. As mentioned in the previous chapters (see chapter 2), this is a rhetoric gaining prominence in the media, townships, streets and even parliament.

5.4 Analysis of the Findings

The discussion above have presents the responses from the field work concerning the study. From the respondents, it was evident that only a few people commented about the housing challenge in the area. This could be attributed to the fact that water, sanitation, waste removal and electricity affect their everyday practises. So having no or inadequate access to such services including water and proper sanitation facilities, creates an unhygienic environment as well as limits the daily activities people can conduct. The lack of enthusiasm on housing issues can be perceived as the residents living in the informal settlement have accepted the informal dwelling as their home. This is a shift in the perceptions of informal settlements from being perceived as a threat or problem, it reflects the gradual acceptance or tolerance with the informal structures. This shift is also evident in the Breaking New Ground (BNG) housing policy which calls for a paradigm shift in informal settlement intervention (Huchzermeyer, 2006). Programmes such as upgrading of informal settlements, can be understood as an attempt to include informal dwellings as a housing option. As noted in chapter two, there is the transformation in the institutional and legislative environment which is attempting to create a new and innovative approach to viewing some of the housing challenges. This attitude can be useful in the attempt to encourage communities to become actively involved in the process of shaping and developing their liviing areas.

The notions of having a political party deliver services in a rushed manner ahead of the elections in quite troublesome. Ahead of the 2011 municipal elections the chemical toilets were delivered to the public of Sicelo by the MEC of Local Government and Housing. When the community of Sicelo protested in November 2012 for improved services, the rate of delivery was not the same as when the MEC delivered the toilet facilities. The community had to wait approximately two year for some of the demands they presented to be delivered. This brews fury amongst the community as services are not delivered at the same pace as in previous instances. Linking service delivery to a political timeline or political party can be troublesome. As noted in chapter two, the different government administrations have different agendas they want to pursue, depending on who is in power and which political party is leading, which can be detrimental to ensuring services are delivered to a community. Issues of providing adequate housing and improving access to service delivery are not new issues in the

democratic era. The incremental approach to addressing the issue limits the long term thinking of how to deal with the problems.

Another angle to view the notion of political party's deliver services in a rushed manner ahead of the elections is that communities are negotiating favours with the political leadership. Partha Chatterjee notes that this is the political society that mostly lives in the informal realm of the city and they negotiate favours or temporary solutions with their leaders (Chatterjee, 2004). In contrast civil society, constitutes the rights bearing citizens can easily claim rights in the city (ibid). The community of Sicelo can be understood as the political society which has to learn how to play the negotiating game in order to access resources. This requires them to understand the politics of the place in order to participate in the 'game' effectively. Community members become active participants continuously shaping the space around them. Active citizenry resonate with what the Nation Development Plan (NDP, 2030) is advocating for enhanced capabilities and active citizenry where the capabilities of people to improve their own lives are enhanced (see chapter two).

In this currently networked and multicultural society, our understanding as planners is born from the reality we are confronted with. From the discussions above and discussions from previous chapters, it is apparent the context of Sicelo and the broader Midvaal is a highly politicised one. It is within the politicised context, which planners operate in. The response from the provincial planner highlighting how they distance themselves from the messy political proceeding in the municipality does limit what they can do in the municipality. Therefore planners need to be involve people, in their different planning processes as society can bring new ideas and knowledge that can only be obtain from those who experience the reality of the different circumstances. Planning should be done according to our current aims and interests with a need to always reorder, reconstitute and rebuild the profession in order to be more in tune with the current context. In his painting titled 'the Son of Man' Belgian surrealist artist, Rene Magritte's challenges observers' preconditioned perceptions of reality (Magritte, 2009). The painting was drawn at a time of the Great War on Façades (*La Grande Guerre*

Façades) and depicts a self-portrait of Magritte, where his face is obscured by an apple. Through the artwork Magritte suggests that,

> *"Everything we see hides another thing; we always want to see what is hidden by what we see. There is an interest in that which is hidden and which the visible does not show us. This interest can take the form of a quite intense feeling, a sort of conflict, one might say, between the visible that is hidden and the visible that is present"* (Magritte, 2009)

Magritte challenges the planner's preconditioned perceptions of reality. Carson (2003) argues that a number of planners are tentative to playing politics since they perceive it in a pejorative manner when referring to elected officials who get in the way of planners doing our job. This behaviour is evident in the provincial planner's response where they distanced themselves from the debacle with the political head from the municipality. There is an interest in the 'hidden' and a fear of treading in the unfamiliar turf- the political realm. This creates a conflict as planners are conflicted about their roles in society. It is also quite evident that we are planning in postmodern times where the world is complex and is characterised by this messy political domain which presents exciting opportunities for us to 'break free' from the norm and experiment with new ideas. Some theorists have advocated for planners to become 'political animals' involved in the 'hidden reality'.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

From the discussion above, it is evident that the challenges of service delivery in Sicelo are largely influenced by the politicised approach to planning. Various planning theorists including the likes of Davidoff (1965), Fainstein (2005) and Miraftab (2009) have suggested a variety of ways in which planning is political. Paul Davidoff, a qualified lawyer and American planner, was responsible for the conceptualisation of 'advocacy planning' in the late 1960. In his paper titled '*A Choice Theory of Planning'*, Davidoff recognised how planning deals with a sequence of choices that have to be made in order to determine the right course of action in both the planning process and decision making (Davidoff & Reiner, 1962). These choices are informed by various factors including religion, culture, class, politics, economics etc. Therefore, the context in which

one is situated in will inform the choices one makes and the planning approach utilised. In the case of Midvaal and Sicelo informal settlement, planning is a political process that involves making a series of choices. The course of action to be taken towards addressing the housing and other service delivery issues is a matter of choices and requires one to exercise their judgement (ibid).

From the discussions of the findings, it is evident that entities involved have both willingly and unwillingly decided to approach the housing and service delivery issues politically. The ability of planners to make choices and utilise their own discretion on the best suited course of action gives them the power to make choices to deliver better outcomes. In Midvaal the planner's discretionary powers have been yielded to the political heads of the municipality and Department of Human Settlement. The choice by the planners yielding to the politicians will is at the detriment of the public as politicians are more concerned with party politics and gaining votes rather than the public interest. Surrendering the power to the political heads and not engaging in the planning or political processes limits the degree to which the profession can make any valuable contributions to the management of complex development issues. Omar & March (2013: 1) note how the planning profession "claims to possess an exclusive body of knowledge and to deliver outcomes that benefit the public at large". We believe that our truth will set them free, yet we distance ourselves from the political reality needed to achieve it (Carson, 2002). In 1965 in his paper *'Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning'* Davidoff recognised the role that politics has in planning and by politics meaning that public interest is a matter of politics rather than a science. In his theory of Advocacy planning he encouraged planners to participate in political arenas as representatives for certain interest groups and to advocate on their behalf (Davidoff, 1965). Discussion on the role planners should play brings questions to whether they should be political or non-political when performing their duties (Mafunisa, 2003).

Chapter 6:

Small Cogs vs the Machine: The Conflicted Role of Planning

CHAPTER SIX: SMALL COGS vs THE MACHINE: THE CONFLICTED ROLE OF PLANNERS

> *"But the art of planning is about policy making, politics and power. And you do not have to be a politician to play political hardball. How can we achieve anything if we do not want to know the damn rules of the game? We go around telling people that our truth will set them free, but we are clueless about the political reality needed to achieve it"* (Carson, 2002)

> *"Planning is in politics, and cannot escape politics, but is not politics"* (Albrechts, 2003: 251)

6.1 Introduction to Chapter

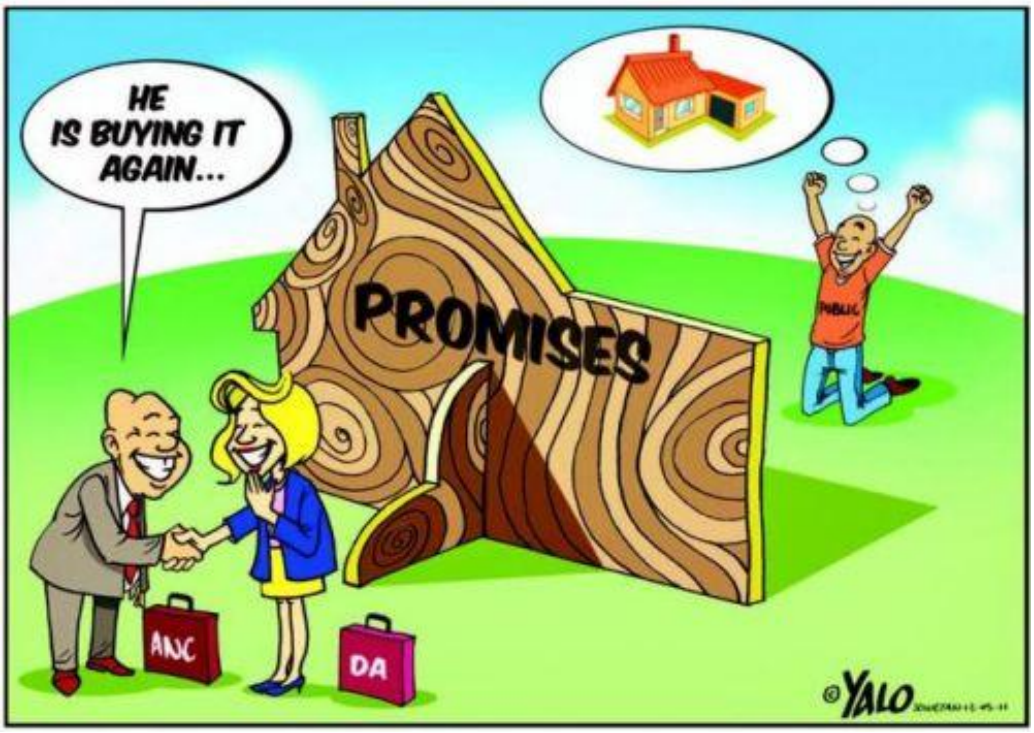
This chapter provides the concluding remarks to the study. The research objective was to explore the planning challenges encountered when it comes to delivering housing in informal settlement areas, with Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement in Midvaal Local Municipality as the case study. From the discussions in the previous chapters and the data collected in the field, it is evident that the predominant theme emerging from the study is that planning and service delivery are politicised in Midvaal Local Municipality. The above quotations, to a greater extent, suggest that local planners have to become politically street wise and understand the rules of multifaceted contexts they operate in. Albrechts further elaborates that the profession requires, 'shrewd strategic actors understanding the power dynamics of the wider political context' (2003: 250). Politics must not interfere with the planning process.

It is from this premise that this chapter argues that planning is a politicised practice that requires planners to be actively involved in the field. The chapter does this in the attempt to answer the last sub question which probes the planning interventions can address the challenges when delivering services? The chapter first provides a holistic summary of the findings and discussions from the previous chapters. The chapter then moves to provide planning recommendations to the challenges of service delivery in local municipalities. Through the use of Healey's collaborative planning theory the chapter will provide some recommendations to the identified challenges.

6.2 Holistic Summary of Findings

Throughout the years, the government has played a central role in delivering services to the citizens. Service delivery is a socially constructed and contested term with many connotations attached to it. The phrase service delivery has been constructed to carry a host of assumptions, policies, attitudes and promises (Harber, 2009). The phrase services delivery has also been as a means to get votes from the public and attain power in society. According to Crous (2004: 575) the "government and the activities it undertakes to deliver services are the result of political dynamics". The service delivery challenge in Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement/Midvaal Local Municipality, as highlighted in the previous chapters, illustrates the conflicts and controversies involved in service delivery more especially housing in South Africa. The geotechnical issues together with the political dynamics in the area and housing demands from the community are some of the factors which have hampered the housing delivery process. When the community has little knowledge of the processes involved in the delivery of houses or service delivery, they become agitated and revolt in public protests. In the thought-provoking cartoon, which appeared in the Sowetan newspaper ahead of the 2011 Municipal elections, Yalo contests our conditioned understanding of the wrath of protesting communities as well as the challenges that municipalities encounter when it comes to delivering services (see figure 6.1). Yalo presents another analysis which highlights how the promises being sold to communities have no or little substance to them, yet they continue imprison the destitute with the false hope that government will come through; as they have (always) promised. With the first democratic government inheriting a housing problem from the apartheid era, it was a huge challenge that was going to be rather difficult to achieve. Not only was it a challenge to curb the escalating housing backlog, communities attached their feelings in the desire that government will provide them houses (Harber, 2009). Slogans such as 'come let's work together' or 'do what you can, we will help you' did not provide an appealing catch phrase to the public who placed hope in the newly elected democratic government (ibid). A positive outlook had to be presented to the public despite the reality of the magnitude of the responsibility involved was speaking otherwise. Housing is one of the indicators of how government has struggled to keep its promises.

Figure 6.1: Two Sides to a Coin



Source: http://africartoons.com/cartoon/3785?filter=586 accessed 26-02-2015

Through the use of Midvaal Local Municipality and Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement, it became evident that the inability to keep up to the promises can be attributed to the misguided democratic ideal; the incapacities of local government to deliver on the promises; the mounting demands for services as well as the politicised approach to service delivery. In 1994, the late former president Nelson Mandela promised the masses that the government will build houses to them. It is that promise that people have not wavered from. Since 1994, about 3.3-million low-cost housing units have been built while informal settlements keep mushrooming in the inner and peripheral parts of the city. Lindiwe Sisulu, the current Minister for Human Settlement recently announced that anyone under the age of 40 will not get free housing from the government. This comment infuriated a number of people as it was not in accordance to the free houses and 'better life for all' they were promised back in 1994. In Sicelo settlement, responses from the community revealed how people were slowly beginning to lose hope that houses and basic services were going to be provided to them.

In the attempt to ensure that the public had access to the basic services, new spaces of interactions were being forged between politicians and the public. These clientelistic relations, where the politicians are providing the much needed services in exchange votes not only yielded immediate results to their demand, they also foster accountability between the two entities. However, in as much as the community received the much anticipated services; it was only a temporary solution as the next services they may receive at the same rate will only be ahead of the 2016 and 2021 local government elections. This is mainly because they have to constantly engage and negotiate with the councillors, local politicians, party politics and administrations (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2011). From the study, it was also apparent that devious politicians were opportunistic and used petty politics to bag some votes. The loopholes in the politicised approach to service delivery were also evident when the community attempted to acquire services through their own means such as service delivery protests yet their attempts proved futile. This has placed planners in an awkward position as they now have to negotiate around the new spaces of interaction.

Discussions from the previous chapters and findings from the fieldwork have suggested how planning operates in a political domain. It is within the politicised and multi-cultural context that planners are meant to operate in together with other professional/individuals; each with their own varying agendas and idea of how the city should run. Udy (1994) noted how planners,

> *"[M]ust balance the idealism of their professional training with the realism of the politics that defines their work. Confronted by the consequences of previously unplanned actions and the politicians' need for immediate, tangible results, local planners may often feel they lack the means to do almost anything of positive and lasting consequence"* (1994: 29)

The above quote suggests, to a greater extent, that planners are confronted with two powerful and sometimes opposing forces which require planners to balance the public and private interests in the country. Each has their own differing agenda that inform the planning process. Other planning theorists have further analysed how there are 'conflicting rationalities' prevailing in our cities (Watson, 2003). There is an increasing dominance of private-market driven interests in the city, which have overpowered issues such as the public interest, social justice and political rights (Cooke, 1990).

Since service delivery is in the public interest, planners and city officials have found themselves in the middle of the conflicting interests. The predominance of the private interests under the Mbeki administration, where the public interest was being replaced by the customer interests. At the time, the planning profession was still reinventing its image from being the instrument to pursue oppression to one of promoting equality and justice through its practice (Platt, 2004). The South African Planning Institute (SAPI), commenting on the planning playing field after the first 10 years of democracy, noted how the profession was still trying to find its feet and was moving away from its urban bias nature (ibid). In the pursuit to reinvent itself, the profession was confronted with changing contexts where diverse groups share the same space. The negative responses from the community of Sicelo concerning the three storeys walk up; reveal the diverse rationalities and cultures in the municipality. Planning scholars have commented on how 21st century cities are becoming multi-racial and multi-ethnic and there is a growing need to manage our co-existence in the shared spaces (Sandercock 1998; Healy 1997). Therefore, besides being 'book smart' and advocating that our truth as planners will set them free, local planners have to become 'street smart' understanding the dynamics of the context they work in (Carson 2002; Albrechts 2003).

Coupled with the disjuncture between plan and theory, planners working in the public sector are also faced with ethical dilemmas. In Midvaal the municipal officials and planners had to make the call as to whether they will provide/build houses for the community of Sicelo informal settlement, since the settlement is located on a dolomitic area. This location poses a number of threats for the community as it places their lives at risk if any disaster strikes. Planning is a political process and in certain occasions various players including politicians, the general public, media and protesting community, influence and place great pressure on planners to make unethical decisions which they disagree with. With the various stakeholders involved in the decision making process it brings to question whose interests are planners obliged to serve and how do they balance the different forces (Campbell & Marshall, 1998). Thus planners and other practitioners find themselves in an ethical dilemma of having to pursue either the private or public interest. Certain trade-offs have to be made to ensure that the short-term needs are met while considering the long-term needs for future generations (ibid).

6.3 Planning Interventions to Mitigate the Challenges of Service Delivery in Local Municipalities?

From the discussions in the previous chapters, there are a number of processes involved and challenges local planners encounter when it comes to delivering services to local municipalities. Issues of power, politics, limited capacity, multiple stakeholders, unrealistic demands and the multi-cultural contexts are just some of the few challenges planners stumble across. These issues are synonymous to many other contexts across South Africa and are not exclusive to Midvaal municipality. Issues that planners deal with are often complex and require one to know the rules of the game and play your cards right. Commentaries from planning professionals have revealed how planning is the big machine that plays a crucial role in solving the challenges facing our cities. However, instead of ascending to the 'big machine' stature, planning has been underrated to the small cogs. Their efforts are usually focused on one area in planning rather than considering the system as a whole. Great planning visionaries are being raised elsewhere but in the planning field. At the dawn of the 21st century, the American Planning Association announced the top six 'most significant planning pioneers'. The top six pioneers included the likes of Kevin Lynch, Daniel Burnham, Lewis Mumford, Fredrick Law Olmsted, Ian McHarg and Alfred Bateman. Although the winners came from other fields such as law, journalism, architecture and landscape architecture, they all had a common attribute of being politically astute (Carson, 2002).

The cities planners operate in are contested spaces that require planners to develop more democratic forms of planning and effectively manage our co-existence in the shared spaces (Perera 2004; Beauregard 1989; Healy 1997). In contexts where there are multiple stakeholders and interests, planners have to play a crucial role of 'managing' the diverse interests. Planning is an interactive process involving multiple actors from various disciplines and backgrounds. Booher and Innes (2002) observed how society is characterised by people from differing cultures and varying understanding of the spaces around them and the issue confronting them. Therefore they have to rely on each other's engagement in order to exchange and share information (ibid). It was from this premise that Healy (1997) stressed the importance of employing a communicative/collaborative approach in addressing the issues

confronting the city. The next section will recommend collaborative planning as the desirable approach to address the challenges confronted in Midvaal local municipality.

6.3.1Recommendations: Communicative/Collaborative Planning to the Rescue in Midvaal

Patsy Healy's work on collaborative planning was inspired by Jürgen Habermas's work on '*The Theory of Communicative Action*' in the early 1980s. Habermas provides a procedural and normative approach that establishes democratic constitutions and institutions through public participation, consensus building and discourse ethics. The theory was developed at a time when neoliberalism was gaining momentum in the global sphere. In the planning field, postmodern and participatory planning practices were being introduced. Goodchild described this period as one where 'a number of different themes intersect and problematize each other' (1990: 120). He further elaborates that postmodernism is characterised by cross-cultural interactions, the unavoidable interrelations of local and global knowledge and welcomes the growth of localised protest as a means of promoting democracy (Goodchild, 1990). With the intersection of varying themes and cross-cultural interactions, Habermas believed that citizens could make sense of themselves, formulate opinion and transform their world verbal interaction (Huxley, 2000). Healy (1996) argues that this period reflects the 'communicative turn' in planning theory where there was an establishment of alternative ways of engagement through collaboration and consensus building.

Ideally Habermas, a German sociologist and philosopher, believed that communicative rationality is when all those who are concerned take part freely and equally, in a cooperative pursuit for truth where nothing pressures anyone except the desire of the better argument. The search for the truth and the better argument will lead to the rational decision making (Watson, 2003). Communication (both verbal and non-verbal) is believed to be the basis for transforming society as the stakeholders from the world of the everyday life, the state are able to interact in order to achieve collective consensus as opposed to the competitive bargaining of interests (Huxley 2000; Healey 2003). Habermas's work on communicative theory has been used by many theorists as the

foundation for postmodern planning theories. One of the theorists is Patsy Healy, who was inspired by the work of Habermas and developed the collaborative planning theory.

Healey (1993) suggests that collaborative planning is the basis to reconfigure the modes of governance in fragmented societies. Similarly, Brand & Gaffikin (2007) allude that collaborative practice advocates for a solidarity and inclusion in an increasingly uncollaborative world characterised by competitive, individualistic and socially fragmented behaviours. This is the case in Midvaal Local Municipality, where various stakeholders with varying agendas and interests are not working in a collaborative manner in the attempt to reach consensus and a rational decision. The uncollaborative nature of Midvaal can make it rather difficult to achieve development which encourages safe and productive places, since the state and the citizens are fragmented. Through the use of collaborative planning the state and citizens will be able to interact which will encourage the exchange and sharing of knowledge. Marginalised and disadvantaged groups from Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement will be able to get their voices heard in the planning and decision-making processes. This notion aligns with Aristotle, a Greek philosopher and scientist, understanding of man as political beings who are meant to bring about the virtuous life (ibid). In as much as stakeholders are engaging and interacting with each other, it is imperative that the underlying factors including words, agendas and discourses are analysed. Since Midvaal has different stakeholders with varying interests, some may make use of their power and the use of emotive driven words to manipulate the decision to their favour. Salmons (2007) stresses the importance of identifying and understanding the different styles and languages of the stakeholders in order to avoid 'talking past' certain stakeholders through the use of vocabulary, sarcasm and metaphors.

The interaction allows for an exchange and sharing of knowledge. The community of Sicelo become agitated when they do not have knowledge or full understanding of the development processes involved in delivery of services. This can spark a public protest. When communities are more informed of the processes involved, they would understand the challenges encountered and would become more patient with the delivery processes. Healy (1997: 52) observes how "knowledge is constituted through

debate and the multiple forms of reasoning that stakeholders bring into the debate, rather than by any single form of reasoning, especially instrumental rationality and its claims to objective truth". The exchange of knowledge promotes transparency and communities get to better understand the challenges involved in achieving the democratic ideal of providing housing all citizens. The provision of the house cannot be the sole responsibility of the state, but rather should be a joint initiative that depends on interactions between the state and the citizens. Castell (1996) emphasises we are living in an information age or network society that is organised around the generation, processing and transmission of information which becomes a source of power. When the stakeholders collaborate and communicate, network power emerges when "diverse participants in a network focus on a common task and develop shared meanings and common heuristics that guide their action" (Booher & Innes, 2002: 225). The Freedom Charter of 1955 is an example of the documents where people were in formulating their own vision for an alternative society. Carson (2002) further suggests that planners must be able to develop visions that can be politically supported. The planners' inability to adequately infiltrate the political domain tends to limit their effectiveness in decision making processes. This was evident in Midvaal when both the provincial and municipal planners took a stand back from the political dynamics surrounding housing delivery. Through the collaboration of the stakeholders, they are able to establish new innovative responses to the housing challenges (Booher & Innes, 2002).

6.3.2 The Shortcomings of Collaborative Planning Approach

Although communicative/collaborative planning practices suggests plausible solutions to addressing the challenges of operating in a multi-cultural and politicised context, there are some limitations to the approach that have to be considered. Attaining consensus and encouraging the verbal interaction amongst affected stakeholders is a utopia that can be rather difficult to achieve. In the democratic society, it is assumed all citizens are democratic and will be able to participate equally in matters that concern them. In reality there are different classes in society, genders and the power relations are imbalanced. Knowledge is a source of power and those who have the knowledge carry the power in that given situation. According to Forester,

> *"[D]espite the fact that planners have little influence upon the structure of ownership and power in this society, they can influence the conditions which make citizens able (or unable) to participate, act and organise effectively regarding issues affecting their collective lives"* (1982: 67).

When different stakeholders interact, having information is a source of power in the decision making process. The person who has the information influences the conditions which make citizens able (or unable) to participate effectively. Therefore inequalities and power imbalances are evident in the decision making and participation process. Planners have the power to mobilise different stakeholders from a variety of backgrounds. When the power is not used properly, a number of citizens especially the marginalised and disadvantaged groups become excluded in the planning process. The exclusion of certain groups was evident in the 'Toilet Saga' in the Western Cape. Proper participation processes were not in place as the consultation process was held in an open veld with only 60 people present and minutes of any decisions taken were not recorded. The attendance was very poor since the toilet development would have affected approximately 6 000 families, but only a mere 1% of the population was present. Thus this was not a proper and effective participation process.

Coupled with the power imbalances, stakeholders with power can abuse their power and persuade other member to buy into their ideas. When different stakeholders of varying stature interact, everyone brings their own motives and intentions into the table based on their background as well as various underlying principles; which are sometimes conflicting. With the clash of the conflicting ideas, it can be difficult to reach consensus. In a context like Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement, where there are stark political differences, it can be rather difficult to achieve consensus. The urban poor and marginalised groups can find it difficult to express their views since they may feel intimidated by those in power. Reinstra & Hook (2006) further argue that the communicative planning theory does not consider psychological aspects of how communication can be therapeutic. In this instance, community members are not really participating but rather those in power utilise communication and public participation as a remedy into the development process. In her analysis of citizen participation,

Arnstein's (1969) uses the '*Ladder of Citizen Participation'*, to suggest there are different types of participation. Therefore caution must be taken on the type of participation employed, as simply bringing different stakeholders into the discussion table does not necessary mean they will be given the opportunity to effectively participate. Urban planners can also feel intimidated by the political animals if they do not understand the rules of the game. This considers the fact that even planners themselves can receive bribery especially when the development will generate lots of money. The construction of a Mall in Newtown can be as such a question. Newtown had been themed an African space with need for spaces that are locally African. However, capitalistic forces pressurised the city to approve the development of the mall which will, to some extent, erode the 'African' on Newtown.

Cunningham (1983) notes how there are 'urban power struggles' occurring in the cities between the economic and communal forces. Given the complexities of the changing environments as well as managing the power of politicians and the demands of the public, the local planner may at times feel powerless, frustrated and marginalised (Udy 1994; Booher and Innes 2002). Planners are often caught up in the middle of the powers struggles. Due to their limited knowledge and lack of understanding of the political realities, planners often feel powerless and unable to handle the power struggles. One way to mitigate the power struggles is for the different stakeholders to collaborate in order to discuss and establish a consensus on the way forward. Booher and Inner (2002: 225) have argued for network power as a concept that "emerges from the communication and collaboration among individuals, public and private agencies and businesses in a society. Network power emerges as diverse participants in a network focus on a common task and develop shared meanings and common heuristics that guide their action". Participants from diverse backgrounds collaborate together to share information and learn from each other. In such a setting, power is diffused amongst the various participants. Information is a source of power in the planning process (Forester 1982). With the various knowledge the participants bring into the table allow for the dialogue to continue on the matter at hand and participants are able to reach consensus on the desired way forward.

6.4 Ending Note

The research has explored the planning challenges when it comes to service delivery in local municipalities. From the literature reviewed and the finding gathered, it is evident that human settlements are complex and dynamic environments with multiple interactions between persons, practices, objects and spaces (Simone, 2004). The service delivery rhetoric in Midvaal and the whole country in general is still problematic since it is contested around historical, racial, administrative and political issues. Historically, South Africa inherited a number of challenges. Service delivery was fragmented where certain areas including the homelands were inadequately serviced. The injustices of the past have been perpetuated in the new era.

Midvaal Local Municipality is arguably a context with myriad of complex interactions influencing service delivery in the area. The complexity signifies the difficulty of a maturing democracy which makes planning in it a difficult task. In a context of poor service delivery and the destructive service delivery related protests, the role of the urban planner appears to be harder to comprehend than ever before. Context that the planners operate in are increasingly characterised by rapid change, information flow together with political and social fragmentations that render the 'playing field' rather difficult to intervene in (Booher & Innes, 2002). Commentary from planning theorists and practitioners have suggested the crucial role the profession plays in ensuring that all citizens attain better quality of life and improved service delivery. From the research, this responsibility is shared by various stakeholders who have their own perceived understanding of how the city should function.

The context is one of the significant factors determining the choices on what to focus on in order to drive urban change in the area. This, to some extent, determines what strategies planners are able to employ in order to drive urban change and ensure quality services delivery. This is also overlain with the political dynamics in the region. The local politics in the area were one factor that affected the decision making processes in the municipality. In Midvaal, it was evident that there were various stakeholders with varying agendas and interests in the area. The municipality together with Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement became the battlefield in which the differences

and clash in rationalities played out. Communities are also establishing their own means to attain the services they were promised. Through the use of collaborative planning practices and network power, planners together with the various participants become actively involved in the attempt to achieve common visions and develop innovative solutions to housing in Sicelo settlement. Good leadership at national level, with the Mandela calibre, who are going to be able to move towards reconciliation and collaborative approach. The varying stakeholders have to learn how to tolerate one another since some of the conflicts are generated by politics. In the collaborative process, the stakeholders should reach a consensus and focus on reinventing the notion of service delivery in South Africa. Political difference should be left aside and more emphasis should be placed on what should be done to improve the lives of every citizen.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES

Town Planner from Gauteng Department of Housing (Provincial Government)

1. When did you start working in the provincial housing department?
2. What are your roles and responsibility in the provincial housing department?
3. What are some of the housing projects in line for Midvaal Local Municipality?
4. What approach has the provincial housing department adopted to ensure the delivery of housing in Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement, in Midvaal Local Municipality?
5. In what measures or instruments does the department use in order to ensure that services are delivered to the public?
6. What are some of the challenges confronting the department in terms of the delivering houses in Midvaal, especially in Sicelo?
7. What are the instruments used to address the identified challenges?
8. How have service delivery protests affected the process of delivering the houses?

Town Planner from Midvaal Local Municipality

1. When did you start working in Midvaal Local Municipality?
2. What are your roles and responsibility in the Municipality?
3. What approach has the Municipality adopted to ensure the delivery of services to all areas in the municipality?
4. What initiatives are being employed in terms of ensuring the delivery of housing in the municipality, especially areas like Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement?
5. Are the initiative being implemented pragmatic or practical in their approach and do they address the raised concerns?
6. What are the challenges confronting the municipality in terms of realising the ideals set out in the housing programmes?
7. What are the challenges encountered when addressing the housing situation in Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement?
8. Currently what are some of the instruments and measures in place for mitigating some of the challenges involved with housing delivery?

Community Member from Sicelo Shiceka Informal Settlement

Gender:

Age Group: < 20 20-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60-69 +70

Occupation:

1. For how long have you been living here?
2. What are some of the challenges housing experienced in Sicelo informal settlement?
3. How does this location compare, in terms of the following:
    - Access to services (Water, sanitation, waste removal, electricity)
    - Access to Job opportunities
    - Schools
    - Community facilities
    - Access to transport
    - Other
4. What were the reasons for conducting the public protests?
5. What was the nature of the public protest and who was involved?
6. What was the response you received from the Municipality?
7. Did the Municipality's response address the concerns raised?

Ward Councillor in Sicelo Shiceka Informal Settlement

1. When did you start working as a ward councillor in Midvaal?
2. What are your roles and responsibility in the community?
3. What were the reasons for the public protests?
4. What were some of the issues raised in the public protest?
5. What was the nature of the public protest and who was involved?
6. What was your role in addressing the grievances of the community?
7. What was the response you received from the Municipality?
8. Did the Municipality's response address the concerns raised?
9. How were the issues resolved and what is the progress thus far?

APPENDIX B: SACP PRESS STATEMENTS AND MEMORANDUM

SACP Gauteng Door to Door campaign currently underway in Midvaal

12 August 2012

The SACP in Gauteng has been doing Door to Door in the informal settlements of Mid-Vaal: Sicelo Ext 4 ` Silahliwe`, Sicelo Ext and Lake Side. These informal settlements are ravaged by poverty, unemployment and child abuse. We have also heard allegations of social grants dispensed on the basis of membership of a particular organisation. The SACP will continue this Door To Door to other parts of Mid-Vaal and Gauteng.

Issued By Sacp Gauteng!

Aluta Continua!

Jacob Mammabolo : Secretary 0828841868
Molly Dhlamini : Spokesperson 0829234294

http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=3717 accessed 27-01-2015

Democratic Alliance denies SACP Gauteng Province democratic right to stage anti-corruption protest march

14 September 2012

SACP Gauteng Province strongly condemns DA Midvaal municipality`s refusal to grant permission for a protest march that is to be held on the 16th September 2012. The protest march is against corruption following the Public Protector`s report and dismal failure by the this DA controlled Municipality to provide basic services to its residents.

SACP applied for a permit to march already on the 04th September 2012 in line with the maximum period required to stage a lawful protest. The only reason given is that the Mayor of the Municipality, Councillor Timothy Nast is not available to receive the Memorandum of Demands.

As an alternative, the SACP then proposed to the DA that since this is not a protest march to the personal and private property of the Mayor, he can delegate any member of the Mayoral Committee to receive the Memorandum of Demand, but the DA still without any sound reason refused.

Consistent with the DA`s historic racist and extremely right-wing attitude of undermining its residents, Councillor Nast tried to impose his date on the SACP by proposing dates that meet his own personal wishes.

SACP strongly believes this conservative and most right-wing behaviour of the DA that violates the country`s constitution and the human rights of the Midvaal residents, is a cheap ploy by the DA to hide exposure of its most shocking acts of corruption and dismal failure to provide proper services to the well deserving working class and poor residents of Midvaal.

SACP denounces this cowardly conduct of the DA, and to this extent call on the Mayor to allow the march to proceed as planned.

We are also considering as option in case the DA continues with this inhuman and racist conduct to immediately lodge on behalf of the Midvaal residents a formal complaint with the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) against the DA`s violation of human rights and the country`s constitution.

Issued on behalf of the SACP Gauteng Province

Mamabolo Jacob: Provincial Secretary: 082 884 1868

http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=3748 accessed 27-01-2015

SACP Gauteng Province protest march to DA controlled Midvaal Municipality against Corruption and Service delivery proceeds this Sunday, 11th November 2012 at 10h00

8 November 2012

After several months of DA`s dirty tricks and desperate manoeuvres to deny the SACP and members of the Midvaal community their democratic and constitutional right to march, SACP is deeply pleased that finally the DA gave in and the march is now firmly on track.

The march will proceed this Sunday, 11th November 2012 starting from Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement, White House in Midvaal to handover the memorandum to the Mayor, Councillor Timothy Nast.

The permission to march followed the SACP`s request for intervention from the Provincial Office of the MEC of Community Safety and Liaison, comrade Faith Mazibuko. SACP also had to engage legal experts who volunteered their services to ensure that the march proceeds.

SACP`s march is part of the 2012 Red October Campaign to fight and root-out the scourge of corruption. As part of the preparation of the march, the SACP conducted a door-to-door Campaign in Midvaal on the 12th August 2012 to collect the demands of the residents and their experiences of being led by the right-wing DA.

SACP is also aware of allegations of instability, tensions and crisis within the Mayoral Committee, and we will be working hard to verify the alleged internal crisis and rot within the Mayoral Committee.

SACP march will also pledge support for the merger of the Midvaal and Emfuleni Municipalities to form a metro system of local government.

This will go a long way to create proper coordination, synergy and integration of service delivery for the poor and working class people of Midvaal, thus ending their nightmare of being ruled by an elitist, conservative and rightwing DA government.

SACP`s protest march will be part of an ongoing programme working together with our Alliance partners, the ANC, Cosatu and SANCO to consolidate and defend the revolution against imperialist and neo-colonialist interests represented by the DA in our country.

Issued on behalf of the SACP Gauteng Province by:

Provincial Secretary: Jacob Mamabolo: 0828841868
SACP Spokesperson: Thulani Malatsi: 0825214163

http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=3782 accessed 27-01-2015

Memorandum of demands delivered to the Democratic Alliance (DA) controlled Midvaal Municipality by the South African Communist Party (SACP) Gauteng Province on behalf of the people, working class and the poor of Midvaal

11 November 2012

SACP Gauteng Province, following thorough consultation with the people of Midvaal, who in their majority are African and Black, working class and poor.

Noting that the people of Midvaal are subjected to the most humiliating, inhuman and racist Democratic Alliance rule that represent and perpetuates the legacy of more than 300 years of colonialism of a special type, and continues even today to represent the interests of imperialist foreign powers in our country.

Further noting that the rule of the DA in Midvaal constitute a rightwing departure and deviation from the most revolutionary, liberating and progressive form of government of the African National Congress (ANC) under the most capable and resolute leadership collective of President Jacob Zuma,

Appreciating the fact that the government of the ANC is the only form of government that historically represent the real interests of the poor and working class.

And further that the ANC government`s Electoral Manifesto, programmes and activities to deliver a better life for all and improve the living conditions of the people of Midvaal is severely constrained and limited by the DA`s deviationist form of liberal, rightwing, exclusive, racist and elitist government affecting only the people of Midvaal in the whole of Gauteng Province.

Believing that the DA`s control of the Midvaal municipality is a historical mistake that should never be allowed through democratic and electoral processes to show its ugly face ever again in this province.

Further believing that the lives of the people of Midvaal got even worse under the DA rule and control of the Municipality.

Committed together with our Alliance partners, ANC, Cosatu and Sanco to bring to an immediate end the rule of the DA, and to improve and better the living conditions of the people of Midvaal.

Fully supportive and deeply committed to the current processes of the ANC Provincial Government to integrate and merge the municipalities of Midvaal and Emfuleni to form a single metro system of government.

Well informed, guide and based on our experience of interacting with the people of Midvaal through a door-to-door campaign conducted on the 12th August 2012,

We therefore present the following demands to be met by the DA rightwing and conservative Midvaal Municipality with immediate effect.

1. An immediate end to all acts of corruption, maladministration and waste of public resources and to direct such resources, and following the constitution of this country and its laws and policies to address the immediate needs and aspirations of the people of Midvaal.
2. To demonstrate a commitment to fight the scourge of corruption by presenting publicly a report to the people and residents of Midvaal on action taken against suspects and culprits implicated in acts of corruption as clearly stated in the report of the Office of the Public Protector on this Municipality. Public Protector found that your Municipality violated procurement policies, and other policies relating to auction, and sale of property and debt collection. Public Protector report was released in November 2011 and its almost a year now, we therefore challenge you to publicly state what you have done with those allegedly implicated in acts of corruption, maladministration and violation of the laws and policies of this country.
3. To provide appropriate land for all residential and developmental needs of the people of Midvaal, and to stop with immediate effect the alienation and sale of land to private and rich property developers at the expense of the working class and poor. Land is the common property of all the people as a whole irrespective of their class, race and gender.
4. Build and provide decent housing to all the residents of Midvaal and those living in informal settlements and farmworkers.
5. Stop with immediate effect the repossession and resale of people`s houses, especially those of targeted rate-payers for auction to the highest bidder, property developers and tenderpreneurs.
6. Immediate provision of Infrastructure for schools, proper roads, cultural and sports facilities, housing, water and other infrastructure needs in many African and Black areas. Children travel very far and risk their lives crossing rail lines to access education and school facilities.
7. Provide quality services to farm workers in Midvaal, especially in places such as Pillies farm and many others.
8. Stop with immediate effect corrupt practices and abuse of state resources to grant jobs and other social benefits to DA card carrying members. It is completely wrong, immoral and unethical to use DA membership card as a basis for service delivery, job opportunities, tenders and other privileges to sustain and guarantee DA rule in the municipality.
9. Stop with immediate the provision of services only to white residential areas, deliberately and consciously excluding predominantly African and Black areas. Provide refuse removal services, proper sanitation, water, roads, paving, cleaning and other services to predominantly African and Black areas.
10. Deliver with immediate effect decent toilets and ablution facilities to the residents of Midvaal, especially in predominantly Black and African residential areas.

As the SACP, we will immediately coordinate, link and facilitate with the Provincial Government, the provision of those services that are frustrated by the current DA rule of the Municipality.

We will facilitate that the provincial government intervene in this area for the delivery of all social services such as pensions to the elderly, disabled, children, registration for ID`s, crime and security, and education infrastructure.

As part of our programme to ensure the ongoing liberation of the people of Midvaal from the racist and most backward DA municipality that seeks to bring back Apartheid and racist policies of the past to benefit a minority at the expense of the majority,

We commit as the SACP and our Alliance partners, to urgently convene a service delivery and anti-corruption Summit for the people of Midvaal to evaluate and assess the DA`s response and commitment to deliver on this Memorandum.

We will chart a clear way forward to ensure that the ideals of the Freedom Charter and better life as contained in the ANC election Manifesto are realised in this Municipality.

Midvaal DA controlled Municipality is expected to respond to this Memorandum of Demands within the next 21 Days from date of receipt of this Memorandum.

We commit that whilst the DA is still temporarily in control of this Municipality, we will fight, sparing nothing of our effort, to ensure that the demands contained in this Memorandum are addressed with immediate effect.

Delivered on behalf of the SACP to the DA controlled Midvaal Municipality by (Name, surname and

signature).....

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Received on Behalf of the DA controlled Midvaal Municpality by (Name, surname and signature

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http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=3784 accessed 27-01-2015