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Fractured Communities and the Elusive State: A Study of State/Society Relations in Duncan Village



A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Sociology)

Johannesburg, 2020

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Supervised by

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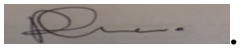
Signature  **……Date: 10 October 2020**

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree of examination in any university. The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.

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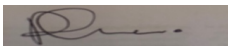
Signature of candidate: 

Date: 10 October 2020

Dedication

To the memory of my Mother and my Father: here is another one!

To my beloved family: Here is another product of our collective labour!

To the people of Duncan Village: I am forever indebted to you for your love and support.

Imfazwe mayiqhubekeke ijonge phambili!

Abstract

The thesis explores the shifting dynamics of state/society relations in South Africa. Focusing on the case of Duncan Village township and the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) in East London, I map the continuities and discontinuities of practices of the state in its everyday encounter with citizens. The thesis rests on the argument that the state has a multifaceted and multidimensional character. Understanding state/society relations therefore requires a multidimensional and multifaceted approach that makes a relational analysis of the actions and experiences of the actors within the state and communities. I argue that when we explore everyday state practices from above, the idea and the image of the state becomes an *elusive puzzle* that keeps on shifting when individuals and communities attempt to reach out to it to hold it accountable for its responsibilities, real or assumed. However, when the study of the state embraces a bottom-up approach, i.e. understanding it from the margins of society, the *elusive puzzle* is *demystified* and *reconfigured* as communities reject the imposed and traditional understanding of the state and choose to engage it in ways that are meaningful to their everyday experiences. This understanding of the state by communities making everyday claims on the state also facilitates the mutation of these communities into hybrid entities that defy and challenge nationalistic notions of citizenship and belonging. A close reading of the everyday interactions between state representatives and communities also suggests a continuation of the struggle for *inkululeko* (freedom), an objective which Duncan Village residents claim was never achieved notwithstanding the end of apartheid. Thus democracy that was achieved – a result that Duncan Village residents claim they did not fight for – presents itself as a 'new' *battlefield* on which struggles for the realisation of *inkululeko* continue to be fought. The thesis draws from an eighteen-month ethnographic mapping of Duncan Village and Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality in South Africa. To understand how everyday encounters between the state and communities de-reify the state and interrupt linear understanding of identities that constitute a community, the study brings together analyses of thirty life histories of local historians, fifty-two interviews/conversations, seven focus group discussions, archival work and participant observation, and employs the extended case method, intersectional feminism(s), fragmented narrative and sociology of rumour as the main methodologies.

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HANS
LIMBA
MALUNGA
NOMVETE
Dphini
Buffalo Flats
N
W
E
Duncan Villages Floodlines

Vocabulary

Abahlali	residents
Abahlali basemagalini	residents of the informal settlements
Abantu baseGauteng	people from Johannesburg
Abantu basezindlini	people from the formal houses
Abantu bokufika	newcomers/new arrivals
AmaGhana	African foreign nationals
AmaGrigamba	Spaza shops/local tuckshops owners
Amakwerekwere	foreigners in Gauteng
AmaPakistani	Pakistanians
AmaZulu	non-Xhosa speakers
Emagalini	where there are shacks/shacks area
Esiqikini	informal settlements
Ezindlini	formal houses/areas where there are formal houses
Inkululeko	Freedom
Intando yesininzi	democracy (loosely translated)
Inzalelwane	the born-and-bred
Isiqiki	an informal settlement
Umphakathi	community members
Umuntu ofikayo	a newcomer/a new arrival

Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
ASM	Alternative Means of Survival
ANCYL	ANC Youth League
BCMM	Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality
CR17	Cyril Ramaphosa's 2017 Elections Campaign
DA	Democratic Alliance
DVRI	Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative
DRVA	Duncan Village Residents Association
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GBV	gender-based violence
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
MK	uMkhonto weSizwe
NDZ	Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's 2017 Elections Campaign
PAC	Pan-African Congress
POP	Public Order Policing
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Project
SAAWU	South African Allied Workers Union
SACP	South African Communist Party
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers' Union

SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
NP	The National Party
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front
UCT	University of Cape Town
UWC	University of the Western Cape

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Chapter 1

Duncan Village – a Site of Struggle, Building Hopes and Missed Opportunities

1.1. Introduction

This thesis explores state/society relations with an aim to unpack ways in which the interplay between the state and communities constitutes and reconstitutes the state and the community. Taking a relational analysis approach, which explores both intra-state and intra-community relations allows an understanding of how the *elusive state* is produced and how communities are fractured through the everyday encounters between the state and communities at the margins. This thesis is about everyday forms of resistance and survival strategies of the people of Duncan Village and how these are constantly negotiated through everyday interactions among community members and local state officials of Buffalo City. The thesis rests on the argument that the state has a multifaceted and multidimensional character. Understanding state/society relations therefore requires a multidimensional and multifaceted approach that takes a relational approach to studying the actions and experiences of the actors within the state and communities. I argue that when exploring everyday state practices from above, the idea and the image of the state presents an *elusive puzzle* that individuals and communities struggle to locate. However, when the study of the state shifts the focus to the everyday interactions between state officials and communities, the *elusive puzzle* is *demystified* and *reconfigured* as communities and ground officials reject the imposed idea of the state and choose to engage it in ways that are meaningful to their everyday experiences. A close reading of these intra-community relations suggests that everyday contestations for access over state resources and opportunities, and claims of belonging to the township fracture local communities in ways that disrupt notions of citizenship, communities, and claims of belonging.

The thesis draws from an eighteen month ethnographic mapping of Duncan Village – a black township located about three kilometres from the East London city centre, and Buffalo City – the third largest metropolitan municipality in South Africa. The study brings together analyses of thirty life histories of local historians, fifty-two interviews/conversations, seven focus group discussions, archival work and participant observation. The study employs the extended case method, intersectional feminism(s), fragmented narrative and sociology of rumour as the main methodologies that inform data collection, data analysis and the final writing process. The

triangulation of these methodologies allowed for a coherent analysis of the study that enabled the mapping to move back and forth into the histories and present realities of Duncan Village Township and Buffalo City. This enabled the understanding of how the *elusive state* is produced and how communities become fractured through their everyday encounters with the state.

Through an exploration of intra-community relations of Duncan Village residents from the 1980s to the present, the thesis maps the trajectory of their relations from the apartheid to the post-1994 state through everyday interactions to understand how history, the present, and the future are embodied, imagined, and re-imagined. The study reveals how the idea of 'a community' has shifted from how residents of Duncan Village used to mobilise and relate to each other during apartheid and how they relate post-1994. During apartheid, there was a collective goal towards ending the despotic regime. This meant that residents came together against a common enemy. However, post-1994, the idea of 'a community' has shifted. Community boundaries have become porous, overlapping and intersecting. The mobilisation and deployment of identities of *inzalelwane* (the born-and-bred), *abantu bokufika* (newcomers/new arrivals), *amaGhana* (foreigners of African origin) and *amaGrigamba* (spaza shop owners of Pakistan origin) among others, complicate the concept of citizenship by opening up blurred and complex meanings of belonging. These relations have contributed to '*layered citizenship'* in which nationalism proves to be a secondary or irrelevant concern when communities at the margins are fighting for access to resources. In fact, nationalism poses a greater threat for local nationals as contestations over access continue.

The study also explores narratives concerning the failures of the South African democratic transition in addressing the legacies of apartheid. Most studies have explored the democratic transition and concluded that democracy has failed to deliver what was expected by those who fought for liberation. This has led to narratives of failed democracy, contradictions of democracy, or shortfalls of democracy – and all these narratives treat democracy as an end in itself. This thesis, however, argues that paying attention to the meanings attached to anti-apartheid struggles and expectations thereof sheds some light in understanding how and why 'democracy' has been problematically marked as the transitional period, the pillar between the old and the new dispensation, and how it stands as a marker of continuities and discontinuities of state practices. A close reading of the narratives of anti-apartheid struggles reveals that residents of Duncan Village fought for *inkululeko* (Xhosa word for freedom), not democracy.

I argue that democracy is a concept that was imposed through the negotiated transition in South Africa as it seemed not to exist in the vocabulary of Xhosa speakers that I spoke to in Duncan Village. Most importantly, democracy has become a 'new' *battlefield* on which contestations and struggles over the realisation of *inkululeko* continue in present day Duncan Village.

The thesis also maps the role of womxn in politics from apartheid to the present period to explore the role of patriarchy in communities and the state. It takes the analysis of the reconstitution of communities in Duncan Village as a point of departure to understand ways in which womxn's everyday struggles are located within different *battlefields*: the (physical) body; the home/family; the community; and the (local) state. I argue that in a struggle for inclusive communities and inclusive citizenship, womxn's struggles remain entrenched within the patriarchal system that orders everyday societal relations. Despite all forms of disruptions on the patriarchal infrastructure at the state or community level, these spaces remain unsafe for womxn as they continue to be structured by patriarchal relations. Broader systems of neoliberalism, state policies and violent masculinities continue to structure inequality and the exclusion of womxn. The struggle for inclusive citizenship and inclusive communities therefore demands a re-imagination of alternative ways of fighting patriarchy outside its confines.

1.2. Background and Context

1.2.1. Black Sunday and the Bantu Square Massacre (1952)

Duncan Village has a long history of resistance and violence. The events of the Bantu Square massacre that led to Black Sunday are some of the cases that are scantly recorded, despite the fact that they remain engraved in the memories of the residents of Duncan Village. It is not quite clear who named the day, but oral historians[1] contend that Black Sunday is a day of remembering the black cloud that befell the community of Duncan Village on the 9th of November 1952. They mourn more than two hundred lives that were lost and never formally recorded in history. One of these lives is that of Sister Quinlan Aidan (hereafter referred to as Sr Aidan) who dedicated her life to and was loved by her community. On the 26th of June 1952, the African National Congress (ANC) launched a Defiance Campaign to resist pass laws,

[1] I use the term 'local historians' throughout the thesis to refer to the local residents who shared their life histories and helped to shape the historical perspective of this project. This is to acknowledge their intellectual labour, not only as participants, but also as intellectuals who are able to write (orally) their own history.

curfews, the Group Areas Act, and the Suppression of Communism Act (Tom Lodge 1983; Breier 2015; Bank and Carton 2016). The wave of the Defiance Campaign had started in Durban sweeping to Johannesburg and then to Kimberly and Port Elizabeth, among other regions. Most of the ANC leaders had already been banned under the Riotous Assemblies and the Suppression of Communism Act (Mager and Minkley 1990; Daily Dispatch, 11 November 1952). Alcott Skei Gwentshe who was one of the Youth League leaders in Duncan Village requested permission for a political gathering despite the issuing of the Gatherings Act. The permission was declined and Gwentshe made a further request for a religious gathering that was permitted (Mager and Minkley 1990; Breire 2015; Bank and Carton 2016).[2]

Disguised as a church gathering, the meeting at Bantu Square was attended by a crowd estimated to have been between 1 500 and 2000 people. As local historians and other writers maintain, hundreds of womxn put on their *Manyano*[3] uniforms and headed to the prayer gathering. While the preacher was still reading the bible, the police issued a warning citing that it was not a religious gathering. It is not clear what followed as there are different narratives depending on what side of the story is being emphasised. Local historians and some scholars argue that the police fired a warning shot that was followed by live ammunition and the crowd fled (Interviews with Qebeyi, 2014, 2016, 2017; Bank and Carton 2016). Others maintain that the crowd refused to disperse, pelted police with stones and police retaliated with live ammunition (cf. Delany 1964; Mager and Minkley 1990; Buur 2009; Breire 2015). What is consistent across these narratives is that live ammunition was fired, and the crowd fled during which others got stampeded, shot at, injured and some killed. The crowd then broke into smaller groups while the police picked those who were injured and locked them up in police trucks. One womxn recalls, "I fell down after being shot at and someone tried to pick me up. The police said to him she is already ours, leave her. They picked me up and put me in their car. We were many" (*Dark Cloud*, 2011). The violence continued for about a week with police arresting and killing people, while residents burned anything associated with state power like municipal buildings and offices.

An eyewitness account of the hospital scene at the casualty ward of Frere Hospital in East London is captured by Connie Manse Ngcaba in her moving biography '*May I Have This Dance?'*

[2] See Ndlovu (2020) for a detailed case study of Black Sunday.
[3] The name of a church womxn's union adapted from the Xhosa word meaning uniting.

> I first experienced the barbarity of apartheid in November 1952. It was a Sunday afternoon. I was looking to the end of my shift at 4.30 pm. Suddenly, there was a call on the intercom "Emergency. Emergency in Casualty. Please, everyone come" …What was usually a well-ordered unit was in utter chaos. There was blood everywhere, injured people groaning and pleading for help…more ambulance drivers were pushing their way in with heavy stretchers…Dozens of friends and family members anxiously pushed into the crowd, hoping to identify those on the floor. The police were there too pulling people aside, asking questions, threatening, trying to find ringleaders of what they called a riot…My head reeling, I picked my way over bodies of people who were already dead…some still clutched the Bibles fresh from church…some of the injured had been shot in the head and the back. If they survived, they would probably be permanently crippled or paralysed (Ngcaba 2015: 43-44).

Although the death of Sr Aidan made international headlines, back in East London the official statistics maintained that nine people died including two Europeans i.e. Sr Aidan and Barend Vorster – a man who was selling insurance policies to the local residents of Duncan Village. More than six decades later, the real number of Black people who died is still unknown despite existing evidence in the public domain. The South African state has not paid attention to identifying the official number and gender distribution of those who died. The then apartheid policeman, Donald Card, who was tasked with investigating the murder of Sr Aidan, later acknowledged that their investigation revealed that more than two hundred Black people died on Black Sunday. In their investigation, Card claims that they found that many bodies were not reported because of the fear that reporting would lead to further victimisation and arrests for the murder of Sr Aidan. In *Dark Cloud* (2011), a documentary produced by the local historian, Koko Qebeyi as commissioned by the Eastern Cape Department of Sports and Culture, Donald Card[4] is captured saying that some of the dead bodies were secretly transported to King Williams Town, while others crossed the Great Kei River to the rural areas (see also Breire 2015 and Bank and Carton 2016). Local historians also note that other funerals in the township took place at night where less than five people could gather due to police violence.

Although most of the events of Black Sunday are not widely documented in existing literature, the death of Sr Aidan is fairly well documented[5] (McFall 1963; Mager and Menkely 1990; Bank and Bank 2013; Breire 2016). Briefly, Sr Aidan was a medical doctor and part of the Dominican Sisters, born in Ireland in 1914. She arrived in King Williams Town, South Africa

[4] See Thomas 2007 for Donald Card's comprehensive biography.
[5] For the full biography of Sr Aidan see Delaney, B. (1954). *A Martyr of Charity. Sister Mary Aidan Quinlan, O.P., Mission Doctor at St. Peter Claver Mission, East London*. Port Elizabeth.

on the 16th of April 1938. In 1940, she started her medical career at Glen Grey hospital and established her clinic at St Peter Claver Mission, Duncan Village in 1949 where she worked until she met her tragic death (Delany 1954). The church played a very important role in the community of Duncan Village during the anti-apartheid resistance struggles and housed activists at the height of police violence (see *Chapter 3: Image 5*). The legacy of her work remains in the hearts of the people of Duncan Village to date and her Memorial Centre at St Claver Mission continues to run a soup kitchen for the needy to date.

There are contradicting narratives on how Sr Aidan met her death. Local historians and other scholars contend that while she was driving into the township, she met with a mob that was angered by white police violence. She was then attacked, killed and burnt in her car. These narratives maintain that she was killed because Black people wanted to send a message to white power that they were not afraid of them [the mainly white police] (Qebeyi 2014, 206, 2017, Blauuw 2017, Bank and Carton 2016). Other writers document that she was rushing to the township to attend to possible injuries caused by police violence. She was then met by a "frenzied mob led by tsotsis and unruly youths, who wanted nothing else but blood" (Delany 1954: 21). These narratives maintain that Sr Aidan was killed and burned, and her body was mutilated and cannibalised. However, despite these differences, the narratives converge on the facts that she was attacked, killed, and burnt while she was holding her rosary praying (McFall 1963; Mager and Menkely 1990; Breire 2016). Seven people were convicted for her murder and two of them, Vumile Nonqobo (19) and Albert Mgxwiti (45), were sentenced to death by hanging.

As mentioned earlier, the re-telling of the history of Black Sunday has centered on the narratives of the death of Sr Aidan while being silent on the deaths of more than 200 Black lives. Unearthing this history in this thesis serves two purposes. Firstly, I wish to rewrite the history of the struggles of Duncan Village in ways that local residents made and continue to make sense of the events. This is important for this work because questions of citizenship and contested identities that I explore in *Chapter 4* draw largely from this historical event. The re-telling of the history of Black Sunday in post-1994 Duncan Village through narratives of local historians suggests that the knowledge and 'accuracy' of re-telling the story frames the idea of belonging to the township. The history of Black Sunday seems to be used as a marker of inclusion (for those who consider themselves to be *inzalelwane*) and exclusion (for those

considered to be *abantu bokufika*)[6] in the township and therefore 'rightful' citizenship in Duncan Village (see *Chapter 4*).

Secondly, re-writing the story of Sr Aidan by centering the Black Sunday and the Bantu Square massacre is important because it brings to life some of the voices that have been erased and silenced in most historical narratives of the Black Sunday. This is not to downplay the tragic death of Sr Aidan on whom the story is centered, but to re-center her death and locate it within the historical context in which it occurred. The narratives of the local historians suggest a logic of identifying a place (Bantu Square) and locating an event (Black Sunday) that points to the tragedy (the death of Sr Aidan). I argue that re-telling the story of Black Sunday by identifying the logic behind it allows us not to reduce this historical event to a 'senseless killing of a Roman Catholic nun' as some narratives have suggested (Delany 1954; McFall 1963; Mager and Minkley 1990). By so doing, we begin to contextualise township resistance struggles and locate the role of Black womxn within broader township struggles. Re-writing the story of Sr Aidan by centering Black Sunday and locating it at Bantu Square presents an opportunity to recognise and acknowledge the activism of hundreds of womxn who died with her on that fateful Black Sunday (see Ndlovu 2020). This is important for understanding the historical background of the role of womxn in township struggles and how the struggle has continued post-1994 (see *Chapter 7).* Black Sunday remains an important event in the historical narratives of the struggle in Duncan Village. One of the local historians, Koko Qebeyi, maintains that when the statistics of more than 200 people who died on Black Sunday are acknowledged, Black Sunday becomes the largest massacre in the history of the country (Qebeyi 2011; Bank and Carton 2016).

1.2.2. The Duncan Village Massacre (1985)

In the 1980s, Duncan Village became one of the focal sites where struggles against apartheid rule took place. On 11 August 1985, following the funeral of murdered United Democratic Front (UDF) leader, Victoria Mxenge (uNoMxenge), in Rayi Village in Durban, Duncan Village became a scene of violence that was to define the landscape of resistance for the coming years. Mourners returning from the burial carried out arson attacks and violence continued in the following days. This ultimately left 23 people dead and 138 injured. The events associated

[6] These are some of the identities that have emerged from the narratives of Duncan Village as a way of claiming space. Inzalelwane are those who are considered to have been born and bred in Duncan Village, and abantu bokufika are those who are considered to be newcomers or those who arrived in the township during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

with this violence later dominated the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) post-1994 (TRC Special Report; Ndhlovu 2015). Like many other Black townships during that time, residents of Duncan Village were fighting issues of forced removals where the apartheid state wanted to move the entire population of Duncan Village to a township known as Mdantsane following some of the massive removals of the 1950s and 1960s. In recognition of the role played by the township in the struggle, Duncan Village was identified as one of six townships for the Presidential Urban Renewal Projects in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (RDP White Paper; Bank 2011), and thus received massive funding for development. The township therefore remains a space where old and new struggles over poverty, unemployment, homelessness and precarity converge and seek redress from the state. This makes it an interesting case for exploring state/society relations over the administration of two different governing systems (apartheid and post-1994 South Africa).

While the main focus of the thesis is on the everyday, mundane interactions, I am aware of the contradictions that may be raised by the inclusion of these two spectacular events. Their inclusion in the background has been motivated by their salience on the narratives of everyday life that shapes the everyday contestations of space in post-1994 Duncan Village. These historical episodes of resistance remain important for understanding state/society relations in Duncan Village and Buffalo City. In *Chapter 4*, I explore intra-society relations in Duncan Village to understand how everyday life is organised in the township and how these relations shape ways in which questions of citizenship and belonging are (re)imagined and contested. Like the history of Black Sunday, the Duncan Village massacre remains an important marker of exclusion and inclusion i.e. who belongs or does not belong to the township. Those who claim to belong to Duncan Village (*inzalelwane*) argue that in re-telling its history, a 'logical'[7] understanding of events of Black Sunday and the 1985 massacre is a testimony on whether one is an *inzalelwane* or *umuntu ofikayo.* Those who claim to be *inzalelwane* are expected to be able to re-tell the story of Black Sunday in detail such that they include details such as "*ngalamini kutyiwa uNongendi*" (on the day when they ate the Catholic nun) and the names of the two men who were convicted and hanged for Sr Aidan's murder. In re-telling the history of the 1985 Duncan Village massacre, details that include the funeral of uNoMxenge and the killing of 23 people in which the 23rd was a young child on the back of the mother remain key in marking one's belonging to the township as *inzalelwane*. Failure to re-tell these events means

[7] I use 'logic' in inverted commas because this logic is contested by local residents. I also challenge the logic of retelling historical stories later in Chapter 2 & 7.

that one does not belong to Duncan Village; that one came to Duncan Village in the late 1980s; or that one does not have direct kinship with anyone with first-hand experience of this history. Those unable to narrate these facts are therefore viewed and named as *abantu bokufika* and it is claimed that they do not deserve access to any public goods in Duncan Village (see *Chapter 4*).

1.2.3. Resistance in Apartheid Black South African Townships

Protest as a form of resistance has characterised state/society engagements as far as the South African history of resistance can be remembered. Under apartheid, the marginalised poor fought against their forms of exclusion and marginalisation in the everyday through protests and boycotting the payments of rents and services (Naidoo 2007). Until the mid-1970s, Black Africans were considered as temporary residents in the urban city with regulated movement through Pass Laws. Consequently, the apartheid government made very little public investment to develop black townships (Posel 2004; Barchiesi 2007). In the late 1980s, increased industrialisation, demand for cheap unskilled labour in the cities, intensified resistance by the restricted Black population and the lifting of formal restrictions on African urbanisation forced the apartheid state to relax some of the strict laws governing the movement of people in the urban areas. However, there were serious housing backlogs that had developed in the preceding years. With the increase in housing demands, newly urbanised workers invaded land and they established squatter settlements. The government responded by introducing forms of 'controlled squatting', setting up 'site and service' schemes and building match-box houses seen to be 'suitable' for accommodating the Blacks (Seekings 2000:120). From 1982, issues of rent and bus fare increments, shack demolitions and lack of housing in black townships sparked protests across the country in areas such as Pietermaritzburg (1982), Durban and Mdantsane (1983), and Cape Town, the Free State and Attridgeville (1984) (Nisson 1991; Seekings 2000). The intensification of resistance to forced removals in Duncan Village is also located within this period where the local activists were responding to the waves of resistance across the country.

In the early 1990s, South Africans saw the ushering in of a negotiated settlement to end apartheid rule and begin the transition to democracy. This came along with the creation of new institutions of democracy such as the South African Constitution, the rule of law, legislation, and the constitutional court among others. During this period many South Africans had their hopes raised with the belief that the ANC led government was going to improve their lives.

These expectations were embedded in the slogan of the ANC, "a better life for all" and also in the widely distributed election manifesto document: The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), a programme for socio-economic transformation. The popular view in South African society is that the RDP was broadly redistributive in nature as reflected by its commitment to providing basic material needs to the poorest citizens including access to adequate housing, water and electricity (Koelble & LiPuma 2010). Some of the ideas that shaped the RDP document were rooted in the Freedom Charter – a document adopted by organisations belonging to the Congress tradition in 1955. Reflecting on the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, Hudson (1986) noted how the Charter continues to shape South African politics. He argues that as controversial as the Freedom Charter is/was, in relation to the project of nationalisation of the key points of the economy, political groupings were still required to define their political standing in relation to the Charter – a position that demanded more than its endorsement or rejection. It is within an understanding of these promises of increased access to adequate housing and free access to water and electricity that associated narratives of the democratic transition with expectations of improved socio-economic conditions and a realisation of equality are embedded.

However, with the transition to democracy, the post-1994 government has not been able to deliver on many of the promises made during the liberation struggle. Some of the criticisms have been levelled at the new government making promises without having assessed the available resources that were meant to provide for a minority of the population during apartheid (see *Chapter 5*). Although there has been statistical information indicating that the government has improved access to basic services, this information has not translated into socio-economic realities for most poor South Africans. More significantly, in February 1995, the South African government launched the Masakhane (we are building or let's build) campaign based on the claims of addressing inequalities of the past by allowing poor South Africans to work together with the government towards building the country (see McDonald and Pape 2002; Naidoo 2007). Through Masakhane, the state justified the need to cultivate a 'responsible citizen.' Underpinning the idea of becoming 'responsible' was the duty to pay for services consumed. The realities of the project were that it was meant to urge residents to pay for services such as water, electricity, sewage and refuse collection, and to do away with the culture of defiance and non-payment of the 1980s. McDonald and Pape (2002) argue that by 1997 it was clear that the main objective of Masakhane was to make Black communities pay for their consumption.

Masakhane became "the lodestar in the building of a hegemonic framework of cost recovery" (McDonald and Pape 2002:2).

Cost recovery emerged as one aspect of the adoption by the ANC government of neoliberal principles along with fiscal restraint, export orientation, privatisation and corporatisation. These were introduced in the Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR), adopted by the ANC-led government as a non-negotiable economic policy in 1996 (McDonald and Pape 2002). However, this was highly contested by the left within the ANC, the trade unions and civic organisations. GEAR was aimed at creating a fast-growing, competitive economy by reducing state intervention in business, targeting unemployment through increased private foreign investment, restructuring of the public sector, different forms of privatisation, and making flexible the labour economy (GEAR White Paper, 1996).

This economic policy shift came to be understood by many as a home-grown Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) because it seemed that the South African government took a conscious step in shifting its economic policy from what was seen as a more redistributive RDP to a more neoliberal oriented GEAR. Narratives of corruption, patronage networks and clientelism explored in this thesis are largely a response to this economic shift from the 'redistributive' RDP to a neoliberal leaning GEAR that has prioritised privatisation of basic services. The restructuring of markets has largely prevented the emerging black middle class from full participation in the economy, while other aspects of the home-grown SAP continue to deny poor communities access to basic goods and services. Narratives of corruption, as I argue in *Chapter 5*, are to be understood in light of these economic policy developments.

The introduction of 'cost recovery' and privatisation policies have been seen by many South Africans as reflective of a compromised democracy and as an attack on the poor (see Barchiesi 2004; Bond 1999; McDonald & Pape 2002; Naidoo & Veriava 2005; Naidoo 2007; Marais 2011). Naidoo and Veriava (2004) argue that the introduction of the logic of 'cost recovery' in the delivery of basic services is a direct attack on the lives of the poor by demanding that the poor should pay for basic services that they cannot afford. This is because the system of cost recovery has been seen as defining and treating residents as modern consumers or customers before they are considered as citizens (Khunou 2002). This means that citizenship in a capitalist society is characterised by an individual's ability to pay in order to access basic services. The struggles that have emerged in response to these policies have been understood as "struggles against the commodification of daily life" (Naidoo 2007: 57).

Like many other black townships, residents in Buffalo City and Duncan Village had hoped that the democratic dispensation would translate into the *inkululeko* that they fought for. Although the question of democracy remains a popular narrative in public spaces and scholarly work, residents of Duncan Village do not articulate their anti-apartheid struggles as directed towards the achievement of democracy. According to their understanding, democracy is something that arrived with suddenness while they were busy fighting for *inkululeko*. For them, democracy is not an end in itself; it provided a new space – a *battlefield* for the continuation of the struggle towards a realisation of the *inkululeko* that was fought for (see *Chapter 5*).

1.2.4. A Brief History of Liberation Movements in Duncan Village

The presence of the ANC in the Duncan Village township dates back to the launch of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) in 1949 under the leadership of Alcott Skei Gwentshe, Cornelius Judah Fazzie and Joel Lengisi (https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/cornelius-judah-fazzie; accessed 05/12/2019). One of the events that put the organisation in the spotlight is the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s that led to the historical events of Black Sunday that I spoke of earlier. In the period following the Defiance Campaign until the late 1980s, most ANC and the Pan-African Congress leaders had been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. Writing in '*Black Politics in South Africa since 1945,*' Tom Lodge notes that the youth league of East London was more vibrant than the actual mother body (Lodge 1983). It therefore comes as no surprise that most struggles and resistance campaigns were organised and led by the youth in Duncan Village.

Lodge contends that in the 1980s the urban townships became the "primary battleground" for struggles against the despotic apartheid regime (Lodge 1983: 140). In Duncan Village, the ANCYL organised residents to boycott the elections for the new Gompo Community Council (GCC) as part of the Black Local Authority (Bank 2011). In 1982, the youth of Duncan Village came together to form the Duncan Village Residents Association (DRVA) – a civic organisation that mobilised residents to organise anti-forced removals campaigns. In 1983, after the launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF), DVRA became affiliated to the UDF and continued to organise protests centering on township struggles. By 1984, the DVRA was fully organised and took over power and they set up community structures to deal with everyday grievances in the tradition of 'People's Power' (Bank 2011).

The South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) was formed in 1992 to take up struggles for popular justice and other national political issues through its affiliation to the UDF (Seekings 2011). In Duncan Village, DVRA was also restructured in relation to other national civic organisations, and, by default, its members became members of SANCO. SANCO became the primary representative of issues related to social justice even during the negotiation process. However, post-1996, there was an introduction of institutional and representative democracy. SANCO as an organisation was then faced with a dilemma - whether "to work with, struggle with, or compete with existing political parties" (Seekings 2011: 142). By 1997, it became clear that SANCO had lost its original mandate. If it was to continue as a "revolutionary social movement," it meant that it would do so in the same sense that the ANC was a "revolutionary party" (Seekings 20111: 142).

After the democratic transition, civic organisations seem to have offered few alternatives to the emerging state policies and therefore little support to affected communities. Patrick Heller argues, in his work on politics of democratic decentralisation of state power in Kerala, South Africa and Porto Alegre, that despite the rise to power of broad-based movements committed to democratic deepening, circumstances in South Africa conspired to tilt the balance in favour of state power (Heller 2001: 158). Furthermore, he argues that the ANC's drift towards centralised control and technocratic domination can only be explained by demobilisation of popular sectors and the state's disengagement from civil society (ibid.). Naidoo (2007) notes that after the introduction of Masakhane, ANC local branches and SANCO members were very active in discouraging the culture of defiance and encouraging South Africans to be responsible citizens through paying for their own consumption. It is within this broader political context that SANCO and DVRA members became co-opted into local government structures. Most of the early ward councillors of the ANC were founding members of DVRA and members of SANCO.

The political context of Duncan Village is currently charged with high energies of contestation between the ANC, the Democratic Alliance (DA), the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), and the United Democratic Front (UDF). While the ANC remains the popular majority party, the 2016 local government elections have seen the rise of the DA with some members of the ANC breaking away to join the DA and later returning to the ANC over contestations of local council candidates. This has caused fractures within the struggling ANC which was divided along factional lines at the time this research was conducted. While the internal factions within Duncan Village ANC are aligned to the broader regional and national factions, they remain

important networks of access to basic services, resources and opportunities in the township. Council positions are strategically campaigned for in ways that candidates position themselves in ways that will ensure that they retain their positions in the next term. Positions in ward committees are also contested as they have become networks of access for municipal jobs, housing opportunities, food parcels and other opportunities that arise. In *Chapters 4 & 5,* I explore some of the ways in which strategic political positioning serves as a means for political and economic survival for the local politicians and communities. However, these networks also become spaces of struggle for womxn as the networks remain structured along patriarchal lines (see *Chapter 7*).

1.3. Research Sites

This is a relational study that seeks to bring together the analysis of the experiences of the residents of Duncan Village with those of the BCMM local state representatives. The study therefore draws its data from both the experiences of BCMM (its officials and institutional practices) – the municipality responsible for delivering services in Duncan Village, and from those of Duncan Village township residents. This relational analysis allows for the exploration of different experiences that are important in the everyday constructions of state/society relations from the perspective of residents of Duncan Village and those of BCMM through intra-community relations (see *Chapter 4*), intra-state relations (see *Chapter 6*), and everyday interactions across (assumed) divides of state and society (see *Chapters 5 & 6*). Exploring these experiences within and across the two sites has allowed for a nuanced understanding of state/society relations that exposed the porosity of the state boundaries that appear to be fixed in popular literature on state and society relations. Furthermore, the relational approach allows this project to treat all participants as actors with agency and to deconstruct the reified idea of the state by beginning to treat it as a space to be (re)constructed in ways that make sense to and are relevant to the everyday experiences of the people of Buffalo City.

1.3.1. The Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM)

Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) is located in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. The province has an estimated population of 6.8 million contributing 12.7% of the overall South African population and making it the 3rd largest in population, and 2nd largest province geographically. The total population of Buffalo City is estimated at an 834 997

million people, making up 11.5% of the provincial population. 85% of the population is black African; 7% is White; 6.7% is Coloured and about 1.3% is Indian/Asian (Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2014/15:27-28). According to the BCMM 2014/15 IDP, 48% of the population was living below the poverty line. The BCMM had 50% of the total number of informal dwellings in the whole province with the highest number of them located in Duncan Village (IDP 2014/15: 59).

The BCMM's jurisdiction covers East London and the former Magisterial District of Ciskei, Mdantsane, Zwelitsha and King Williams Town. Like other municipalities across the country, BCMM operates in a complex structure that combines the political and administrative wings to facilitate the running of the municipality. The political structure is outlined in Section 12 notice of the Member of the Executive Council for Local Government and Traditional Affairs (MECLGTA). According to section 9(d) of the Municipal Structures Act of 1998, the Members of the Executive Council (MEC) for LGTA has determined that Buffalo City Metropolitan Council would have an Executive Mayoral System combined with a Ward Participatory System. At the time this study was conducted, the Executive Mayor was Councillor Xola Pakati with Councillor Zoliswa Matana as the Deputy Executive Mayor. The BCMM has 100 councillors; 50 are elected in terms of the system of proportional representation and the other 50 represent the 50 wards in the municipality. The Executive Mayor, Deputy Mayor, Council Speaker and Chief Whip are elected by the first Council Meeting and there are 9 members of the Mayoral Committee (IDP 2014/15: 244).

Sections 72-78 of the Municipal Structures Act has established another structure of ward committees for the 50 wards. Ward committees consist of 10 members and they are chaired by the ward councillors. These are consultative community structures responsible for broadening participation in the democratic process of the Council. They are also responsible for assisting the ward councillor with organising consultation, information dissemination and encouraging community participation within the ward (IDP 2014/15: 244). Sections 79 and 80 of the Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998 and section 60 of the Constitution have established Portfolio Committees responsible for assisting and advising the Executive Mayor (IDP 2014/15: 244).

The political structure works together with the administrative structure of BCMM in the running of the municipality. The administrative structure is headed by the City Manager and at the time this study was conducted the incumbent was Andile Sihlahla who assumed his office

duties in June 2017. The office of the City Manager functions together with other directorates: Executive Support Services, Corporate Services, Economic Development and Agency, Infrastructure, Municipal Services, Health, Public Safety and Emergency Services, Finance, Development and Spatial Planning, and Human Settlements (IDP 2014/15: 245). These Directorates are further disaggregated into other smaller departments. While planning takes place at higher levels, implementation takes place at the lowest level of the bureaucracy. For example, the Human Settlements Directorate consists of the following departments: Housing Planning and Strategy, Housing Delivery and Implementation, and Human Settlements Special Projects. These departments are further broken down to direct connections to the communities.

For instance, the functions of the Housing Delivery and Implementation directorate are further divided and delegated to Programme Manager: Technical and Implementation, Programme Manager: Housing Contracts, and Programme Manager: Housing Infrastructure Projects. These structures interact directly with communities as per their designations (IDP 2014/15: 249). These managers further have their subordinate teams that they work with who are at the final level of implementation and interact directly with communities. It is through this bureaucratic structure that the practice of service delivery is carried out in Buffalo City. Decisions take place at a higher level and they have to go through the bureaucracy to reach the communities. Although there are legal frameworks establishing these structures, evidence from the BCMM shows that these relations are not harmonious. They have to be negotiated, reconfigured and mediated by different structures, political factions and social relations at all levels (see *Chapter 5 & 6*). Duncan Village township falls under the jurisdiction of this municipality. This means that the everyday experiences of the lives of residents are embedded within its formal and informal structures and relations. This is to say the formal and informal processes within the municipality are key to understanding everyday interactions between the state and communities.

1.3.2. Duncan Village Township

The study draws from the experiences of people in Duncan Village township in the Eastern Cape Province. I chose the township because of its historical role of resistance during apartheid and its current socio-economic conditions and prevalence of community protests (sometimes violent) that from the surface expose some similarities in repertoires and grievances with those of the apartheid era. Duncan Village is located less than 5 kilometres from the East London

city centre, which makes the city easily accessible for both motorists and pedestrians. The population is estimated at 16 380 people where 52.44% are females and 47.56% are males. Its population is predominantly Africans who make 99.19% of the total population, 0.25% are Coloureds, 0.06% are White, 0.06% are Indians/Asians and 0.41% of the population is classified as other. IsiXhosa is the dominant language with 91.56% speakers, 4.34% of the population speaks English, and 1% speaks Afrikaans among other languages (IDP 2014/15). Post-1994, the township has been characterised by the rapid influx of people to gain a foothold into the local economy which contributes to the current status of overcrowding and mushrooming of shacks.

Duncan Village is a black township that began as what was called a 'leasehold tenure area' in 1941 by then Governor of East London, Sir Patrick Duncan, who oversaw its establishment in the East Bank location and gave the area his name, hence Duncan Village. After the establishment of the township, little effort was made to provide basic services for new residents (Manona, Bank and Higginbottom 1996). The process of neglect and overcrowding continued into the 1950s when the government planned the demolition of Duncan Village aiming to relocate the entire population to Mdantsane (Monana et al. 1996). Protests against forced removals were to define the terrain of resistance throughout the 1980s, recording some of the most violent protests like those of 1985-6.

The township today is divided into six wards with each headed by a ward councillor and ward committees representing different social groupings. There are no clear divisions between the informal parts and formal parts of the township since most shacks have been erected in the open spaces between the formal houses. Most of the formal houses were built by the apartheid government and while some remain strong, some have dilapidated, some are falling apart and some have been replaced with shacks (see *Chapter 3*). The informal parts of Duncan Village are made of zinc and wooden shacks. Some of them are lined with cardboard inside that is used as a ceiling or lining to protect the occupants from extreme weather conditions such as hot summers and cold winters. In the informal parts of Duncan Village residents use communal toilets that are provided by the municipality and stand-pipes located mainly at the edge of each informal settlement (see *Chapter 3*). These communal toilets are shared by at least a hundred to three-hundred people depending on the size of the settlement. There is a strong reliance on the bucket system as a replacement for the actual toilet, for daily sanitary activities, particularly in the informal parts of Duncan Village. Residents prefer to use the bucket system since in many areas toilets are far from their shacks and they are dangerous to use, especially at night.

1.4. Research Questions and Rationale

The township of Duncan Village remains significant for exploring state/society relations because of its historical role of resistance during the apartheid struggle, its current socio-economic conditions and prevalence of community protests (sometimes violent). At a glance, these protests expose some similarities in repertoires and grievances of those of the apartheid era. This project started as a Masters Research project conducted in 2014. The project explored the relationship between local governance, service delivery and community protests. At the center of the service delivery-related protests, some of the grievances were centered on the failed urban renewal project that was meant to develop the township. The research conducted in 2014 showed that despite massive funding that was received for development purposes, Duncan Village remains underdeveloped and highly challenged by poor housing, mushrooming of shacks, unemployment and lack of access to basic services. The development funds – as local historians narrate, were not channelled to the development project that came to be known as the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (DVRA). Tracking the story of the development funds became one of the most dangerous terrains I attempted to navigate during the fieldwork for this project as many local historians warned that it was dangerous to ask questions about the development money (see *Chapter 2*).

Seemingly, these conditions have led many senior citizens of Duncan Village to believe that their lives were far better off during apartheid than what they are currently. This is not to downplay the oppressive nature of apartheid rule. However, it is to highlight some of the unexpected outcomes of the democratic transition that are rather disappointing for many. Many people continue to depend on the state's social development programmes and provisions such as grants and food parcels (Ndhlovu 2015). These remain highly contested and fought for between state officials and citizens or among citizens themselves. On one hand, the township remains a space where old and new struggles over poverty, unemployment, homelessness and precariousness converge and seek redress from the state. On the other hand, it remains a politically charged space where ANC factional politics demand crafted strategies and connections that will allow politicians to distribute the limited resources in ways that ensure continued political support.

There is considerable scholarly work that has focused on understanding the post-1994 social order. Most of this literature has focused on episodic events such as protests, and scholars have

come up with varying conclusions. Some of this literature has drawn on the demographics and strategies and/or repertoires of the protestors such as barricading roads and burning of buildings. These have argued that the post-1994 social order or prevalence of protests can be understood as "a rebellion of the poor" marginalised by both apartheid and post-1994 governments (Alexander 2010). Some have focused on the repertoires that have included a series of marches, memorandums, petitions and burning of public buildings that symbolise state power as a last resort. These have concluded that protests can be understood as "*a smoke that calls"* those who are in power to respond to grievances of citizens (Von Holdt, Langa, Molapo, Mogapi, Ngubeni, Dlamini, & Kirsten, 2011). Some scholars have focused on grievances that inform these protests such as accusations of corruption and mismanagement of state funds, factional politics within parties and issues of patronage. These have also concluded that state/society relations are a manifestation of power struggles among politicians between and within political parties who tend to drag citizens into their battles (Harber 2010; Von Holdt et al. 2011; Mukwedeya 2015).

The study is premised on the argument that most studies on post-1994 social order has privileged spectacular and episodic moments while marginalising more quotidian relations, experiences and interactions between the state and marginalised communities. Some interesting work has been done on the South African social order, and studies have confirmed some of the claims that state/society relations both in apartheid and post-1994 have been characterised by rapid protest action (see Seekings 2000; Atkinson 2007; Harber 2010; Alexander 2010; Von Holdt et al. 2011; Ndhlovu 2015). This is not to dismiss the role of the episodic in shaping the politics of the everyday as I have noted earlier in the chapter. However, the tendency to isolate and privilege spectacular and episodic moments assumes that the relationship only matters when it has broken down, particularly when it manifests itself as episodes of protest action on the streets (Joseph and Nugent 1994). This reduces protest action to events that erupt periodically, while ignoring the everyday lived experiences of the communities who take part in these protests and those of the local state officials who are tasked with delivering public goods and services.

Furthermore, these studies have rarely focused on protest culture and everyday practices of the state simultaneously, let alone in relation to each other. Findings in this research suggest that these episodic moments are the epitome of a historically generated and complex relationship. That is, these episodes do not begin and end with a build up to the streets. There is a need to consider everyday interactions and lived experiences of both local state representatives and

concerned residents and how these are influenced by the historical episodic moments in understanding the relationship between the state and society. The study draws from both apartheid and post-1994 experiences in understanding state/society relations. This allows for an understanding of how ideas of the state are *reimagined* and (*re)constructed* in the everyday lived experiences of Duncan Village communities and local state representatives of Buffalo City. It further allows for an understanding of how *constitutions* of communities and ideas of citizenship and belonging continue to be forged, maintained, contested and negotiated in a state with multilayered historical experiences of colonialism and apartheid like South Africa.

The study is informed by the following research questions:

1.4.1. Main Research Question:

- How does the interplay between local state officials and communities contribute to the making and unmaking of the state and community?

1.4.2. Sub-questions:

- How do communities at the margins organise to make claims on the state?
- To what extent are state/society relations characterised by domination and consent?
- How can we understand the disjuncture between the aims of the anti-apartheid struggles and the outcomes of the negotiated democracy?
- What is the role of patriarchy in structuring socioeconomic and political relations in society?

1.5. Thesis Outline

In *Chapter 2*, I discuss methodological and ethical considerations as important tools for the development of this thesis. Through ethnographic mappings of Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) and Duncan Village, I present the geographical and demographical contexts of the two sites, highlighting important histories and present realities that are important for the study. I also comment on the language use and argue that everyday meaning-making embedded in isiXhosa does not only reflect isiXhosa as a spoken language, but also as a language of making sense of and navigating the world for the participants and the researcher. The study triangulates the extended case study method, intersectional feminism(s), and fragmented narratives as the main methodological approaches. The chapter contributes to research methods focusing on issues of consent by arguing that in some of the African

communities, consent is not an exercise of individual agency, but when individuals consent, they do so on behalf of their families and communities. Consent in research therefore becomes an ongoing negotiated process that demands that we engage our participants throughout the process up to the final product of the research output.

In *Chapter 3,* I present a visual mapping of Duncan Village to give the reader a picture of the geographical space that informs most of the arguments that I make throughout the thesis. I argue that the spatial geographical set-up of Duncan Village makes the township a fitting space for exploring state/society relations and questions of the binaries of formality/informality, legality/illegality etc. It is the very geographical layout of the township that has no clear divisions between formal structures and informal structures as they co-exist in many places that makes the township an important space for exploring these questions.

In *Chapter 4,* I explore intra-society relations mainly focusing on how the spatial distribution of the township informs ways in which residents of Duncan Village relate to each other and how they participate in the everyday (re)production of urban space and understanding how the history, present and future are embodied, imagined, and reimagined. The chapter grapples with questions of citizenship, belonging, and ways in which communities are (re)imagined and (re)constituted through everyday interactions and struggle for access to basic services. In the mapping of history, I pay attention to special events that are key in the construction, mobilisation and deployment of identities of inclusion such as *inzalelwane*, and of exclusion such as *abantu bokufika* (the newcomers/new arrivals), and those of othering – *amaGhana*, *amaPakistani*, *amaGrigamba, amaZulu/abantu base Gauteng*. I argue that these identities are crucial in beginning to re-imagine the concept of citizenship as ever-changing and porous in such a way that it remains open for appropriation and manipulation for personal benefits. Through readings of everyday intra-community relations, I propose some theoretical and conceptual contributions to the literature on urban studies. I argue that de-centering urban studies may offer an opportunity to re-imagine and complicate the concept of community. Instead of thinking of communities as homogeneous or static, I propose different ways in which communities are (re)constituted (‘*convenient communities,’ ‘instrumental communities,’ and ‘political communities’*) through ways in which residents of Duncan Village mobilise and forge solidarities to claim basic goods.

In *Chapter 5,* I explore the relationship between Duncan Village communities and their local state representatives in their everyday interactions to understand how narratives of corruption, patronage politics and clientelism come to be embedded in everyday relations. The chapter also maps narratives of transition from apartheid and the post-1994 state and suggests a shift from understandings of the democratic transition as mirroring continuities and discontinuities of the apartheid state practices. Drawing from evidence presented through the narratives of the residents of Duncan Village and Buffalo City officials, I suggest an alternative reading of narratives of anti-apartheid struggles and the hopes held about the imagined future. I argue that people of Duncan Village fought for *inkululeko*, not for *intando yesininzi* (democracy). I suggest alternatives of readings of the democratic settlement – not as an end in itself, but as a new *battlefield* for continued struggles for the attainment of *inkululeko*.

In *Chapter 6*, I ground the arguments that I make throughout the thesis. I discuss ways in which the South African state in Buffalo City can be experienced as absent, anxious, yet contradictory. I argue that while the state remains absent where it is needed the most, it exerts its legibility through violence or force on communities who demand its accountability. The state further tries to mask its illegibility through documents that seek to align it with the ideal bureaucracy. I also show how '*Hollywood politics'* and efforts to align to the idea of an 'ideal' bureaucracy lead to the elusiveness of the state that presents itself as a puzzle that can't be solved, where the centre of state power keeps shifting to positions that make the state remain unaccountable. I propose the concept of *hybrid identities* to understand the subjective identities and experiences of the local state officials, and argue that these become important in the everyday navigation and negotiation of state duties. These *hybrid identities* mediate state/society relations in ways that unmask the '*elusive puzzle'* and *reconfigure* the state as it encounters societies at the margins.

In *Chapter 7,* I present narratives from the life histories and experiences of womxn in Buffalo City. I argue that the everyday experiences of violent encounters in different spaces continue to exclude womxn from inclusive citizenship participation and from belonging to the (re)constituted communities, families and political spaces. I develop and theorise the idea of four *battlefield*s (the body, the family, community and the state) where womxn encounter everyday forms of violence. I argue that despite all forms of disruption documented throughout the thesis, patriarchy remains a daring challenge. While womxn fight to disrupt patriarchy in their everyday forms of existence, their struggles remain confined within and shaped by the

patriarchal order. In *Chapter 8,* I present conclusions of the thesis and some contributions that I make in relation to existing theories and literature.

Chapter 2

Researching an African State: Methodological and Ethical Reflections

It is one of the cold winters in Duncan Village township in East London. It has been 13 months of my stay at Area 8 informal settlement conducting research for this project. It has been a long day of sitting through 4-5 hour long conversations on life histories of the women of Duncan Village. Our electricity goes off because we constantly need to manage our 'illegal' connections. My host goes out to check what was happening. On her return, she screams, 'igali liyatsha!' (A shack is burning). We all follow her in the direction of the fire. This is the second shack burning in this month, and the 7th in the 13 months that I have spent here.

On arrival at the scene, the majority of Area 8 informal settlement and neighbouring residents are already putting out the fire. It is part of the tradition here that when a shack is burning, all informal communities would come out and help with extinguishing the fire. However, from what I have known, when a house is burning usually people would make efforts to save the property from the house. But life in informal settlements makes everything different. The focus is on making sure that the fire does not spread to the next shack, lest the entire settlement gets consumed. As I am busy taking pictures, I hear a womxn behind me asking a group of boys about the old woman who lives in the burning shack. The boys respond jokingly telling her that they could not save the old woman because when they arrived at the scene the fire had already gone too far. I continue taking pictures because the boys are laughing which signals their casual treatment of the issue at hand.

The fire eventually dies off and two hours later, the firefighters finally arrive. Today is different because they are not stoned. Usually when the firefighters arrive late they would be stoned and chased away because according to the informal communities, that behaviour reflects negligence. They get off their truck and connect their equipment. As the firefighters begin to run the water, I continue taking some small video clips. I look through the screen of my camera and I notice that one of the firefighters is concentrating on a single object. I follow her with my camera lenses. Eventually, I see an object like a human's head. People screamed! It was the body of the old woman who burned and died in her shack. I was shocked, and I dropped the camera, but this is part of the community's everyday experience. To them, there is nothing new about the incident or the experience. I stayed at the scene with other women waiting for the police, and the forensic staff who arrived four hours later.

I woke up the next morning feeling devastated and traumatised. But it is just another day in academia. I must get interviews going. I go to the Trust Centre (municipal offices) where I was to meet with one of my participants for a 9 o'clock appointment. As usual, he is not in office, but I wait patiently as I have always done for the past 13 months. In the corridors of the department where I do my participant observation, one womxn who has become more like a friend, notices me and she greets me. She asks if I had come to visit them and I tell her that I have an appointment with someone on the same floor. I am evidently not strong enough to hide the trauma experienced last night. She asks what is wrong and I burst into tears. She takes me to her office. I am not strong enough for a researcher today. After all, there is a human being behind this researcher. I cry throughout as I am narrating the story of last night to Zuzeka who later offers to help the family of the deceased womxn with funeral arrangements from her office.*

After speaking to Zuzeka I go out to call someone from the township to notify the family that one of the municipal offices is willing to assist with funeral arrangements so they have to gather all required documents and bring them to Zuzeka's office (I direct them to where they will find her). As if the day has not been long enough, in the elevator going downstairs, one old man whom I see regularly in this building asks if I am a lesbian (Hawu sisi uyimofi yini?). He tells me that he always sees me in this building wearing pants. "I must also wear a skirt, a very short one, so that they can also enjoy the viewing." I just look at him hoping the lift gets downstairs quicker without many stops. These are some of the remarks that I have endured for the past 13 months here in Buffalo City.

Like many of my interviews that had been cancelled or postponed at the municipal offices, I am expecting anything from my 9 o'clock appointment. I make a final desperate call, and as expected, "Please check me around 5:30pm for a 6 pm appointment". It is not a great day for me, but academia demands my extra patience. Time is not on my side. This participant is one of the big bosses I have to go through in order to get the research done. I run back to the township to check progress on funeral arrangement papers. To my dismay, like many municipal offices and officials, Zuzeka has pushed the family of the deceased from pillar to post. The family is all womxn, and they are old to do the running around. In their words, "siyavuya kuba nawe ungumntu obhinqileyo and uses'koleni uzokwazi usincedisa" [they are grateful that I am also a womxn, and educated], and this for them means that I will do the running around with papers to get assistance with burial arrangements.

With a pending appointment, time moves fast. My 6 pm appointment gets confirmed and I go back to town. My heart is heavy, not only because of the events of yesterday, but because of some of the traumatic experiences that I have endured at these offices. I am a womxn, I am researching the state, and some men feel entitled to my body one way or the other. I enter the office, and as usual welcomed by the participant who greets me who closes the door behind me. I have had some wonderful interviews with men directors in the past few weeks; this could be one of them. I convince myself as I try to remain calm and optimistic. I introduce myself and sing the script of research: all protocols observed, confidentiality, anonymity, etc. I get to the most difficult part of requesting to record the interview and the participant declines. It is already 6.30 pm. I gather myself and begin the interview. Two minutes into the script, drama begins, "So what are you doing tonight? Weekend? Ok, next weekend? Are you seeing someone? Oh, not in Joburg, I was asking here in East London?" By now I am getting really agitated as these questions are accompanied by little caresses on my cheeks and arms. I have braved this kind of behaviour and actions countless times, but today I just cannot. It has been a long day of trauma, drama and everything. I understand that I am a womxn researching the state, but today I just cannot brave it one more time to get interviews going. I excuse myself and leave the room without even asking to reschedule the appointment.

I still have to walk through the passageless dark informal settlements from Douglas Smith Highway to get to where I am staying. I get off the taxi and hope that the worst does not happen, or at least I see someone familiar so that they can walk me home. I have been here before, this very street, the space of uncertainty and precarity in 2014. I was kidnapped by two men after conducting an interview with one of the ward councillors. This was during the scandal of corruption surrounding the late former president Nelson Mandela's memorial service where there was money meant for the memorial service that ended up getting misused. People here were anxious and they did not trust anyone. That time some people believed that the councillor that I had just interviewed had some important information that they believed he shared with me as incriminating evidence. Although my kidnappers dropped me a few minutes from town

after realising that there was nothing on my recorder, I am still uneasy walking in these dark passages. I am scared for the lives of my participants more than I am for myself, hence I have learnt to download and delete my interviews just before I leave the interview venue. Just when I thought the day was over, someone shouts my name as I pass through one of the garbage dumps "Hlengie, Hlengie, I have been looking for this moment. Ndiyacela tuu, ndicela ube ngumtu wam waselok'shini!" [I am begging you, can you please be my township girlfriend] (Adapted from fieldwork diary, 24/05/2017).

2.1. Introduction

In this personal reflection, I want to highlight a few points that I will be unpacking in this chapter and throughout the thesis. In researching an African state, I draw from my personal experiences of navigating Buffalo City and Duncan Village and from experiences of womxn and those who are not politically connected in their everyday struggles to access the state. As the reflection shows, I also raise some methodological and ethical concerns related to researching the state and other places of power and vulnerability. As I show later in *Chapter 7*, womxn's everyday lived experiences of their interactions with the state are a form of resistance and an everyday struggle for survival. Researching the state or any place of vulnerability dominated by masculine power becomes part of an everyday struggle for survival even for womxn researchers. This means that our daily experiences as we navigate the state (or spaces of research) inscribe certain forms of experiences that become meshed into the data collection process and therefore become part of the data itself. In fact, as womxn navigating research fields we come to embody the data and knowledge production as these experiences cannot be separated from some of the complex phenomena we seek to understand through our research.

The main aim of this chapter is to present the methodological tools, ethical concerns and reflections on the experiences of conducting research in Buffalo City and Duncan Village. The chapter is divided into three parts. In the first section I make a brief comment on the language use focusing on isiXhosa as the main language. I explain my motivation of reproducing certain words from interviews conducted in Xhosa in their original language and argue that everyday meaning-making is embedded in Xhosa not only as a spoken language, but also as a language of making sense of and navigating the world. The second section outlines the overarching methodologies and research methods employed for this project. While the overarching methodology is an extended case method, I also draw from intersectional feminism(s) as a methodological and ethical approach and fragmented narratives as interdisciplinary methodological approaches. The methods of data collection include participant observation,

life histories, interviews/conversations, and focus group discussions. In the final section, I unpack some ethical issues that I encountered in the field. I outline ways in which I addressed them, and offer some reflections on the exercise of conducting research as a young black womxn.

2.2. Language and Translations: Embedded Xhosa Meanings

IsiXhosa remains the dominant language in Duncan Village and within the Eastern Cape Province. This means that it also became the main language for data collection. It is also important to note that IsiXhosa is one of my primary languages together with IsiZulu. I therefore did not encounter any problems related to translation or interpretation during data collection. I also did not encounter any problems with reading transcripts as I did all the transcribing by myself. However, this does not mean that I understood everything that was said by the local historians in describing their experiences. Like many researchers who come from 'outside' I had to step back and allow local historians to educate me about meanings they attached to some of their experiences as these cannot be assumed. For example, having lived in Johannesburg for the most part of my adult life, I had to come to terms with some of the emphasis placed on certain words that may sound familiar at face value. For instance, the mobilisation and deployment of the words *inzalelwane* (the born-and-bred) and *abantu bokufika* (the newcomers) is one of the cases. Although I completely understand the meaning of these words, my re-encounter with them first in 2014, and then between 2016 and 2019, meant I would not have assumed their embedded meanings that remain important in the narratives of inclusion and exclusion that continue to shape questions of access to public goods in Duncan Village (see *Chapter 4*).

As the reader goes through the following chapters, he/she will realise that although the interview excerpts presented here are written in English, there are places where I maintain use of Xhosa words. Where excerpts appear in Xhosa, translations are to be found in footnotes. This means that I write in their original form words that would have otherwise completely lost meaning in translation. The only exception is made in *Chapter 7* because the stories I narrate form part of the theoretical and conceptual tools of departure, therefore the analysis is based on those stories.

My rationale for reproducing some of the Xhosa words and interviews in their original language is motivated by two reasons. Firstly, this is a political exercise; some form of resistance. For the longest time, our indigenous languages have been translated and presented in italics or as footnotes, yet they are the primary source of knowledge that informs the understanding and theorisation of the work produced from Xhosa (or any other indigenous African) communities. This assumes the inferiority of indigenous languages as if they are not capable of expressing theoretical views in their own originality. It is important to note that my Xhosa-speaking participants and I as the researcher navigate the world and construct its meaning using IsiXhosa as the main tool. Reproducing Xhosa words in their original language and writing them in non-italic form therefore challenges the idea of English as a dominant language and thereby asserting IsiXhosa as a language of meaning-making and theorisation for the participants and the reader, respectively.

Secondly, reproducing Xhosa words and interviews in their original form has both epistemological and ontological implications. The work of Ingrid Palmary is worth being cited at length here. Writing on the politics of feminist translation, she argues:

> …the work of translation despite acknowledging – is counter to the intellectual work that has conceptualised language as meaning-making and contextually embedded. Language does not simply mirror the world, but constructs and negotiates it in a contextually bounded way. Therefore, working across language without attention to the politics of translation risks representing the non-English-speaking world as an infantilised other by recasting their experiences within the cultural boundaries of the English language. This is because English is already a colonial language, its dominance as a spoken language risks reproducing colonial relationships in many ways (Palmary 2014: 577).

The work of Palmary draws our attention to important issues on translation despite our constant acknowledgement of changing meanings, etc. She points out to the productive work already done on language as meaning-making and its contextual boundedness. Moreover, Palmary notes that language does not only mirror the world, but also constructs and negotiates it in contextually bounded ways. I have encountered these meanings in several instances in Duncan Village and Buffalo City. In *Chapter 4,* I draw from some of the observations in which the contextual boundedness of language made sense in ways in which the residents of Duncan Village have disrupted the notion of community and communities using their understanding of what it means to be Inzalelwane and Abantu bokufika. Although these identities are contested,

their embedded meanings continue to shape ways in which community struggles are organised in the everyday life of Duncan Village residents.

Furthermore, in *Chapter 5* I draw largely on the narratives associated with anti-apartheid struggles and the meanings embedded in the experiences and imaginations of the struggle. Through paying attention to the contextual boundedness of language, I have come to learn alternative ways of reading the 'expectations of democracy.' Evidence from Duncan Village suggests that democracy is a foreign concept which residents even struggle to contextualise. When I pushed them to reflect on the meanings of democracy and what this might mean in their own language, I discovered that those who tried to interpret it struggled initially and then had to draw from broader understandings informed by public policy documents. For others, it remains "a foreign concept" that they cannot relate to. By arguing that the post-1994 social order betrayed the hopes of many, we run a risk of imposing the concept of democracy onto the lives of the residents of Buffalo City in ways that are invasive and strip them of their agency – as if they ever fought for democracy (see *Chapter 5*).

Another important issue on the use of language in ethnographical studies has been raised by Tsing (1993) in relation to the use of tenses in writing ethnographic accounts. She argues that "grammatical detail has considerable intellectual and political significance because the use of the ethnographic presence is tied to a conceptualisation of culture as a coherent and persistent whole." For Tsing, it "creates a timeless scene of action in which cultural difference can be explored." She further notes how the "removal of ethnographic time from history has been criticised for turning ethnographic subjects into exotic creatures where their time is not a time of civilised history." Tsing outlines what I consider to be a progressive way of correcting this mistake as she notes that "many ethnographers are turning to a historical time frame in which action happens in the past tense" (Tsing 1993: xiv). Drawing from her own work on the Meratus gender constructions in Indonesia, she notes that sometimes she alternates between the past and present tenses given different problematic issues she wishes to address. Sometimes she finds herself using the past tense in 'working against accounts of timeless and unmovable gender systems." On the other hand, she employs present tense "to keep open the possibilities and dreams of social movements' activists that were in the making during the time of her research (Tsing 1993: xv).

In light of Tsing's work, I have also found myself battling the language tenses. In the following chapters the reader will note how I shift in between different tenses depending on issues that I am addressing. I write at length about anti-/apartheid struggles and how they have shaped the current socio-political contexts in Duncan Village. In this case the tenses used mark some continuities and discontinuities in the struggles. Where I find that the struggles continue, I employ the present tense to acknowledge the position and efforts of those in the struggle as they narrated their experiences to me. Where I find that there has been a sense of some discontinuity, for example, issues of forced removals, segregation and influx control, of which many local historians acknowledge that there has been a huge shift, I present these experiences in their past tense depending on whether participants understand those struggles as continuing or as being over.

2.3. Methodological Approaches

Although the study is a sociological project, it takes a broader interdisciplinary approach. This means that the methodologies that I employed had to be interdisciplinary to address diverse issues that I explore in the thesis. To accommodate the diversity, I draw from sociological methodologies and triangulate them with other approaches from other disciplines. Although I adopt an extended case study approach as an overarching methodology, I also employ intersectional feminism(s) and fragmented narratives in reading narrated historical and present experiences of residents of Duncan Village and those of BCMM state officials. The end result of the thesis is therefore a negotiated position among these different approaches.

2.3.1. Extended Case Method

The ethnographic study draws on Burawoy's (1998) reflexive ethnography/extended case study method as the overarching methodological approach that "deploys participant observation to locate everyday life in its extralocal and historical context" (Burawoy 1998:4). The extended case method encourages building a relationship between the researcher and participants of the study in ways that are sensitive, respectful and reflexive. This method allowed me to extend my experience into the lives of the people of Duncan Village and allowed them to engage my study in ways that were meaningful to their lived experiences, without me imposing my own ideas (Burawoy 1998). The study explores everyday constructions of the state and communities through everyday interactions between residents of Duncan Village and BCMM local state

representatives. An in-depth understanding of these interactions allows for an understanding of how experiences of encountering the state shape ways in which the state is reimagined and reconstructed by ordinary residents and state officials. I chose this methodological approach because of its potential to address the difficult questions posed by the project. The extended case method allows for an extensive examination of Duncan Village and BCMM experiences over an extended time from 1980 to 2019. Through a triangulation of life histories and interviews, I was offered a window into the histories and the present realities of Duncan Village and Buffalo City. Through participant observation in many public spaces, I was able to understand everyday constructions and reconstructions, and meaning-making of history, the present and imaginations of the future.

2.3.2. Intersectional Feminism(s)

As stated earlier, the thesis demanded that I employ particular methodologies that are not only specific, but also sensitive to the experiences that I explore. Throughout the thesis I explore and unpack experiences of the marginalised that sometimes intersect with experiences of violence and trauma. This meant that I had to employ intersectionality as a guiding methodological and ethical approach. Feminist scholars have encouraged us to employ research methods that are able to engage the stories of trauma and survival that are not "triggering, invasive and limited" (Kiguwa 2019:231; Motsemme 2004). Kiguwa further reminds us that intersectionality "attests to the diversity of womxn's lived realities and feminist approaches more broadly" (Kiguwa 2019: 220).

Intersectional feminism(s) is a qualitative analytical framework that aims at identifying the interlocked layered systems of oppression that affect the marginalised in society (Yuval-Davis 2006). It borrows from the work of Kimberley Crenshaw (1989) to analyse ways in which race, class and gender interact to shape Black womxn's employment experiences (Crenshaw 1989; 1990:1244). Intersectional feminism therefore aims to broaden the first wave of feminism that drew mostly from the experiences of white, middle class womxn. Kiguwa argues that while it has its roots in Black feminist critique, it

> …also highlighted the importance of other marginalised feminisms, such as black and African feminism that aims to engage and make visible the voices and experiences of women of colour. Such an approach engages differences between women not just as a speaking-back to western feminism, but rather

> as new and alternative ways of reimagining gender and ways of relating to patriarchal systems that can create new resistances (Kiguwa 2019: 227).

Thus, I adopted this analytical framework so that I could exercise reflexivity and sensitivity in learning about and reading of the experiences of the people of Duncan Village. Ethnographic studies are practically invasive in their nature in that they intrude into people's everyday experiences. Intersectional feminism(s) as a methodological framework therefore opened up a space for the voices and experiences of the local historians, to tell their own stories and to become the narrators of their own experiences (Kiguwa 2019). It is from this analytical lens from which I borrow the idea of local historians to acknowledge their own agency in shaping the narratives of their own histories.

It is important to note that as feminist approaches follow different strands, they sometimes clash with other ideas and views held by other womxn. Sylvia Tamale (2008) encourages us not to view African cultures as anti-progressive; instead, we should explore opportunities presented by different cultures in contributing to womxn empowerment. These methods that accommodate cultural diversity have been employed by womxn scholars who prefer womxnist approaches to understanding experiences of womxn in particular (Walker 1983; Motsemme 2011). In light of these insights, I had to adopt intersectionality as a guiding methodological and ethical approach to reading experiences of the marginalised poor and those of womxn in particular, to accommodate the diversity of the views shared and how they have been subjectively framed by participants. Understanding of subjective experiences without imposing my culture and political views became important in reconciling experiences of radical feminists and those of womxn who emphasised their cultural biases and how these shape their everyday experience of the world. As Kiguwa notes, "linking personal experiences to broader social and political structures of inequality and power networks constitutes an important layer of analysis. Similarly, interrogating the relational configurations of power is fundamental to how we make sense of the world with a view of changing these configurations so that they are more equitable" (Kiguwa 2019: 231).

My approach to listening, understanding and analysing many stories and experiences that I share in the following chapters has also been shaped by the work of Annal Lowenhaupt Tsing (1993). *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an Out-of-the-Way Place*, she draws from the work of Merilyn Strathern (1988) and warns against easy assumptions "that

women everywhere are the same; that women's speech reveal a women's point of view; that women always speak from a gender identity of woman." Tsing stresses the necessity of investigating the forms of power and discourse framed by the exclusions and oppositions of gender; "these become the starting point for discussing both 'femaleness' and the 'agency' of any woman's agency" (Tsing 1993: 33). Furthermore, this became a framing ideology throughout the work of data collection, presentation and analysis. As I show in *Chapter 4*, I explore experiences of the township-dwellers as residents with agency and capable of (re)producing their urban space in ways that make sense to them and their everyday lived experiences. As Tsing observes, "by treating women and men as individual commentators on their culture, we ask about disruptive as well as unifying features of their perspectives without assuming gender, ethnic, or political homogeneities" (Tsing 1993: 34). Empathy and sensitivity therefore becomes a thread that runs through reading and understanding of the experiences of the marginalised while allowing them to exercise their agency in shaping their own stories and retelling their experiences.

2.3.3. Fragmented Narratives

In this thesis I narrate the experiences of men and womxn who graciously shared their stories with me in Buffalo City. Some of these stories are narratives of violence, trauma and survival. Veena Das investigates the relationships between language, silence, gesture and suffering to understand expressions of pain. She concludes that "as human understanding gives way, language is struck dumb. When violence annihilates language it creates its own fear; a relapse into a dumb condition is not only a sign of this period but it is also a part of the terror itself. Yet silence does not bring an end to communication or to understanding; thus for the analyst, it is the silences that need to be addressed" (Das 1995: 184, 191). Conducting fieldwork for this thesis, I had to pay attention to different ways in which my participants chose to express their everyday struggles, pain and traumatic experiences. This meant that there were moments where I took them back to the site of their violence as they tried to remember and to re-tell their stories. What I present in the previous and following chapters are narratives that are embedded in this understanding of experiences of struggle, trauma and pain, and I had to make sense of these fragmented gaps, cues and silences, as Das advises. Das' work is also key to understanding ways in which historical episodic moments of violence and trauma presented in *Chapter 1* continue to be retold through generations and how these traumatic experiences

continue to haunt the lives of many as the two stories of violence continue to be passed through generations.

The exercise of re-telling these stories draws from the works of Toni Morrison (1987) and Zoë Wicomb (2000). In fragmentation methodology, there is a realisation and acknowledgement of the superficiality of linear retelling as a mode of conveying psychological damage (Samuelson 2007). Annette Markham (2005) draws our attention to the importance of the fragmented narrative methodology not only as a way of making sense of stories narrated by others, but also as a way in which we as researchers make sense of the whole data collection process, analysis and presentation of the research report. She argues that:

> It is vital to call attention to fragmentation or hypertext logic in methodology and writing, even as these types of accounts become more and more familiar in our journals. Individual sense-making processes, dyadic and group relationships, and that which we call "knowledge" are increasingly composed of nonlinear sound bites, transient connections, truncated texts, hyperlinked cognitive processing, multi-mediated understandings of what is real and meaningful. Our taken-for-granted methods of collecting and analysing data in these environments and representing culture in our scholarly work can only benefit from interrogation and reconsideration of how we derive and constitute the picture of social life we present to our colleagues and public. Attention to the way fragmented discourse functions helps us not only understand how people are experiencing everyday life but also, as scholars, explore new ways of making sense of social life and expressing knowledge (Markham 2005: 815).

Adopting intersectionality as a methodological and ethical approach, and paying attention to the specificities and sensitivity of fragmented narratives has allowed me to reflect on the meanings associated with "dis-membering" and "re-membering" (of womxn's bodies and stories of the participants) (Samuelson 2007). I had to constantly reflect on the everyday lived experiences of womxn and other marginalised groups as I have encountered their world through their narratives. Furthermore, this comes with an understanding that in their everyday encounter with the state in their many *battlefields* (see *Chapter 7*), womxn are constantly dis-membered as they are constructed as the 'other' in terms of their different 'female' body parts. In re-telling their stories, I had to make sure that I do not participate in further dismembering their bodies. I had to be sensitive and re-tell their stories in ways that while engaging and staying conscious of my participation in textual violence, I also had to make sure that I protect their identities from their families and communities. The end result of the stories that appear

throughout the thesis and *Chapter 7* in particular is a negotiated position of representation where womxn participated in rewriting their stories in ways they preferred them to be retold.

2.4. Ethnographic Mappings of Buffalo City and Duncan Village

This ethnographic study required that I stay in Duncan Village for an extended period between April 2016 and December 2018. Although I would leave briefly for supervision meetings and other business in Johannesburg, most of my time was spent in Duncan Village where I stayed at Area 8 informal settlement and became a 'fulltime' resident through participation in the everyday life of the community. This is not to claim that at any point I felt as belonging to the township. As I show later in this chapter, there are many issues that I raise that made it clear that I did not at any point belong to Duncan Village. However, though I did not belong, staying in the community gave me an opportunity to relatively 'fully' participate in the everyday life of the residents of Duncan Village. As I have shown in the prologue, I had an opportunity to share everyday struggles like fighting shack fires and assisting with some of the much needed services like funeral arrangements and queuing with residents at the housing office. While these experiences gave me a taste of the life of residents of Duncan Village, they simultaneously excluded me because the very realisation that I was a privileged and resourced university student made it possible for the residents of Duncan Village to rely on my social capital and connections for things that they would struggle doing for themselves like communicating with Zuzeka (cited in the prologue) to arrange the funeral of the shack fire victim.

Loïc Wacquant describes ethnography as "social research based on the close-up, on-the-ground observation of people and institutions in real time and space, in which the investigator embeds herself near (or within) the phenomenon so as to detect how and why agents on the scene act, think, and feel the way they do" (Wacquant 2003: 5). Drawing from the experiences of waiting in Argentina, Javier Auyero notes the challenges associated with the exercise of researchers immersing themselves in communities where they are doing research. He argues that this is challenging "where the researcher has to find a balance between involvement and detachment, between the personal and the systematic, between being there among the waiting populace and being here among academics, between stories told in the field and stories told to the public, and between describing personal dramas and achieving sound sociological explanations" (Auyero 2012: 12). Tsing (1993) also acknowledges the complications associated with

conducting ethnographic work with particular focus on social arrangements and points of view. However, she contends that ethnographies remain important as "possible sites for drawing attention to both local creativity and regional-to-global interconnections. In part, this is because ethnographies are messy; like novels, they tend to include an overabundance of detail." Tsing prefers building from this messiness "as a source of analytic heterogeneity and promise" because for her, "in this messiness there is room for elements that simultaneously draw readers into projects of cultural comparison, regional cultural history, and local/global positionings" (Tsing 1993: 290).

Although ethnography remains a challenging space burdened with colonial constructs and stereotypes that have been adopted by scholars from the west in their mission to construct certain knowledges about the African continent and its people (see Alatas 2000; Mignolo 2009), they remain important in understanding constructions of everyday meaning-making by participants in their own settings. It is within this ethnographic space that I came to learn about different ways in which residents of Duncan Village construct and reconstruct their everyday lives in ways that disrupt the seemingly sacrosanct meaning of citizenship(s) and community(ies). It is in this space where I understood the importance of dislocating and locating theory (Roy 2007) and re-centering the study of urban space to smaller cities where I came to understand the constructions of *amaGhana* and *amaGrigamba* to understand and construct the idea of the *onion-model of citizenship*. Theorising constructions of citizenships has allowed me to theorise from the margins of Duncan Village and illuminate ways of reading global histories and their present realities (see *Chapter 4*). This is not by anyway claiming that my work can be used to theorise global contexts. However, as I show in *Chapter 4*, the everyday constructions of the identity of *amaGhana* for example, can shed some light in readings and constructions of histories of citizenship and contestations of space in the global north.

Through carrying the ethnography of the state, I was able to understand how the state is (re)constructed through the everyday experiences of ordinary citizens, state officials and my own experiences of the everyday encounter with the state. As Akhil Gupta notes, "studying the state ethnographically involves both the analysis of the everyday practices of local bureaucracy and the discursive construction of the state in public culture." For Gupta, "such an approach raises fundamental substantive and methodological questions." He argues that "substantively, it allows the state to be disaggregated by focusing on different bureaucracies without prejudging their unity or coherence. It also enables one to problematise the relationship

between the translocality of the state and the necessarily localised offices, institutions, and practices in which it is instantiated" (Gupta 1995: 375-6). This allowed for the multidimensional approach to the study of Buffalo City and its different institutions and at different levels of the bureaucracy.

The mapping of the everyday practices of BCMM allowed me to understand how the state is presented as a moving goalpost that many residents have tried to chase. Through the everyday encounter with the local offices such as the housing department and the office of the HoD of one of the directorates, I have come to understand that the state can be understood as self-contradictory where it appears to be abiding by the 'typical' bureaucratic order in trying to defend its image where it remains absent and anxious. I have come to understand and theorise these experiences as presenting the image of the state as an '*elusive puzzle'* that disappears and re-emerges as it tries to contain and preserve its power (see *Chapter 6*).

Furthermore, spending time with local state officials doing their everyday work in different communities has allowed me a privileged window through which to understand the everyday constructions of the state thorough the everyday encounters of the local state officials and communities. Ways in which local officials navigate (within different state institutions) and negotiate (in their interactions with different players) the terrain of service delivery has shed some light in understanding some of the contested debates in local politics related to narratives of corruption, patronage, clientelism and service delivery. The subjective identities that are worn by local state officials that I have come to understand and theorise as having *hybrid identities* are key to understanding how local state officials are able to switch between being part of the state and communities at the same time. Their experiences of alternating between being state representatives and navigating the terrain of service delivery suggest that as one goes further down into the state where it meets communities, the state is reconfigured in ways that demystify the image of an *elusive puzzle*, and it is where the state is finally given a human face that can be held accountable to its populations (see *Chapter 6*).

Spending time mapping the skills and strategies adopted by local politicians as they negotiate the scarcity of public goods has exposed me to ways in which narratives of corruption, patronage, and clientelism are disrupted in ways that suggest that these everyday 'informal' practices are in fact a form of resistance that runs parallel to neoliberalism. Instead of understanding them as divergences from the principles of 'good governance' and hindering

participation, I have come to understand them as an alternative way of participation in the exclusionary economy, thereby reading and theorising them as an *Alternative Survival Means* (*ASM*) approach. Instead of understanding poor communities as lacking service delivery, I take into consideration the experiences of those who receive these public goods and the skills of those who make these goods accessible for their communities as practices that provoke thinking of *selective service delivery* and *strategic service delivery*, instead of taking a blanket approach and dismissing them as lack of service delivery (see *Chapter 5*). These practices have disrupted ways in which I have understood the meanings of democracy in South Africa as an end in itself. The mapping of Duncan Village and Buffalo City has helped me to understand claims made by local residents on democracy being something that was imposed on them while their struggles were focused on attaining an idea of *inkululeko* that has very little to do with democracy. Democracy therefore becomes *a battlefield* for the continued struggles towards the realisation of *inkululeko* (see *Chapter 5*). Read and understood through this lens, these ethnographic experiences promise to illuminate broader issues in understanding postcolonial societies on the African continent and in the global south broadly.

2.4.1. Life Histories

I conducted a total of thirty (30) life histories of which twenty-two (22) were with womxn and eight (8) with men. Most of the life histories conducted with residents of Duncan Village were from older womxn, most of whom had participated in the anti-apartheid struggle for inkululeko. Local historians were accessed through referrals by friends, (former) colleagues and neighbours. Once I had interviewed one struggle hero, they referred me to their comrades and/or former leaders of anti-apartheid struggles in their communities. The generosity of sharing stories and referrals suggested that the local historians were keen to pass the histories of their struggle to the next generation while being able to voice their achievements and/or frustrations of the post-1994 order. From these life histories, I got to learn not only about anti-apartheid struggles, but also meanings of *inkululeko* that continue to shape struggles for decent life post the democratic dispensation (see *Chapter 5*).

Most of the stories from womxn were stories of struggle, trauma and resistance, some of which I document at length in *Chapter 7*. Through the stories shared by elderly womxn, I also came to understand that the anti-apartheid struggle and current struggles over poverty and unemployment have been experienced as two fronts of wars that were (and continue) to be

fought on womxn's bodies. It is through these experiences that, in *Chapter 7*, I came to develop the idea of the *four battlefields* (the body, family, communities, and the state) that structure and distribute gender inequality and gender-based violence (GBV) where womxn encounter everyday violence that excludes them from citizenship(s) and communities that I develop in *Chapter 4*.

Life histories documented from conversations with men have contributed in understanding the internal life of the struggles and how communities have transitioned from apartheid to post-1994. The 'politics of Omo'[8] that I discuss in *Chapter 4* – used as a strategy for cohesive solidarity, has been developed from the life histories of men who were responsible for community cohesion in the 1980s. Some of the life histories were conducted with state officials who still carry the institutional memory of Buffalo City. These narratives have been important for understanding how institutional culture has transformed from the apartheid state to the 'democratic' state. Here, I learnt about how the apartheid government ran municipalities and of the role of Black people who were excluded from the duties and responsibilities of the everyday running of the state. I draw from these reflections in *Chapter 5* where Black state officials reflect on the current challenges related to issues of governing where one senior administrator argued that the suddenness of 'democracy' meant that 'our government was never ready to govern' (Interview with Thembisile, 14/08/2014).

2.4.2. Interviews

I conducted a total of fifty-two interviews, thirty-two with residents of Duncan Village and twenty-two with BCMM officials and politicians. I am not sure if what I call interviews in this project falls under interviews in their crude sense. This is because interviews have been understood to be discussions between 45 minutes to 1 hour or so. However, most of what was meant to be interviews with residents of Duncan Village ended up being long open conversations lasting from around 4 to 6 hours, the longest being 6 hours, 45 minutes. As a result, I prefer referring to these as conversations instead of interviews.

[8] This refers to how a brand of washing powder was used by residents of Duncan Village during anti-apartheid struggles to coerce people into a form of solidarity against the apartheid regime. This washing powder was fed to the people who were found to be drunk in periods when community leaders suspended the consumption of alcohol. Anyone found having consumed alcohol was fed Omo to induce vomitting.

While I went to Duncan Village to conduct research in the form of interviews, I found these conversations becoming more of a learning space for me. As soon as I realised that the local historians were diverging from discussions that I was seeking to open up using my interview guide questions, I opened a space and allowed for these divergences to happen. The end result is that three-quarters of the data that appear in the following chapters has come from these conversations, some of which involve issues that I had no intention to explore when I set out this project. This comes from how my participants chose to engage my study in ways that made sense to their everyday lived experiences instead of what I had aimed to do.

2.4.3. Focus Group Discussions

Although Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) remain an important method to gather large quantities of data in a short space of time, I did not rely much on them as a one of the major methods. However, I used FGDs mainly as a part of a sampling method where I conducted group discussions so that I could request one-on-one conversations with participants. The main challenge of conducting FGDs was related to economic issues of carrying the responsibility to cater for participants. It is important to note that my fieldwork sites have been dominated by white anthropologists who are also senior academics with adequate funding. This has created a culture where it is known in many sections of Duncan Village that if a researcher is to request a meeting with residents, he/she has to be in a position to provide meal-packs consisting of a fried quarter chicken, four slices of bread, a bottle of soda or juice and a fruit. Given my limited resources, I tried to conduct a few FGDs but because people were leaving unhappy and had developed a tendency of comparing my quality of food with that of white researchers, I then opted for one-on-one discussions which were affordable.

I conducted a total of seven FGDs, five of which were in Duncan Village and two in the BCMM. These were organised by either community leaders or interlocutors that I met in 2014 during my MA fieldwork. In Duncan Village, the two FGDs were conducted in Eduze formal and informal settlements. The first group had eight (8) participants, seven (7) of which were men and one a womxn. The second FGD had three participants. They were all womxn and all from Eduze informal settlement. In the first FGD I did not experience much of a gender dynamic despite the gender distribution where there was only one womxn and six men. However, the outstanding dynamic was that of *inzalelwane* against *abantu bokufika* as five of

the participants including the only womxn in the group were from the formal houses and the other three men were all from the informal settlement.

The third FGD was conducted at Area 8 informal settlement and had eight participants - six were womxn and two men, all of whom were residents of the informal settlement. I conducted the fourth FGD with residents of Florence Street who were also members of the Reeston 87[9] and they were all residents of an informal settlement. Here there were twelve participants in total (eight womxn and four men). The last and largest FGD was conducted at Dunga Street and had twenty-two participants who stayed throughout the meeting while others would come and go in between. This is one of the groups where I experienced serious challenges and resistance from the residents because of food supplies as I was asked to prepare food for fifty people. Despite my persistence in explaining that I was not calling a community meeting since I just wanted to have a conversation with a few people, the organiser insisted that all community members would like to attend. This was a very interesting contradiction when compared to how residents are in most cases reluctant to attend community meetings called by local officials including the councillor. Perhaps the explanation can be found in deep levels of poverty, unemployment, and the culture that has been created by other researchers as discussed above.

The last two FGDs were conducted at BCMM. The first meeting was organised by one of the local officials who was doing her Master's degree in Public Administration with Fort Hare University. After concluding an interview with her, I shared my challenges of accessing participants because of gatekeeping. She then suggested that she was going to help me provided I was going to assist them (together with her colleagues) with a 'crash workshop' on research methods and proposal writing. After reflecting on ethics and challenges of access, I agreed to meet them on a Saturday. While we spent time discussing their Masters projects, we had a brief discussion on my project and then we exchanged contacts for one-on-one discussions. This group had five participants in total (three were womxn and two men). The final FGD at BCMM was conducted with three womxn who alternated between office cleaning duties and acting as messengers. They were organised by one of the senior administrators to share their experiences.

[9] Reeston 87 refers to a group of 87 residents of Florence Street Informal settlement whose houses at the new Reeston Development Project were approved for occupation and they were later forcefully or 'illegally' occupied by people who were not the actual beneficiaries of the project.

Some of their experiences are documented at length in *Chapter 6* where I explore the porosity of the state boundaries.

2.4.4. Sampling of Participants

As noted in *Chapter 1*, I have conducted a brief ethnography in 2014 at Duncan Village and BCMM. Therefore, I am not a stranger at this place. This has been one of the useful methods that allowed me to immerse myself in Duncan Village for the first time and was therefore able to develop some rapport that facilitated access to participants when I returned to Duncan Village in 2016. Furthermore, residents of Duncan Village had continued from 2014 (and still continue to date) to phone me seeking assistance and advice for some of their community related struggles. Their understanding of my role is that of someone who has a privilege of being at a university and therefore positioned to make some useful interventions.

Returning to Duncan Village to conduct fieldwork for this project therefore did not present any challenges of access. I easily made contact with participants from 2014 who in turn connected me to other people within the community. As noted earlier, I spent most of my fieldwork time staying at one of the informal settlements. This allowed me to participate in everyday community activities and to broaden my networks. With the permission of participants, life histories and conversations were recorded using a recorder and I later transcribed them for further analysis and translations. Interviews with BCMM officials were accessed through permission of different heads of departments as noted on the prologue of this chapter. I then further developed my own networks through referrals and workshops that I conducted with local officials. FGDs at community level were organised by community leaders and by supervisors at the municipal level. I had to handwrite most of the interviews with local officials where others discomfort with recording as we addressed some of the sensitive political issues.

2.5. Ethical Considerations and Reflexivity

The ethics that I adopted in this project are broadly framed by intersectionality as a methodological and ethical framework. This approach was informed by a clash between traditional approaches to ethics of research as taught in sociology research methods courses and ways in which local residents of Duncan Village and Buffalo City engaged my research

projects in ways that were meaningful to their ethical norms and values. When I started immersing myself in the lives of the participants, I realised that there was a clash between what I have been taught and what was happening on the ground. I therefore had to unlearn some of the problematic approaches and had to open up a space for relearning how residents of Buffalo City preferred to engage with my research. This meant I had to forego some of the preconceived ideas not only about ethics, but methods as well. However, this is not to claim that I came up with a completely new set of ethical values. Below I map some of the issues that I encountered during fieldwork and I offer ways in which I tried to mediate them.

2.5.1. Issues of Consent, Confidentiality and Anonymity

The issue of consent became one of the most contested terrains that affected other ethical concerns in the field. I did not struggle with obtaining consent in terms of participants agreeing to participate in my study. Once they had established that my research was not harmful, most participants especially in Duncan Village were willing to participate. I also made sure that I informed them that I was going to use their stories and/or contributions in the writing of my thesis. This made it easier to negotiate issues of anonymity. There are some participants who preferred to have their names removed from the final report, and there are also those who believed that they were fighting a good cause and therefore preferred to be named in the final report. While I initially agreed to name the participants that wanted to be named while giving pseudonyms to those who preferred not to be named, I encountered a further ethical dilemma related to the intersection of consent, confidentiality and anonymity.

Confidentiality, as broadly conceived, had to be negotiated and re-negotiated throughout the process. This comes with the levels of interviews and conversations that inform the study. Arguably, it is easier to negotiate confidentiality for one-on-one interviews with ordinary community members. However, some of the stories that participants and local historians shared with me, while we may have had the interview in a private space, the stories that were shared came from public events that other residents could relate to. Similarly, while interviews with state officials may have been conducted in private spaces, there is a risk of some of the information shared linking them to their positions. While I was very careful in my writing style, I informed all participants of the limited assumptions around issues of anonymity.

Drawing from my own experiences of participating in a topless protest at the University of Witwatersrand during #feesmustfall protests in 2016 (see Ndlovu 2017b), I realised that in some African communities consent is a complicated issue that does not only involve individual agency. No matter how much we can try to be progressive with the politics of owning our bodies, our agency is always compromised or will always be interrogated within the structures where we exist. When I used my agency to strip off and participate in a topless protest, my immediate family was not ashamed and they never questioned my actions. However, on returning home over the holidays, my community held me accountable for my actions that had seemingly breached some 'collective' norms and values that govern womxn's bodies in my community. This meant that I had to undergo a public trial in the village explaining why I stripped off my clothes in front of thousands of people and millions of television viewers.

Although most of my participants consented to be interviewed and gave me permission to use their stories during my fieldwork, when I started re-writing their narratives I came to the realisation that consent is not a once-off event, but an ongoing process. This realisation came after a reflection on my personal experiences and a deep reading and re-reading of stories that were shared with me, especially those of violence and trauma that took place and continue to take place on different *battlefields* (see *Chapter 7*).

Kiguwa notes that the "research encounter is invariably marked by unequal relations of power between participants and researchers." In realisation of this dilemma, she asks a challenging question - "To what degree is it possible to recover and not appropriate the voices of the powerless?" (Kiguwa 2019: 232). The powerless here are the participants who do not enjoy the opportunity to present their stories in sophisticated academic spaces and prestigious journals (Muholi 2004). In trying to mediate this dilemma, after many attempts of re-producing the stories of womxn and men in ways that do not expose them to further forms of dismembering, I had to consult the participants whose stories I draw from at length to participate in the process of re-writing the stories and to confirm the version that they would be comfortable with. This does not mean that I had solved the ethical dilemma as these negotiated positions can shift or change at any time as participants change their minds. However, the end product of the stories reproduced here are a negotiated version between participants and the researcher.

The other ethical dilemma that I encountered during fieldwork had to do with ways in which researchers are expected to remain objective throughout their fieldwork and not get closely

attached to community issues within the communities they will be doing their research in. As I have noted earlier, I encountered a challenge in conducting focus group discussions as the researchers before me have created a culture of providing standard food packages for the participants. This is not an impeachment of the practice of proving food to participants given the lived realities of township life. However, the consequence of this practice is that for the few FGDs that I conducted, I had to provide food even though it was not enough. However, I did not read this as clashing with the ethics of the research, but rather as a clash between traditional research methods and the everyday lived realities of African communities. In African communities, when we gather, food becomes the uniting communion. Most importantly, FGDs usually take longer especially where there are many participants. As researchers, how do we then justify keeping people for hours without feeding them?

Another ethical dilemma, related to questions of objectivity and remaining neutral, had to do with my participation in the everyday life of the residents of Duncan Village. Although, according to traditional research methods, I was not expected to be involved in personal community issues, I did not enjoy the opportunity of not getting involved (that I wish I could have) as this involved an emotional burden and economic responsibilities. In the prologue of this chapter I have narrated how I got roped into the funeral arrangements of the victim of a shack fire. This came with the realisation that I am a privileged university graduate with social capital and networks in the municipality. My privileged identity therefore set me apart from other residents, therefore tasking me with the burden of organising the funeral. This is one of the many experiences where I found myself participating in the everyday lives of the residents as part of the community.

Describing scenes of violence among Sikh residents in Delhi, Veena Das argues that her own

> … 'entry' into the field was not marked by any of the slow rituals of initiation through which the anthropologists becomes a part of the everyday life of a community. It was as if a wound has suddenly opened up, slashing through connected tissues. My very presence in the 'field' was not that of an anthropologist conducting fieldwork. Along with several others, I had undertaken to act in this emergency of the safety of the survivors and to work toward their rehabilitation. These questions then, were grounded in the question of how the survivors were to rebuild their lives, to pick up the pieces and find out how and whether to go on, that is, to go on living in this very place of devastation, as of something over (Das 2007: 13).

Similarly, I found myself in Duncan Village participating in putting out shack fires, running around organising funerals, and doing other work that any community resident of Area 8 informal settlement would do. Most importantly, I found myself trapped in the process of finding ways in which shack fire victims can move on with their lives after the fires and not knowing how soon they will encounter the next fire accident. However, although I fully participated in the everyday lives and did all I was supposed to do, I remained aware of the complex idea of belonging that comes with doing ethnographic work.

In the incident that I narrate in the prologue of this chapter, I wrote about how the young boys looked at ease despite knowing that someone burned and died in a shack. To me this sounded insensitive as I started questioning their morals. However, after doing some reflection, I realised that to me, although the event of a burning shack was not new after the seven shacks I had already witnessed, seeing someone burning to death was something completely new and it came as a shock. However, rather than being insensitive as I perceived them, these young boys have been desensitised by the situation. I have no idea of how many bodies they have seen in their lifetime. This was an eye-opener to some of the claims that we tend to make about belonging to the communities where we do our research. For me, a death of this type was something new, but for the residents of Area 8 and Duncan Village at large, this is part of their everyday life. While I was counting a few more months so that I can conclude my research and leave, this is their everyday reality. They are probably going to see more bodies and more shack fires. This is the trauma that structures and organises their everyday lives.

The final ethical dilemma that I had to deal with had to do with issues of violence and trauma. When I was applying for ethics for this project, I was asked to make provisions for how I was going to deal with post-interview trauma after traumatising the participants by asking them about some of their experiences on their violent past. Research methods teaches the need to consider counselling facilities for participants. However, the realities in the field forced me to confront different ways of dealing with trauma and violence in Black African communities. As much as I was not in a position to afford counselling services, I came to learn that Duncan Village residents deal with trauma in ways that are different from what researchers assume or impose.

I have already indicated that the life histories and interviews were very long processes. Through these processes, local historians chose to engage my research in ways that made sense to them

instead of what I had planned for the research. I cannot deny that some of the stories that my participants narrated were too traumatic for me as a researcher too. And the paradox of this is that while in social sciences we are taught about doing research, we are never equipped on how to deal with trauma. However, I was amazed by ways in which local historians dealt with trauma during my research. After long hours of narrating their stories, there were those moments where they told me that they have never spoken to anyone about some of the events that they shared with me. There was silence, cries and other non-verbal cues as they retold their stories. It is that final line that always put me at ease – that says after this conversation they felt relieved. One of the participants said, "Kwangathi kususwe ilitye emagxeni ami. Ndizoke ndilale ubuthongo namhlanje emva kweminyaka engaka!" [*I feel like something has been lifted off my shoulders. I am finally going to have a peaceful sleep today after all these years*] (Life history, Duncan Village, 2017).

In the above piece quoted from Das (2007: 13), she narrates moments where wounds from the injured persons suddenly open up, "slash through connected tissues" thereby directly connecting her to the emergency on the ground. But, what do we make of this transfer of traumatic experiences that are narrated through stories? How do we comprehend the pain and deal with it when old womxn finally say they are going to sleep for the first time today? Of course there is that sense of relief from me as a researcher as I anticipated my interview to retraumatise the participants. However, beyond that moment of relief there is another moment where I begin to make sense of the stories that were shared with me – 'for the first time.' The pain was transferred from my participants to me and I only realised the dire effects of this trauma when I was diagnosed with severe depression a few months after I left the field. This calls for rethinking ways in which researchers can balance supporting their participants while at the same time making sure that they keep their sanity intact. I am re-imagining a holistic approach to the question of ethics especially in relation to ways of dealing with trauma.

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed methodological and ethical considerations that were relevant for this thesis. I started with discussing focusing on isiXhosa as the main language. I explained my motivation of reproducing interviews conducted in Xhosa in their original language and argued that everyday meaning-making is embedded in Xhosa not only as a spoken language, but also as a language of making sense of and navigating the world. Secondly, I highlighted the

structural injustice on indigenous languages that for the longest time we read indigenous languages as footnotes or in italics, yet they remain the main languages that inform our understanding of social contexts and theorisations thereof.

The second part mapped methodological approaches that I employed in the study. I started with the extended case method – one of the popular methods that allows for the interrogating of a case study over a period of time. This method allowed me to move back and forth into the histories and the present realities of Duncan Village and Buffalo City through the experiences and narratives of local historians. As the reader will discover moving further into the thesis, although the study is located within the sociology discipline, it borrows methodologies and theories from other disciplines and works across different disciplines. In addition to the extended case study, I also employed intersectional feminism(s) as a methodological and ethical approach to pay attention to some of the sensitive and particular issues that I engage in the thesis. I also discussed the fragmented narrative method to account for ways in which I made sense and was able to theorise everyday lived experiences through the narratives of the local historians.

In the third part, I presented ethnographic mappings of Buffalo City and Duncan Village and explored the methods that I employed in data collection. Among these, I discussed life histories and commented on how they provided a window through which I tapped into both the historical and present spaces of the local historians through their narratives of their everyday experiences. This chapter also discussed the researcher's use of what was designed as interviews. It highlighted how the researcher's idea of interviews shifted when the participants chose to engage the study in ways that made sense to them and their lived experiences. The researcher ended doing long conversations from what was meant to be interviews. I ended this section by discussing focus group discussions that I ended up discarding due to financial constraints and pressures from the culture created by other researchers who came before me.

The final part of this chapter discussed some ethical issues that the researcher encountered during fieldwork, ways in which these were addressed, and some reflections on the challenges to how sociological research methods are taught and how they clash with the realities on the ground. I reflected at length on the issue of consent and concluded that consent is not a once off event where participants sign off their stories to be used for research report writing and theorisation. Instead, consent is an ongoing process that demands that we engage our

participants throughout the process up to the final product. In the following chapter, I present a visual mapping of the Duncan Village township to give the reader a picture of the geographical space that informs most of the arguments that I make throughout the thesis.

Chapter 3

The Transition of Duncan Village in Pictures: Still Images and Moving Realities

I am almost at the end of my data collection phase and I will be leaving Duncan Village soon. Ever since I arrived here in 2014, I have realised that while there are some peculiarities in this place, Duncan Village is not structurally dissimilar to other townships. It resembles most Black townships in South Africa as designed by the apartheid government particularly for managing Black African populations. The legacies of colonialism and the failures of the post-1994 dispensation to address the gap between the rich and the poor are laid bare at every street corner, in every household/home that I am invited into. Most importantly, the geographical structures say a lot about the ideological implications of the many apartheid state projects on township designs that aimed at controlling black people and containing resistance.

I walk across the township one more time to figure out this uniqueness that I have been thinking about. In my head I have a picture of any other black township that I have been to: Soweto, Alexandra, Khayelitsha, and Thembisa among others. One cannot fail to grasp the apartheid brutality represented by one-roomed houses whose walls bore the history of many black people. It is in these one-roomed houses that for instance, the respected Deputy Mayor of Buffalo City was born and raised. Most of the former and current councillors were born and bred in these one-roomed houses too. These one-roomed houses represent the spirit of Ubuntu as they were shared with extended families despite the fact that there were only single rooms. Children were born, raised, and married in and off in these very single roomed houses. Despite the inconveniences caused by the living arrangements that clash with many of our black African cultures, life went on.

As I move up the Douglas Highway Road to the other part of Duncan Village, I move with images that do not only represent the changes in the dwelling structures, but also bear the history of the political context of the time. As resistance mounted in the 1950s into the 1960s, one can notice effects of the pressure mounted by residents of Duncan Village on the then government that resulted in the change in the shape and sizes of housing units. Two-roomed houses towards D Section bear witness to the pressure exerted by residents as they rejected the undignified life of living in one-roomed houses. The apartheid government eventually shifted – although in ways that still continued to hold the grip and control in black communities – but nonetheless, finally built two-roomed houses. As you move towards Eduze settlement, one notices some scattered four-roomed houses. Yes, people did get two-roomed and four-roomed houses, but not without a cost of lives.

When one enters Duncan Village from the side of Boxer Supermarket along Black Road (I guess back then in the 1980s or even early 1990s one would be welcomed by a tombstone), a pillar-like structure that bears the name of a Governor once seen as progressive - Sr Patrick Duncan – marks the landscape. He founded the Duncan Village township in the early 1940s as he developed the area to house black people who were working on the neighbouring farms and in factories. Segregation laws and forced removals were to later distort this dream as the apartheid government between the 1950s and 1960s pushed black Africans to Mdantsane in a bid to make Duncan Village a township for Indians and Coloureds only. As one moves towards the end of the township, exiting via Douglas Smith Highway, there lie the remains of those who fought and paid with their lives on the 11th of August 1985. These are the victims and heroes of the 1985 massacre; a history that remains touchy in many narratives of the people of Duncan

Village. When I thought about this setting earlier today, it looked as if someone had figured the setup carefully. The founder lies at the entrance to the township, and those who died at the massacre of the final battle against forced removals lie at the end of the township, as if marking decades of struggles and changes that have taken place in this beautiful township.

There is no doubt that the shacks have multiplied more than the formal houses. The post-1994 government has tried to build some houses, but given the structure of the township, there is not really much to be done in terms of development. It was a township developed for a particular purpose - to contain black populations, so it cannot be bigger than what it was meant to be lest black people get a stronghold in the city and present a threat to the then apartheid administration.

From what I have observed thus far, the peculiarity of the Duncan Village township lies in this very paradoxical expansion. A small township turned out to be a bigger township despite lack of land. As one moves up and down the township, one notices that within these very one-roomed structures there are also shacks in between. Some are new and some are old, suggesting that the old and the new can exist together. Some have replaced the one-roomed houses that have collapsed; bearing evidence of the pressure that they have carried for many decades, and that they are finally giving up. We also cannot forget the brutality of the forced removals and how they displaced and separated families. Some of these families, I am told by local historians, returned to Duncan Village after the political upheaval, and some were brought back by the activists in the 1980s to make the apartheid system ungovernable. With no extra land lying somewhere to accommodate the returnees, they grabbed available space whether stand alone or within houses and erected their shacks.

With the dawn of 'democracy', more people who were kept in rural areas by the influx control laws slowly moved into the city and they are still trickling in, thanks to the proximity of Duncan Village to the East London city centre. Depending on where one is standing and one's understanding of development, one may argue that Duncan Village has not developed since the post-1994 dispensation. Looking at the housing structures, the overcrowding and the mushrooming of informal settlements with BCMM struggling to de-densify the township, it clearly seems there has not been development. But as I have noted, it depends on what one means by development. Whether for the good or the bad, Duncan Village has developed vastly. It is now five times bigger than what it was in the 1980s. Maybe I want to say expansion instead of development? But yes, there are new structures, both formal and informal. The Toilet City and Mekeni Street areas are some of the new developments through the RDP project which, however, compete with emerging shacks. They also run parallel to the apartheid houses; as the old ones fall apart, some of the new houses fall apart too. The new and the old co-exist within the same space. The formal and the informal, the legal and the illegal compete as they beg for recognition from the municipality and passers-by; they are both homes for many - they raise lives and nurture families. One-roomed houses that raised families during apartheid are resembled by the new one-roomed shacks that are still raising families today. Life goes on…

After taking a long tour of the township, having visited the graves of the struggle heroes of this place, we stop by Duncan's pillar and my two old men pose for a photo. They insist that they want to see this project growing and Duncan Village becoming popular. I do not know what this means. As I pen this chapter today, my heart is heavy and I feel pressured to complete this project, lest I suffer a double tragedy. Bra Man D – as famously known to his community, is still soldiering on, and if I am to publish these photos, they will be a gift that he dreamt of in

many of our conversations and during this tour in particular. To Bra Tura – as known by his community – whose life, filled with so much wisdom, was cut too short; you never lived to see this project to the end as you longed and encouraged me. Rest in perfect peace! (Adapted from fieldwork diary 14/12/2017[and edited to include the last paragraph 06/10/2019]).

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I give a visual presentation of the Duncan Village township at present. The main aim of the chapter is to give the reader a background picture to some of the arguments that I make throughout the thesis. In the following chapter (*Chapter 4),* I present the intra-community relations of Duncan Village and I argue that they are mainly shaped by the geographical context of the township that separates between *inzalelwane and abantu bokufika* among other identities. I argue that the geographical distribution of the township plays a bigger role in shaping the construction and deployment of the identities of inclusion and exclusion structured by the binaries of formality/informality and legality/illegality. This chapter presents contradictions of development progress where history co-exists with the present and shows how the coexistence of history and the present complicates the imagination of the future. Here I show how old one-roomed houses of the apartheid period compare with one-roomed shacks of post-1994 and the contradictions of meanings of development. As a result, most of the arguments made in this thesis (*Chapter 4,* in particular, as it sets the scene for the thesis) are located within this embeddedness of the informal life within formal lives, of the informal structures within formal structures, the contradictory locations of democracy and its meanings and how advancing the everyday struggles towards *inkululeko* are embedded in 'informal' survival strategies employed parallel to formal strategies (*see Chapter 6*). It is therefore not an accident that the reader will notice my consistent use of post-1994 instead of post-apartheid South Africa since residents of Duncan Village maintain that their geographical structures suggest that they live in the post-1994 era instead of post-apartheid South Africa.

This chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section, I present the historical mapping of the township through some of the pictures that represent the history of the place. These include the visualisation of the description I provided in the prologue: the pillar of what is supposed to be the entrance into Duncan Village and the memorial site of the 1985 massacre at the end of the township. I also show some of the historical structures that played a role in the anti-apartheid struggles like the old St Phillips and the St Peter Claver Mission Catholic churches. The second section maps Duncan Village represented through images of dwelling

structures and how they have changed over the years. I present one-roomed apartheid houses and map how they have progressed to two- and four-roomed houses, and back to one-roomed crowded shacks that have sprouted alongside formal houses. I also present some of the pilot housing projects used by the post-1994 government to build RDP houses. I end this section by presenting everyday life in Duncan Village.

In the third section, I present spaces of precarity in terms of what it means to live in an informal structure where residents have to rely on 'illegal' connections and the everyday threatening fires. I end this section by showing scenes from one of the shack fires that I witnessed during my stay in Duncan Village. The final section maps the presence of the state in its physical form through its structures and languages as it attempts to govern through papers/instructions. I end the section by showing how the state sometimes contradicts itself as it tries to assert its presence through its language of governing, while its everyday practices present a contradiction (see *Chapter 6*).

3.2. Historical Spaces



Image 1: Left: The late Tata uMongezi Ngcaba; Right: Tata uDini Nzama. The pillar is a site that was meant to mark the beginning of Duncan Village Township. The township is named after the founder, the then Governor Sir Patrick Duncan.



Image 2: The tombstone structure in remembrance of the heroes of the 11th August 1985 Massacre. At the periphery of Duncan Village, towards Braelyn, lies this memorial site for the heroes of the Duncan Village massacre on 11 August 1985 (see *Chapter 1* for a detailed background).



Image 3: In memory of the heroes of the 1985 massacre



Image 4: Old St Phillips Roman Catholic Church



Image 5: St Peter Claver Roman Catholic Church

The two churches, the St Phillips Roman Catholic Church at D Section and the St Peter Claver Roman Catholic Church at Area 8, played an important role in the lives of activists during anti-apartheid struggles.



Image 6: The space between the St. Peter Claver Mission and Duncan Village. What was once an open space has now developed into a new informal settlement. While some of the shacks just across the street are new, some have always been here since the late 1970s.



Image 7: My fieldwork home.



Image 8: The fencing of my home founded in 1978.

3.3. Mapping Duncan Village Township



Image 9: One of the oldest apartheid housing structures. This is one of the oldest remaining houses of Duncan Village, built when the township was founded. Tourists and researchers come from different places to view this house and take pictures at a fee. When Sir Patrick Duncan started building the township, he used these structures that were later developed into the one-roomed concrete structures.



Image 10: Old apartheid one-roomed houses from D Section.



Image 11: Apartheid one-roomed houses from Duncan Village Proper.



Image 12: D Section apartheid two-roomed houses.



Image 13: D Section public toilets.



Image 14: Public toilets and public taps at D Section. This photo was taken after the 2016 local government elections when the EFF along with the DA for the first time were gaining a stronghold in a predominantly ANC township.



Image 15: Duncan Village hostel rooms for different families.



Image 16: This is one of the examples on how the formal and informal spaces are obscured by co-existence of both structures (see *Chapter 4*).



Image 17: Duncan Village Hostel – view from Douglas Smith Highway.



Image 18: Inside the Duncan Village hostel.



Image 19: Inside the Duncan Village hostel. The hostels were created for male migrant workers during apartheid but they now house families from different walks of life.



Image 20: Some of the well-off houses in Duncan Village Proper.

3.3.1. Housing Project Pilot



Image 21: The first pilot house for the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (DVRI) project (see *Chapter 1*).



Image 22: The second pilot house that residents rejected on the grounds that they cannot have houses that resemble those of the rural areas when they are in the city.



Image 23: The third pilot house that was accepted by residents and was used in the Mekeni Housing project in Mekeni Street, Duncan Village Proper.



Image 24: A view of C Section from Douglas Smith Highway. The corrugated one-room iron shacks are co-existing with one-roomed houses built by the apartheid government.



Image 25: A view of Duncan Village Proper from the Ford Traffic Circle on Douglas Smith Highway.



Image 26: Mzonyana old graveyard along Douglas Smith Highway. At the edge of this cemetery there is a small informal settlement that has developed from the late 1990s and the settlers are accused of settling on people's graves.



Image 27: Here lies the grave of Alcott Skei Gwentshe of the ANCYL, one of the organisers of the Bantu Square meeting that led to the Black Sunday in 1952 (see *Chapter 1*).



Image 28: An informal settlement that sprouted just in front of formal houses of C Section along Douglas Smith Highway, near Bhebhelele Street. Formal structures can be seen up towards the front view of the car.



Image 29: Another informal settlement that sprouted along the highway just on the edge of formal houses. These are the particularities of Duncan Village that I discuss in *Chapter 4.*

3.3.2. Everyday Life in Duncan Village Township



Image 30: A spaza shop along Douglas Smith Highway next to the hostel.



Image 31: Next to the hostel, everyday life goes on as people make-shift to make ends meet. "*Umqambu la ukhona*" (we sell meat from cow heads).

3.4. Spaces of Precarity



Image 33: Everyday ways of accessing electricity for those marked as informal. Where the state cannot provide, residents make means to access their fair share of democracy.



Image 34: One of the many transformers that are used to access electricity in ways considered to be illegal (see *Chapter 5*).



Image 35: A burning shack at Area 8 Informal settlement and the residents have all come out to make sure that the fire does not spread to consume the whole settlement.



Image 36: Shack completely burnt to the ground.

3.5. The State in the Community



Image 37: Gompo Hall Community Centre.



Image 38: Gompo Hall Youth Centre.



Image 39: Ndende Street Duncan Village Day Clinic.



Image 40: Kwinana Street, Duncan Village Proper. “Musa ukungcolisa” (*do not litter*). Is it because the municipality doesn’t do waste collection in this area?

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter has laid out a visual map of Duncan Village that explains some of the situations discussed throughout the thesis. I argue that what makes Duncan Village a privileged space for exploring state/society relations and questions of the binaries of formality/informality, legality/illegality among other issues, is the very geographical layout of the township that allows for the language of exclusion and inclusion based on dwelling structures marked as formal and informal as they co-exist in many places.

In mapping the township, the chapter has shown how Duncan Village has transitioned over the years through different housing structures that are not really different when looked at closely. The chapter has also mapped spaces of precarity in terms of how residents negotiate the question of access to basic goods, electricity in particular. While these 'illegal' connections remain one of the key strategies of accessing electricity, it is simultaneously one of the major causes of shack fires, although not the only one. Alongside 'illegal' connections and their forever looming danger, I have shown in this chapter how everyday life interferes with or runs parallel to the spaces of precarity through a burning shack, this time not by illegal connections, but because of a fight between a girlfriend and her boyfriend (see *Image 36*).

In the final part of this chapter, I mapped the state buildings within Duncan Village. Interestingly, these buildings, or those who work in these buildings, share the everyday life of Duncan Village. In their everyday navigation of spaces, from the township to their workplaces, they encounter the absent state that neglects refuse removal. Most importantly, some of them live in Duncan Village as they are part of the community. This means that the state is not only in communities through buildings, but also through local state officials who are community members of Duncan Village (see *Chapter 6).* I ended this chapter by showing the contradictory nature of the state. In *Image 40,* there is a big sign by the BCMM that says "Musa ukungcolisa" (*Do not litter*), yet the heap of garbage next to it portrays a direct contradiction from a state that governs through legal notices yet acts otherwise – by not doing refuse collection. The image also presents the defying nature of residents who refuse to submit to the language of the state by doing what the notice says they must not do, i.e. littering right next to the "*do not litter*" sign. The following chapter explores intra-society relations with the main focus on how the spatial distribution of the township informs ways in which residents of Duncan Village relate to each other and how they participate in the everyday (re)production of urban space.

Chapter 4

Contested Citizenship, Contested Identities and Claims of Belonging in a South African Township

My journey to Duncan Village Township begins with getting off the taxi at Boxer supermarket. This is followed by winding through 'informal' dwellings made up of boards and iron sheets that are lined along Florence Street. I am heading to Freedom Square (at the intersection of Ntsenyerho and Sofuthe Streets) because I have unfinished business there. Yesterday I was there to join a march of residents of Florence Street to hand over their memorandum of demands to the city mayor. It has been a battle of more than seven years now since their eighty-seven houses have been misallocated (or stolen as they put it) at the Reeston new settlement. There are a few points that I took from the march yesterday after brief chats with some of the participants. I managed to get their names but not their addresses for follow up purposes. Today I am going to meet utata who initially put me in touch with this 'community'. I need him to do two things for me: to see if he can identify some of the names of the people that I want to follow up with from the march and to clarify why the march was attended by just a few people the previous day.

Yesterday at the march I got an opportunity to ask a womxn walking next to me about the 'poor attendance'. I ask her why people are few and she responds, "Singabahlali basemagalini qha. And asiphelelanga apha ngoba abanye baphangele kodwa abanye bahleli emzini yabo ngoba le march ayidibananga nabo" (we are only residents of the informal settlement [This is not all of us though, because this march has got nothing to do with the rest of the residents]. I try to probe further what she means by "imarch ayidibananga nabo" but she asks me to come to her home the following day so we could talk. Before I got her address and phone number, we are interrupted by another womxn who is also part of the march. She says "ndingumhlali wasezindlini mna, andinguye wasemagalini" (I am a resident of formal houses and not from the shacks). This conversation is interrupted by an announcement from the marshals as we have arrived at the city hall where the memorandum is to be handed to the city mayor.

I return today to follow up on these questions. After meeting utata, I ask him about the 'poor attendance' of the march. Utata responds "akukho budlelwano phakathi kwabantu basemagalini nasezindlini Hlengiwe" [there is no working relationship between residents of the informal settlements and those from formal houses]. He adds, "Into yalomphakathi ibuhlungu ngoba akuwona umphakathi nje lo. Uyayibona lento yenzalelwane nabantu bokufika zange ndiyithande tuu. Eligama lisebenza ukwahlula abantu okungukuthi abanye ngabalapha and abanye abangabo balapha" [The issue of this community is painful because this is not a community. This thing of the born-and-bred and the new arrivals, I do not like it at all. It is only meant to divide people in such a way that others belong here and others do not belong here]" I feel like I am more confused than I was before I spoke to utata. He has not answered any of my questions. For now, I have to locate my people from the march. I can always come back to utata for this conversation.

I finally locate usisi Nothando today but not umama uPumla and utata seems not to be able to identify the person based on the description that I am giving him. Usisi uNothando is a free-spirited soul, kind, generous with information and she speaks with confidence and depth – reflecting the time she has invested in issues that she is talking about (activism). I had a lengthy and highly informative conversation with Nothando. However, among many other things that we discussed, I am struck by her expansion and clarification of what "abahlali basemagalini abangabo balapha" [informal settlement dwellers do not belong here (Duncan Village)] means. I ask her again to explain to me why they were so few people at the march. After a long pause, she elaborates, "Njeba sihambela izindlu zethu nje sicimba kuthunyelwa abantu uba masitshiswe sizoduba sihambe" [As we are fighting for our houses, I think they are sending people to burn us in our shacks so that we can give up and leave]. She adds, "Kaloku asiphathiswa okwabantu balapha eSouth Africa, siphathiswa okwe foreigners' kodwa sibe sivota. Ndithetha nje nopende awukasuki ezandleni zethu njeba kuvotiwe nje" [We are not treated as South African citizens; we are treated like foreigners, yet we vote every time. As I speak, the paint has not dried up on our fingers – a testimony that we have just voted]. When utata first raised the question of belonging I assumed it had implications of belonging to a different space. However, Nothando brings in the question of national citizenship and how this plays itself out in the relationship. I now have a task to follow up on some of these nuances to understand what it means exactly to be inzalelwane or umuntu wokufika as perceived by residents of Duncan Village (adapted from fieldwork diary, 02/08/2014).

4. 1. Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the intra-community relations of Duncan Village residents from the 1980s to the present. I map the trajectory of their relations from the apartheid state through everyday interactions to post-1994 to explore how the historical, the present, and the future are embodied, imagined, and re-imagined through everyday interactions of residents of Duncan Village. The aim is not to describe all forms of relations, or to argue that these relations observed and discussed are homogeneous and understood in the same way by all residents of this township. However, I describe relations whose interpretations suggest a need to rethink questions of citizenship, community and belonging as understood through the lenses of local historians that I spoke to.

Through an exploration of everyday interactions, I argue that Duncan Village in its complexity presents an opportunity for exploring broader concepts such as citizenship, community, and belonging that are almost taken for granted in academic language. The main aim is to shift theorising about urban citizenship from the global perspective to the local and from the local

to the periphery, and re-think ways in which we can move theory from the periphery to the globe. This is done through working with/and against literature that is shifting the readings of urbanity of the global south from the "catching up" discourse and understand them in their contexts without comparing them with those of the global north cities (Desai and Sanyal 2012; Holston 2012; 2008; Chatterjee 2008; Roy 2007; 2009; Appadurai 2001; Lefebvre 1996). I argue that the shift from reading and theorising from metropolitan (big) cities to theorising from smaller cities presents an opportunity to explore some relations and dynamics that may or may not be similar to those that play out in bigger cities. The chapter also aims to disrupt the binaries of poor/rich, metropolis/periphery, formal/informal, and legal/illegal in thinking about everyday making of citizenship and everyday (re)production of urban space.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section presents theoretical and conceptual tools in beginning to re-think concepts of citizenship, community and belonging. The second section maps the historical trajectory of Duncan Village through the 1980s. It draws attention to specific localised ways of identity construction, imaginations of belonging and the (re)constitution of communities. I explore how historical struggles and current struggles, and imaginations of the future play a role in the creation, mobilisation and deployment of identities of *inzalelwane*, *abantu bokufika*, *amaGhana*, and *amaGrigamba* that remain important in thinking through ideas of citizenship, belonging and the reconstitution of communities.

In the final section I propose some conceptual contributions in the reading of citizenship and community. I make two specific arguments in this section. Firstly, I argue that an exploration of the intra -community relations in Duncan Village distabilises the traditional concept of citizenship, rendering it porous and making it open for expansion and appropriation for different purposes. Secondly, I propose ways of thinking through the everyday making and unmaking of communities through strategies employed, mobilised and deployed by local actors in their everyday struggle for access to public goods. Instead of thinking of communities as homogeneous or static, I propose different ways in which the community is reimagined and reconstituted in Duncan Village through practices that amount to *'convenient communities,'* '*instrumental communities*,' and *'political communities*.'

4.2. Theoretical and Conceptual Tools

The idea of a city as a space of citizenship production has a long history dating from the ancient Greek city-state or polis, ancient Roman cities and medieval European cities (Holston 2012; Bennett et al. 2005). During the 18th Century, citizenship came to be defined in relation to expansion from civil rights to individual freedoms and political rights (including voting) in Britain. In the 19th and 20th centuries, citizenship was associated with membership in a larger political community. The 20th Century saw the expansion of rights into the economic arena i.e. social welfare and security (Shafir 1998). Similarly, the idea of citizenship in South Africa has changed over time. It was only after 1930 that white womxn realised the right to vote. While African men and womxn remained excluded from citizenship rights, the development of the industrial economy permitted men some degree of movement into the public sphere as they were required for labour power in the mines and on farms. Black womxn increasingly remained restricted to the domestic sphere but this gradually began to be challenged in the early 1950s. A typical case of the latter is the milestone womxn's march against pass laws on the 9th of August 1956. Despite such opposition to discriminatory laws, it was not until 1943 that womxn began gaining membership into the ANC (Lodge 1983).

As a point of departure, this chapter triangulates literature from post-colonial theorists, urban geographies and urban anthropologies to locate and unpack different types of citizenship from below. Writing on African postcolonial societies, Mamdani (1996) distinguishes between citizens and subjects. He identifies citizenship as the privilege of the 'civilised', while the 'uncivilised' maintain the status of subjects. However, for Mamdani, there is a clear division between the urban 'civilised' and therefore citizens, and the rural 'uncivilised' who constitute subjects. He argues that "urban power spoke the language of civil society and civil rights, customary power pledged to enforce tradition" (Mamdani 1996: 19). He identifies the role of race in determining the distinction between citizens and subjects and argues that "civil society was first and foremost the society of colons" (ibid.). It then follows that rights of association and free publicity, and eventually of political representation, were rights of citizens under direct rule, not of subjects indirectly ruled by customarily organised tribal authority. For Mamdani, thus "while civil society was racialised, Native Authority was tribalised" (1996: 19).

Mamdani's (1996) distinction between citizenship and subject is useful in terms of understanding different rights and privileges for different groups in apartheid South Africa. It

locates race at the center of citizenship rights. This is a useful conceptualisation in thinking about imagined postcolonial societies and imagined 'democracy' post-1994 South Africa and Duncan Village in particular. As I show later in *Chapter 5,* residents of Duncan Village claim that they fought for *inkululeko* and it was expected that once *inkululeko* has been achieved, racial lines would be erased as society moves forward. However, the case of Duncan Village complicates understandings of this imagined *inkululeko* through readings of everyday interactions of community members, particularly because of the contradictions between the *inkululeko* that was fought for and the democracy that was negotiated (see *Chapter 5*). The contestations of citizenship, identities and forms of belonging in Duncan Village – although race remains relevant in the historical making of the township and current struggles over access to basic resources - are such that community struggles transcend racial, national, and tribal divides that were identified by Mamdani (1996).

In the foreword of: *Urban citizenship: contested spaces in India*, James Holston (2012) identifies urban citizenship as an innovative emerging concept to think through conflict over urban spaces and resources. He notes that contributors to the volume see this conflict as:

> …collisions of multiple and often contradictory claims, identities and differences that both shape and are shaped by the commitment residents make to the city as their political community of belonging in their daily lives. These commitments in conflict make the city an arena of citizenship change – an arena where national citizenship is reconfigured as its substance, meanings, institutions, and publics become reshaped through conflicts over the terms and aspirations of urban life. The meaning of urban citizenship that threads through the volume is clear, it refers to the city as its primary political community for an agenda of rights-claims that address city living as its substance. It applies when residents – rich and poor – mobilise not primarily as nationals, but as urban residents who legitimate their demands on the basis of their sense of stakes in the city – of making, contributing to, and appropriating it – even when that sense of legitimation promotes nationalists and exclusionary constructions of politics" (Holston 2012: x).

Most importantly, urban citizenship emerges as an idea of contradictory claims, identities and differences that shape and are shaped by conflict resulting from participation in the space. In the case of Duncan Village, I am interested in this township as a space where according to Holston, national citizenship is (re)configured and (re)shaped through the everyday production of space. The role of conflict remains important in the making of urban citizenship and everyday production of the urban space. Holston further argues, the Indians in question are

discriminated against because they are a certain kind of citizenship, with particular distribution of disadvantages (Holston 2012). Drawing from the experiences of Brazil and the Brazilian meaning of the word citizen, Holston deploys the concept of differentiated citizenship. He argues that citizenship in Brazil is a measure of differences used to distance people from one another: "It reminds people of what they are not – even though paradoxically, they are themselves citizens…" (Holston 2012: xi). This idea of forms of exclusion that reminds people of what they are not resonates with issues raised by Nothando in the prologue of this chapter. She laments that they are treated as if they are not citizens yet they have just returned from voting as testified by the fresh ink on their fingers (In South Africa people dip their fingers in ink after casting their votes).

For Holston, a citizenship based on differentiation is a *Differentiated Citizenship* because it is based on "differentiating and not equating kinds of citizens therefore distributing inequality" (Holston 2008:5). Citizenship mobilisation in this context produces new inequalities, generates new publics and new segregations, new modes of association and new modes of violence. He concludes, "Citizenship participation in this case both empowers and fragments, identifies and differentiates" (Holston 2012: xi). It is within this differentiation and fragmentation where contestations of belonging that define and determine different citizenship(s) in Duncan Village are located.

The concept of urban citizenship is useful in thinking through citizenship beyond national borders as scholars cited above have already demonstrated. It offers a space to re-think urban citizenship in relation to the everyday production of space and belonging. However, urban citizenship, if we read it as a constant struggle between the rich and the poor to access urban space, we run a risk of reproducing hegemonic binaries of the rich versus the poor. The reading of the everyday production of space in Duncan Village focuses on everyday interactions amongst 'the urban poor' or citizens from the margins (Das and Poole 2004) as autonomous actors with agency that are capable of producing and reproducing, and to shape their urban space without necessarily fighting the state or the rich. This is not to dismiss the role of racial histories or the global and local influences of capitalism and neoliberalism in shaping township struggles in relation to access to land and other public resources. The study also takes cognisance of the role of the state in influencing/being influenced by these struggles. The chapter focuses on the urban poor as actors with agency participating in the everyday reproduction of the urban space through their everyday interactions. I argue that this

perspective offers an opportunity to explore concepts of community, belonging and citizenship as stand-alone struggles amongst the urban poor, not the urban poor's affront against the state and/or the rich.

In *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in the Post-colony*, Sara Ahmed (2000) calls for the need to consider how the stranger is "an effect of processes of inclusion and exclusion, or incorporation and expulsion that constitutes boundaries of bodies and communities of living (dwelling and travel) as well as epistemic communities." (Ahmed 2000: 6-7). She invites us to interrogate "processes of 'encounter' as how they are determined, but at the same time not fully determined" (ibid). These encounters suggest a meeting, but a meeting which involves surprise and conflict. Identity therefore becomes instituted through encounters with others that surprise, which shift boundaries of the familiar, of what we assume that we know. The consolidation of this identity is therefore constituted in the "more than one" of the encounters in such a way that the designation of an "I" or "we" requires an encounter with others (ibid).

Ahmed draws from Irvin Goffman's theory of a stranger and argues that strangers are not simply those who are not known within certain dwellings, but those who are in their very proximity already recognised as 'not belonging'- as being out of place. Such recognition allows for the demarcation and enforcement of boundaries of 'this place' as where we dwell (Ahmed 2000: 21-22). The enforcement of boundaries, Ahmed argues, requires that somebody – here "locatable in the dirty figure of the stranger" – has already crossed the line, has already come too close (Ahmed 2000: 22). The recognition of a stranger becomes a means by which inhabitable and bounded spaces are produced, not simply as the place of locality of residence, but as the very living form of a community (Ahmed 2000).

In these perceived threats of danger from a stranger, an idea of a community is born through forged identities. For Ahmed, neighbourhoods become imagined as organic and pure spaces born from the exclusion of the contaminated (the stranger), while foreclosing the common/known that is presumably pure and belonging (2000). Ahmed suggests that the failure of the community should not be understood in terms of failed communities. It is the very potential of a community to fail which is required for the constitution of the community. The 'ideal' community has to be worked towards and that labour requires failure as its moment of constitution (to this extent, then, the organic community is a fantasy that requires its own negation) (Ahmed 2000: 26).

I take Sarah Ahmed (2000) as a point of departure in thinking through contestations of belonging and reconstitution of communities in Duncan Village. I argue that the recognition of others and labelling them as strangers has allowed those who claim to be *inzalelwane* of Duncan Village to draw boundaries that they claim to belong to, while excluding those that they have labelled as *abantu bokufika* and their perceived dangers. The everyday encounters of *inzalelwane* and *abantu bokufika* in a space that also houses a stranger of a certain kind who is not-so-a-threat to their everyday survival destabilise the notion of a community. It is in these inconsistencies and contradictions of redrawn boundaries of belonging where Ahmed locates contradictions that she argues are necessary in beginning to reconstitute the idea of a community. Bounded spaces that conveniently include and exclude *amaGrigamba* and *amaGhana* within the township open up a space to expand the notion of belonging and for raising questions of what constitutes a community in Duncan Village.

4.3. Contested Identities and Contested Forms of Belonging

The politics of transition from apartheid to the post-1994 social order has divided residents of Duncan Village Township in ways that they never imagined when looking back into their history. The struggle over and against the domination of apartheid policies became a uniting force such that residents of the same township saw themselves as a 'community' united against a common enemy i.e. the apartheid 'state.' This is not to deny divisions and inter/intra Black violence among members of the same township that existed during apartheid and continue post-1994. However, unity around the common enemy coupled with almost standardised service delivery that deliberately marginalised black people covered many social ills and divisions that existed within the township. In their unity, they forged solidarities and dealt decisively with those that they considered to be agents of the apartheid state. However, the shifting of politics post-1994 has seen divisions within this township (re)emerge as part of the continuities and discontinuities in everyday reproduction of urban space. In post-1994 Duncan Village, a complex multilayered 'community' has emerged. The struggle over access to basic state resources and survival strategies define and influence ways in which citizenship, contested identities and forms of belonging play a major role in (re)defining and reimagining the idea of a community.

The ‘operation open doors’ policy – a strategy employed by residents of Duncan Village during apartheid played a crucial role in holding the community together and shielding activists from police violence. Residents were encouraged to keep their doors open all the time so that when activists were coming from meetings or being attacked by police, they would easily find a hiding place in any home and pretend to be part of the household. Those who locked their gates and closed their doors were considered enemies and they were targeted during times of violence. As one local historian puts it:

> Ngeliyaxesha saye sayinqoba ingcinezelo ngoba sasibambene, ngoku sohlukahlukene silwa sodwa lento izokwenza ukuba amabhulu asinqobe nathi…Ngeliyaxesha sasixelelwa ukuba masihlale sizivulile izindlu zethu ebusuku sizokwazi ukhusela abantwana bethu, besilala singatixanga. Ngenye imini salala kunye namadoda amathathu esasiwathathe endleleni. Kodwa kwelixesha langoku ayinokwenzeka lonto bebezakusi dlwengula. Kwakukhuselekile kudala ubuvulela noba ngubanina uvule wakuba engenile, babesixelela ukuba masivule ukuba awuvuli bazakubuya ngawe. Sasinabantwana esingaziyo ukuba baye kweliphina icala, sasivula ngokuba sisazi nabo bavulelwe apho bakhoyo. Ngoku lonto ungayenza xa ufuna ukuzibizela ukufa awukwazi ukusuka uvulele noba ngubani onkqonkqozayo (Life history 2, Duncan Village, 12/05/207).[10]

Another veteran gives an account on the youth struggles of 1976 and how through the ‘operation open doors’ policy she had to shield a student from the police by taking off her own dress and giving it to the student to disguise herself as part of the family:

> Imfazwe yaye yaqhubeka kwade kwaba ngunyaka ka 1976 apho abafundi babelwela izifundo ngolwimi lwesibhulu (Afrikaans), baye baqala uqhankqalazo eMdantsane babalekela apha eDuncan. Omnye wabafundi waye wabalekela apha endlwini esithi bayabethwa phandle ndaye ndamkhululela idakhi lam endandilinxibile ndathi maka nxibe lona aphumele ngaphandle (Life history 3, Duncan Village12/03/2017).[11]

[10] During that time, we were even instructed to open our homes and houses so that we can protect all the children. We would open our houses at night – the other day we slept with 3 men that we called from the streets and it was this time you would be raped. It was safe by then and you would open for anyone and close after they are safe in. They would command us to open our house and you would be told that if you close your house sizabuya ngawe. We had children that we did not know where they were, and you would do it knowing that someone is opening for your child. Now you can only do it if you want to die in your own house. Now you cannot even open for anyone who is knocking (Life history 2, Duncan Village, 12/05/207).

[11] The war continued until the 1976s where students said that they did not want Afrikaans. They started striking in Mdantsane and they ran to Duncan Village. One student came into my house

Alluding to the same idea of 'operation open doors,' one community activist and an organiser during the 1980s added how they, as part of the organising team, dealt with those community members who defied the policy:

> Kwakungekho tywala nabundlobongela, yonke lonto iqale emva kokuba kutshiswe yonke into nangokunyamalala kwe-SANCO. Ikomiti eyayijongene nezinto zasekuhlaleni efana ne-SANCO yapheliswa ngu-rhulumente we ANC ukuqala kwayo ukuphatha…Ngelaxesha abantu babegqugquzelwa okanye benyanzelwa ukuba bahlale bezivulile ingcango zabo ukuze abantu abazabalazayo bebe nendawo zokufihla intloko ezikhuselekileyo. Aba ababengavumi kwakujongwana kunye nabo ngoba kwakucaca ukuba uyimpimpi xa kuzakuthi abantu besilwa wena ukhethe unikezela ngamaqabane (Life history, DVRA Member 1, 17/05/2017).[12]

The three interview excerpts presented above suggest that community can be understood as being grounded on cooperation and collective participation in the struggle. However, this does not entirely mean that for one to belong to the community, they had to be part of the collective struggle against the apartheid regime by protecting activists - these practices were not perfect or enough to constitute a community. As I show in *Chapter 7*, the idea of a collective community is disrupted by entrenched patriarchal practices manifested through violent masculinities. However, the 'operation open door' policy sheds some light on ways in which the idea of a community was perceived among the local residents.

In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson (1983) argues that a nation is a socially constructed community that exists in the minds of those who imagine themselves as part of that particular group. He argues that it is imagined because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1983: 6). The communities observed in Duncan Village cannot be thought of as static bounded communities with drawn boundaries. While they can be imagined as Anderson suggests, they are also fluid and constantly shifting as they are reconstituted according to the particular needs of survival. As I

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saying they were beaten outside so much that I even removed amadaki ami and gave her and told her to wear them and go out (Life history 3, Duncan Village12/03/2017).

[12] There was no robbery here, not at all. You would walk around the township at any time. There was no alcohol and no crime. Crime here in Duncan Village came after everything was burnt down and the disappearance of SANCO. So, our civic organisation as SANCO was absorbed by the ANC government when they came into power (Life history, DVRA Member 1, 17/05/2017).

show in *Chapter 5*, most of the strategies that are employed by residents and local politicians of Buffalo City are strategically positioned as a *means for survival*. Anderson's *Imagine Communities* becomes a useful concept in thinking about the imagination of how the boundaries of the communities discussed in this chapter are (re)drawn as residents and local politicians position themselves in ways that will enable their access to public goods and services.

In thinking about the idea of a community, Anthony Cohen identifies a community as constituting a boundary expressing symbols that are held in common by its members. These members have something in common and the commonly held values distinguish them significantly from other groups (Cohen 1985). Chantal Mouffe takes the discussion further by establishing that "to construct a 'we' it must be distinguished from the 'them' and means establishing a frontier defining an enemy" (Mouffe 1992: 234-35). To accept these propositions as a point of departure in exploring questions of belonging is to suggest that Duncan Village was 'a community' during apartheid with a well-established frontier defining the apartheid state and its forces as a common enemy. The three interview excerpts cited above suggest that Duncan Village was a community bounded by the same values (open doors) and united against the same enemy (the apartheid state and its agents).

The 'operation open doors' policy was a marker, not only of unity against a common enemy, but also of how residents embraced a sense of 'a community' where they felt safe with each other. The first interview puts the apartheid and post-1994 eras in sharp contrast. The local historian above narrates how they once slept with three men who were complete strangers. She adds that this was not only a gesture of kindness or abiding to the shared community values. It was done because they always anticipated that their sons were also wandering somewhere where they could always find protection from other homes. In the same interview, the local historian points to a sharp turn post-1994 where it has become difficult to open for a man that one does not know. The third excerpt puts the blame squarely on the dissolution of SANCO and the capturing of community structures by the post-1994 government.

The importance of the role of SANCO in enforcing community values is captured in the case study of Alexander Township in Johannesburg. Philip Bonner and Noor Nieftagodien detail the importance of the role of SANCO through the concept of 'people's power' exercised by ward and street committees. This was arguably the peak of the 1980s resistance which

precipitated the downfall of apartheid (Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008). This does not only highlight the importance of SANCO and community structures, but the role of people's power in constituting a community. This also highlights the energies invested in the building and maintaining of order while rejecting apartheid authority – a very rare culture in present day Duncan Village. Most importantly and as I have shown in *Chapter 1*, while SANCO as a civic organisation remains active in Duncan Village, its role in enforcing the constitution of communities has diminished post-1994. As I show later in this chapter, (re)constitution of communities in post-1994 Duncan Village transcends political boundaries and sometimes intersects with other forms of organising.

Equally important is the way reference is being made to old times. All the three life histories cited above have an element of something referred to as 'old times' with a clear indication that things have since changed. As Jacob Dlamini (2009) demonstrates in *Native Nostalgia,* there is something nostalgic about old apartheid times. It might not necessarily mean that apartheid was better; Dlamini argues that there are certain community values that existed during apartheid that township people appreciated. Similarly, the case of Duncan Village demonstrates the same appreciation of shared community values during apartheid times. The historians embrace the idea of the community that existed then, while lamenting the erosion of these values in post-1994 social order and community relations.

Interestingly, achieving solidarity and compliance to some of these community values was neither given nor voluntary. Certain values had to be enforced in different ways that in most cases forced residents to comply. The 'politics of Omo'[13] and the burning down of bottle stores are some of the tactics that were used in uniting residents under the same cause. Most historians in Duncan Village remember vividly how people were fed Omo whenever they were found drunk. Being drunk was considered anti-revolutionary and dangerous for three reasons. Firstly, given the extent of violence in the township, community activists were considered to be endangered when they were drunk because they could be ambushed and get killed. Secondly, being drunk was considered a risk since people might voluntarily disclose secret information in their drunken state. Finally, people who attended meetings while drunk were considered spies who were recklessly drinking money from their bosses and were deployed to spy on meetings information and proceedings. For any reason, anyone met on the streets or who

[13] A brand of a washing powder.

pitched up at meetings drunk was fed Omo so that they would vomit and sober up. Local historians sum up the politics of Omo in different ways:

> Sasiyimbumba, saqala ngokwekisa abantu ukusela utywala, bewuthi xa ufumaneke ungxilile sikuseze i Omo, kwakungeliyaxesha kwakusenziwa i-boycotts. Uyabona nxa usilwa kufuneka uqiniseke ukuba abantu bayalawuleka ukuze balandele imiyalelo, sasifaka unxinzelelo kumashishini abantu abamhlophe. Xa abantu bengezi kuqhanqalazo sasitshisa ivenkile ukuze baze bazothatha izinto ezithengiswayo. Isizathu esenza baphume bezo toyi toya yikuba babesazi bazofumana ezonto zasevenkilini ezitshiswayo, wena nkonkheli yoqhanqalazo ufumane abalandeli abaninzi. Sasithi xa sibona ukuba abantu bayalawuleka siqhubeke ngomzabalazo (Life history, DVRA Member 1, 17/05/2017).[14]

While Omo forced residents to be disciplined and stay out of trouble, burning of beerhalls ensured large followings even from those who did not prefer to be on the streets. There were times where masses were needed to be on the streets during protests in the 1980s. Forcefully removing people from their houses sometimes would lead to resistance and resentment instead of solidarity. Leading activists came up with strategies on how to get numbers to the streets. Burning down of beerhalls attracted those who wanted to loot both food and alcohol. Although the main aim of the leaders was not to loot, those who joined the protests for looting became instrumental in increasing numbers of protesters. As one of the activists from the 1980s puts it:

> Sasibanyanzela abantu ukuba bazabalaze, sasithi xa sisilwa abantu bengafuni ukungenelela bancedise sasitshisa ivenkile ukuze bangenelele nabo. Ukuba bazibandakanye kukuba babefuna ukuzuza xa kutshiswa ivenkile. Xa besenza njalo wena mntu ogqugquzelayo ufumana inxaso eninzi ngokuba usuke sowunabalandeli abaninzi. Nxa sele sibona ukuba abantu bayalawuleka siyaqhubeka nomzabalazo (Life history, DVRA Member 2, 17/05/2017).[15]

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[14] We were organised and we started barring people from drinking alcohol – so if you were found drunk, we would make you eat Omo. That was during the consumer boycotts because we wanted to pressure the white business to suffer…You know when you are fighting you want to make sure that people are controlled and are taking orders. We were forcing them to join the struggle. We would even burn down the shops because when we were fighting people would not want to join so we would burn down the shops so that people would come to loot. The reason why they were coming, it was for them to gain from looting but in doing that, as an organiser you gain support in numbers because then there is a large following. Then once we had seen that people were under our control – we continued with the struggle (Life history, DVRA Member, 17/05/2017).

[15] We would force everyone to participate in protests. We would even burn down the shops because when we were fighting people would not want to join so we would burn down the

These narratives capture complexities of a community that was forged through coercive strategies to fight the apartheid state. This is not to argue that all residents conformed or complied with this social and political order as defined by leading activists. However, this captures some of the intricacies as re-told by community activists in thinking about their history of the struggle while imagining a future that they continue to fight for (see *Chapter 5*). The captured narratives suggest that the current situation while there has been significant positive changes, it is far from the future they imagined when they made sacrifices in the 1980s and earlier years. As Dlamini puts it:

> The sentiments expressed (in the book) confirm that people's lives have changed – however, not in ways they had imagined...there are many for whom the past, the present and the future are not discrete wholes, with clear splits between them. These are people for whom the present is not a land of milk and honey, the past not one vast desert of doom and gloom, and the ancient past not one happy-go-lucky era (Dlamini 2009:12).

This captures some of the gains, disappointments and hopes about and for *inkululeko* imagined during anti-apartheid struggles and disappointments presented by the suddenness of the 'democratic' transition (see *Chapter 5*). Similarly, residents of Duncan Village express the same sentiments of disappointment as they continue to envision and/or struggle for a better future.

Among other betrayals brought by the democratic dispensation, the erosion of values that held the township together is at the center of the post-1994 struggles over space in Duncan Village. As most conversations suggest, there has been a significant change in community relations forcing residents to reconstitute their identities and re-imagine their forms of belonging to Duncan Village. From reading the narratives that constitute different imaginations of belonging, I argue that in post-1994 Duncan Village, the concept of citizenship became a complex phenomenon in which the determination of who is/not a citizen moved from the state (as theorised by urban citizenship theorists) but did not necessarily transcend state borders. There is a return to national boundaries and localities in forging citizenship. This time it is not determined or arbitrated by the state, but by power dynamics among the urban poor.

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shops so that people would come to loot. They reason why they were coming it was for them to gain from looting but in doing that, as an organiser you gain support in numbers because then there is a large following. Then once we had seen that people were under our control – we continued with the struggle (Life history, DVRA Member 2, 17/05/2017).

In post-1994 Duncan Village, the politics of solidarity and therefore conceptions of community, have shifted significantly. Scarcity and uneven distribution of basic resources remain at the center of this shift. As Daphne Spain reminds us, "When the number of new residents reaches a critical mass, and when resources are reallocated and subsequently privatised, conflict over values and definitions of community eventually ensue between the 'been-heres' and 'come-heres" (Spain 1993:156). In *Chapter 3*, I highlighted the development and expansion of the Duncan Village township from what is was originally meant to be. Similar to the argument presented by Spain, the shift manifests itself in languages of inclusion and exclusion often articulated through mobilisation and deployment of identities of *inzalelwane* and *abantu bokufika*. These identities become key in determining who belongs to Duncan Village and who does not. They are articulated as discourses of inclusion and exclusion, constructed around narratives of insiders and outsiders. As Sibley (2002) puts it, the drawing of boundaries is founded on certain anxieties and fears of the perceived stranger. The stranger in this case, the one who is labelled as *umuntu ofikayo* (the newcomer), is not only located at the center of the shifting conceptions of community. He is also constructed as the 'dangerous other' who has come not only to disrupt 'our' sense of safety and security, but also to compete over the very scarce resources. As one local historian argues:

> Ukugcwala kwamagali kwenziwa ngababantu abasuka ezilalini bafike bezokwakha amagali abo kwezindawo esakhe kuzo. Umasipala uyazama ukuwasusa kodwa bayawa buyisela ngosuku olulandelayo. Xa amagali abo athe asuswa bathuthelwa ezindlini baye babize abahlobo babo bazoxhoma amagali kwakwezi-ndawo. Umasipala akathathi manyathelo ngalonto, ngokunjalo ababantu baphinda bazithathele umbane besenza izinyoka, besiba umbane. Kodwa andinothi bayeba ngoba yonke lento bayenza emini maqanda. Bandlongondlo kwaye bayalwa (Life history 1, Duncan Village, 11/05/2017).[16]

The participant locates the arrival of amagali (*shacks*) as the beginning of their problems and destabilisation of their community. She stresses the point that *abantu bamagali/basesiqikini*

[16] Overpopulation comes from the people from the bundus who come here to build shacks – on these settlement areas. Even if those shacks are removed you will see them the following day. Even if the shack is removed, they will call their friends to come and build and it is like the government is not doing anything. And there are also these things that are called izinyoka. People are stealing – they are not stealing in fact, they are taking in broad day light, and they are very violent and aggressive, and now our electricity is very weak (Life history 1, Duncan Village, 11/05/2017).

(informal settlement dwellers) are new arrivals as they do not belong to Duncan Village. In addition to them occupying empty spaces, she raises concerns about community safety especially in relation to electricity theft. She emphasises the fact that this is "taking" rather than stealing since it happens in broad day light with the knowledge of local officials. I return to how electricity 'theft' as a means of (unauthorised) access becomes a legitimate process through relations with local councillors in *Chapter 5*.

The claims over belonging to the place are mobilised and deployed through the construction of the 'other' who does not belong to this place and therefore disturbs the harmony, not only of this geographical location, but also of social relations and access to resources in ways that shift ways that residents of Duncan Village forged solidarities during the apartheid era. For one to belong to a space there needs to be an 'outsider' – *umuntu wokufika* who does not necessarily construct their identity but bears an identity that is imposed for the sake of excluding them from the space. As Ahmed (2000) reminds us, strangers, in this case – *abantu bokufika*, are not simply those who are unknown, but those who are already recognised as not belonging. This therefore allows for the construction of boundaries framed around narratives of *inzalelwane* – to include those that are recognised as familiar and *abantu bokufika* for those locatable as strangers – not belonging to this township.

Challenges and complexities of building communities post-1994 are not only unique in Duncan Village. Some of these complexities are captured in a case study of Sophiatown in Johannesburg. Residents interviewed by Thelen and Morgan captured challenges they experienced in their everyday interactions of building a community in post-1994 Sophiatown (2013). However, the difference with the Sophiatown case is that challenges of building a community are mainly between black Africans, Coloureds, and white people as they struggle to integrate in 'new' Sophiatown that was previously segregated. Interestingly, in the case of Duncan Village the struggle is amongst black Africans (mainly) of Xhosa origin – who struggle to access scarce state resources. I am interested in these contestations as they shift the focus from binaries of common struggles of racial, ethnic and class divisions.

4.4. Contested Identities and Constructed Identities: Fractured Communities?

In narrating their histories, most people of Duncan Village would normally take me back to their history explaining how their present and their futures are connected to their histories.

Narratives such as “I was born and bred in Duncan Village and now I’m 58 years old…”; “I arrived here in 1976…”; “My parents have lived in this place as early as the 1950s and I was also born and grew up here”; “We arrived in this settlement in 1984 and since then we have been waiting…” are common amongst residents of Duncan Village. While these narratives are often used to emphasise how life has changed in Duncan Village over the years, they are also used as a marker of belonging and exclusion in Duncan Village.

4.4.1. The Making of Inzalelwane

In Duncan Village, the word *inzalelwane* carries a very strong sense of identity and/or belonging for the people from the formal parts of the township. Simultaneously, it carries a sense of exclusion for those who are marked as the ‘other’ on whom the identity is claimed not to apply. *Inzalelwane* is a Xhosa term referring to someone who was born and raised at a particular place where they claim to belong. It generally carries a strong sense of belonging and attachment to that particular place as it assumes that someone’s roots can be traced to and identified with a particular place. Claims of being *inzalelwane* are based on that some residents were already in Duncan Village when the township was first established by Sr Duncan, the apartheid governor. This means that they have also resisted forced removals where many lives were lost in the struggle and they carried on fighting. Thus, their older generations have always been there (in the township). They belong to Duncan Village.

Some residents from *esiqikini/emagalini* (informal settlements) claim that the identity of *inzalelwane* is being used mainly by *abantu basezindlini* (residents of the formal houses) and some of the local politicians such as the ward councilors for the purpose of including and excluding certain groups from basic goods and services. In a focus group discussion with residents of *esiqikini*, participants accused one of the former councilors for using the *inzalelwane* identity to exclude them from benefiting from local job opportunities and food parcels.

> Ukhansila wangaphambili wenza amaqela amaninzi apha wenza ukuba abahlali bangavani. Kukho amagama anjengo *inzalelwane,* lawo magama uweva xa kusakhiwa izindlu okanye xa kuphuma iipaseli zokutya. Thina bahlali basemagalini siye sixelelwe ukuba silinde elethu ixesha ngoba oku ngokwenzalelwana yalapha. Ngoku siyayazi ukuba izinto zifunyanwa

> yinzalelwana kuqala thina sizemva (Focus Group Discussion 2, 24/07/2014).[17]

Another resident from *ezindlini* also noted how the identity of *inzalelwane* has been used to divide the community and to prioritise people from the *ezindlini* in service delivery. He noted that:

> …the previous councilor divided this community so badly. There are words such as inzalelwane, what is that? How can you say to your community you are giving these people food parcels and not those ones simply because they are in a squatter camp? (Interview with Mzwandile, 02/08/2014).

In another conversation, one former councilor also spoke of *inzalelwane* and when I asked him to reflect on what it means to carry or not to carry the identity, he also noted how the identity or the use of the word is being used to divide the community and to prioritise other groups in service delivery.

> Igama elithi inzalelwane litsho umuntu ozalelwe wakhulela kuleyondawo. Asilifuni lelogama ngoba lenza ucalucalulo lokuba wena owokufika akukhonto oyifumanayo, abantu abafumanayo yinzalelwana qha. Abantu banomsindo ngokusetyenziswa kweligama, bathi amapolisa soze abanqande, xa bengayifumani impendulo yokusetyenziswa kweligama ngokuchasene nabo bazobiza u Jacob Zuma azophendula ngokwakhe (Interview with Former Councilor 1, 10/11/2014).[18]

From these excerpts presented above, it emerges that the identity of *inzalelwane* is used as a marker of inclusion and exclusion in relation to accessing public goods and services. Although claims of the use of the word *inzalelwane* by the former councilor can neither be accepted as the truth or taken for granted, it sheds some light on the construction of the identity of

[17] The former councilor divided this place so bitterly. He caused a lot of hatred among residents. There are words such as inzalelwane that are being used whenever there is a housing development project or when there are food parcels. As for us [residents of the informal], we are simply told that we must wait because these services are meant for inzalelwane of this place. So now we know that inzalelwane have to get first before we get anything (Focus Group Discussion 2, 24/07/2014).

[18] It means that people were born and bred and we are rejecting that thing. The name was used to divide people such that as an outsider you are not supposed to benefit, the people who have to benefit are inzalelwane. And people are very angry about the use of that word. They have said that the police will not stop them, if they do not get the answer [on why the word inzalelwane is being used against them] they will call JZ [Jacob Zuma] to come and answer to this issue (Interview with Former Councilor 2, 10/11/2014).

inzalelwane based on the binaries of legality/illegality, formal/informal and other problematic binaries in the everyday construction of identities and citizenship.

The deployment of the identity of *inzalelwane* by local politicians has implications for the everyday interactions between *abahlali basezindlini* and *abahlali basemagalini* as they shape ways in which everyday production of citizenship is claimed and contested. Firstly, the participation of local officials in the deployment of the identity confirms the 'othering' of *abahlali basemagalini* and constructs them as illegal/informal. Secondly, it has implications for how communities are reconstituted in relation to taking claims to the state. One participant from *emagalini* noted the use of the identity of *inzalelwane* at community meetings and how this impedes achieving solidarity for common development goals.

> …bazibiza nge *inzalelwane*. Xa sisentlanganisweni kubekho umuntu wasesiqinikini oza nembono, uva besithi uthetha ntoni? Bathi kumele abantu abangasiyo nzalelwana bathule bamamele abanini bendawo bathethe. Bathi soze bave ngabafiki bona (Interview with Aphindile, 23/11/2014).[19]

The interview excerpt shows how the deployment of the identity of *inzalelwane* has a double effect of inclusion and exclusion in matters concerning development in the community. Firstly, it justifies the existence of and gives a voice to those identified as i*nzalelwane* and silences those who are marked as *umuntu ofikayo.* As the participant narrates, the *inzalelwane* have a right to speak on behalf of the residents of Duncan Village (those who belong). Secondly, it simultaneously silences those who do not belong (*abantu bokufika*) and renders them unqualified to speak on behalf of the Duncan Village residents. I argue that this fractures communities because it would mean that they cannot fight with a united voice as their developmental needs and concerns are in most cases different. For instance, *abantu bokufika* are still struggling to get houses, access to adequate water taps, safe streets and toilets. On the other hand, *abantu basezindlini* already have houses, personal toilets and taps. Their struggles are mostly focused on issues of improved service delivery and maintenance of existing infrastructure. The deployment of the identity of *inzalelwane* and the accompanying privileges

[19] …they call themselves inzalelwane. Every time when a person from the *esiqikini* (informal) raises a point at the meetings you will hear them saying that what is he/she talking about? They must keep quiet and let the owners of this place [*inzalelwane*] speak. They are the newcomers [*abantu bokufika*]; they can't tell us anything (Interview with Aphindile, 23/11/2014).

and disadvantages shape ways in which each community is reconstituted for collective claim-making and gains.

4.4.2. The Making of Abantu Bokufika

The name *abantu bokufika* literally translates to people who have just arrived (newcomers). *Umuntu ofikayo* is the singular of *abantu bokufika*. The identity of *abantu bokufika/umuntu ofikayo* carries a notion of being a stranger or that of newness. In Duncan Village this 'newness' or being a stranger is used to exclude those marked as *abantu abafikayo.* They are located outside of the space and therefore not belonging. It is important to note the idea of a newcomer is not exceptional to post-1994 Duncan Village. Writing on migrant cultures and identities from the 1950s, Leslie Bank notes the deployment of the identity of a newcomer used as "nyuwana" or 'new one' in relation to hostel occupants in East London (Bank 1999: 397). This was for understanding and distinguishing cultural dynamics and the influence of urban culture in the lives of the migrants. The "nyuwana" would be identified by a pure rural culture while those who have been in the city would be distinguished by a blending of rural and urban cultures (Bank 1999).

In Duncan Village the identity *abantu bokufika* is mainly mobilised in relation to *inzalelwane* to distinguish those who do not belong from those who belong to the township; and those who have 'just' arrived from those have always been here. Most of *abahlali basemagalini* are referred to as *abantu bokufika* with an assumption (conscious or unconscious) that when the apartheid government allocated people houses and when the people fought against forced removals to Mdantsane they were not there, therefore they have just arrived. Although there is an element of truth in some of these assumptions because some of the shacks are fairly new, a close reading of these assumptions reveals a sense of ignorance of the very history of forced removals on which claims of *inzalelwane* are based. In fact, the mushrooming of *amagali* in Duncan Village also contributed to forced removals, meaning that there were already people in the informal settlements when the removals happened. As one participant notes:

> Bathi singabafiki kulendawo, andiyazi bayithaphi lonto ngoba mna umama wami waziwa ngumntu wonke eDuncan. Xa ungabuzisa ngomama wam wonke umuntu ngoba ubengusaziwayo ngexesha lomzabalazo. Ndihlala esiqikini ngoba kwathi abantu xa besiyohlaliswa eMdantsane umama yena zange ayifumane indlu, waqhubeka esilwa zange aye eMdantsane. Ngexesha endazalwa ngalo umama wayeqashile, kwathi ngokuhamba kwexesha waye

> wadikwa ngomastandi wayoxhoma igali lakhe esiqikini (Interview with Nwabisa, 16/11/2014).[20]

The participant cited here refuses to be identified as *umuntu ofikayo* simply because she lives *esiqikini*. She argues that she cannot be identified as *umuntu ofikayo* because her late mother is a well-known struggle stalwart of Duncan Village. She further notes the difficulties encountered by back-yard dwellers and their relations with their landlords. *Iziqiki* (informal settlements) therefore become autonomous spaces of freedom, not only because people do not pay rent, but also because of the independence they enjoy without having to deal with landlords. Interestingly, the power of naming rests upon the *inzalelwane* who view themselves as the authoritative group with a self-imposed right of deciding who is to be included and who is to be excluded from the space. However, the mobilisation and deployment of identities of inclusion and exclusion does not go uncontested as '*abantu bokufika'* are not only contesting the narrative but are also completely rejecting the construction and deployment of these identities.

4.4.3. Historical Narratives of Belonging

Duncan Village, like many Black South African townships, is a product of apartheid city planning and resistance thereof, and those divisions continue to manifest in the everyday production of urban space (see *Chapter 3*). *Inzalelwane* consider themselves the 'real' residents of the township (also see Philip Mayer, 1963 for cases of East London), not only because of the long history of their presence in Duncan Village, but also because of how they have articulated the history of the violent struggle and resistance over forced removals. Bonner and Nieftagodien (2008) observe the same pattern in Alexander Township where forced removals of the 1960s gave authority and a sense of belonging and ownership over Alexander to those who successfully resisted.

[20] They always say we are newcomers in this place. I don't know what they mean because as for me if you ask about my mother the whole of Duncan Village, everyone knows her. She was very popular during the struggle. I am living here [informal settlement] because when people were moved to Mdantsane she did not have a house, but she always fought and she never went [to Mdantsane]. She continued with the struggle. When I was born, we were renting and my mother got tired of the landlords and that is how we moved to this informal settlement (Interview with Nwabisa, 16/11/2014).

For many residents of Duncan Village who identify as *inzalelwane*, how one narrates and articulates historical events is key to proving whether one belongs or does not belong to Duncan Village. Among many other factors, the events of Black Sunday and the 1985 Massacre remain key reference points in the history of Duncan Village (see *Chapter 1*). If one had to narrate the events of fateful Black Sunday and omit details such as "ngala mini kutyiwa uNongendi" (on that day they ate the nun), for many, it simply means lack of knowledge (also see Ndlovu 2020). For the people of Duncan Village who claim the identity of *inzalelwane*, it is because you did not learn the history from someone who belonged to the place. It means that your parents or grandparents were never residents of Duncan Village.

The other important historical event in narratives of belonging to Duncan Village is the 1985 massacre (also see *Chapters 1, 2 & 3*). As already discussed, for residents of Duncan Village who identify themselves as *inzalelwane*, it is not enough to only state that twenty-three people died during the massacre. They pay attention to details and emphases such that the validity of one's knowledge is determined by stating and/or emphasising that among the twenty-three killed, the 23rd was a child who was on the back of the mother. Omission of this 'important fact' discredits the validity of one's story as something read from the newspapers or hear-say by people who were passing by. Interestingly, I have not heard anyone stating the gender of the child who died. Nonetheless, paying attention to small details and emphases on supposedly 'rare' information that can only be encountered through direct lineages/kinships play an important role on the creation of identities and the (re)drawing of boundaries in Duncan Village Township. As one of the local historians would narrate:

> Ndandikwiqela elalingafuni ukuhamba, bazama ukusinyanzela kodwa asavuma. Salwa sabe siyaphumelela nangoku sisahlala kulendawo. Basixelela ukuba izindlu zethu zizokuphuhliswa ngokuba zincinci ligumbi elinye, kodwa nanamhlanje sisahlala kuzo akhonto ethe yenziwa. Ndandi phakathi emzabalazweni kwaye kwenzeka olona qhankqalazo lukhulu esasinalo kwabulawa abantu abanga 23 omnye kubo kwaku ngumtana… Ndandiyile nasesifihlweni sikaSteve Biko e Queenstown –umhlangano wam wokuqala kwezopolitiko kwakunzima ngoko kangangokuba kwakunzima ukuba sihlale intlanganiso (Life history 2, Duncan Village, 12/05/2017).[21]

[21] I was part of that group that did not want to go, they wanted to forcefully remove but we refused. We fought and we were successful because we are still here. We were told that our houses were going to be developed because they are one-roomed houses, but we are still here – nothing has happened. I was involved in the struggle to an extent that in our largest massacre there were 23 people killed and the 23rd was a baby. Back then there were centres and all the

Another local historian adds:

> Ibali lika Nongendi leenzeka ndisaselusana. Itoyi toyi yakuqala yayingenxa yokutyiwa kukaNongendi. Emva kokutyiwa kukaNongendi babefuna ukubaleka – umyeni wam wandixelela ukuba bathi besabaleka kwabizwa amapolisa ukuba azobamba abantu…Sayongcwaba uVictoria Mgxenge itoyi toyi yaqala emngcwabeni yaya ebhasini, yaya eDuncan. Bathi bazotshisa zonke impimpi kunye nezakhiwo zocalucalulo nayo yonke into edibanise namabhulu…Eza amapolisa avulela imbumbulu kwasweleka abantu abangu 23. Into ivisa intlungu umuntu we 23 kwakulusana olwalubelekwe ngumama walo. Unintsi lwabantu abayazi inyani. Xa umuntu ungenguye walapha, soze ubeve bethetha ngayo ngoba bahamba besiva ngabantu (Life History 3, Duncan Village, 12/03/2017).[22]

While narratives of historical events play an important role in determining boundaries of belonging, the physical space is also key in the construction of identities and claims of belonging. As I have shown in *Chapters 1* and *3*, Duncan Village remains a complex but interesting space not only socially, but geographically too. Apartheid urban planning and resistance to planning processes continue to play a role in the everyday (re)production of urban spaces in most of South African black townships. The history of forced removals equally remains key in post-1994 social dynamics. These claims are also tied to the perceived lost spaces for recreational activities. Duncan Village was planned in a way that enclosed Black people within the township and allowed for apartheid police to patrol the township in ways that they could control all activities (see *Chapter 3*). The history of forced removals and resistance to a larger extent determined the current structure of the township. Violent forced removal of residents to Mdantsane, especially in the 1980s, was obviously met with resistance that led to the burning of public structures that were identified as symbols of apartheid. Among these

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things that we had here. I was even at Steve Biko's funeral in Queenstown – my first political meeting. It was tough by then because it was even difficult to hold our meetings (Life history 2, Duncan Village, 12/05/2017).

[22] I was just born when the story of uNongendi happened. The first protest was because of Nongendi being eaten. After eating uNongendi, they wanted to run away – my husband told me that when they were running away there was a call to the police that they should bring police to arrest people…We went to bury Victoria Mgxenge and the toyi-toyi started from the funeral into the bus and then into Duncan Village. They said they were going to burn all the sell-outs and all the apartheid buildings/symbols…The police came and fired live shots. People died. I mean 23 people died and what is painful is that the 23rd person was a child at the back of the mother. Most people do not know this truth. If someone does not belong here, you will never hear them mentioning this fact because they hear these stories from the streets (Life History 3, Duncan Village, 12/03/2017).

structures, local authority offices and some recreational spaces were burnt down and not all of them were rebuilt. This created spaces for people returning from Mdantsane to settle.

4.4.4. Spatial Narratives on Construction of Identities

Narratives on occupation of open spaces commonly known as *isiqiki* in Duncan Village are part of a contested history. The first narrative takes a very radical stance on exclusion and rejection of *amagali* (shacks/informal structures). Those who hold these views (pre-dominantly *inzalelwane*) argue that with the demise of apartheid power, most people moved to the city and occupied open spaces. Most residents who are against *isiqiki* contend that these are people from rural areas without experiences of anti-apartheid struggles. They are perceived to be chancers who only came to benefit from the dawn of democracy. They are usually accused of being politically confused and therefore straddling political parties as they move from the ANC to the EFF and/or DA, and back to the ANC. In this view, it is maintained that even the sense of community has eroded since the arrival of strangers in the township. These narratives are usually clouded with fears and anxieties over 'new' strangers in town (Sibley 2002). As some of the local historians explain:

> Ndeva abantu besithi kwelinye icala elokitshini kukho abantu be DA, ndathi tyiini i DA elokitshini. Kodwa ababantu uyababona ukuba ngabasemagalini, abantu abafikayo elokitshini. Uyababona ukuba abazinto ngomzabalazo ngoba basuka ezilalini. Bathe xa bebona izinto sezilungile beza edolophini. Basekwangabo abafumana izindlu, abantwana bethu abazifumani. Abanye bethu soze sibuyele ku DA- siyabe siyazixokisa. Bonke ababantu abafikayo abazinto ngomzabalazo, bathe befika baxelelwa ukuba baxhome amagali abo bazokufumana izidlu, yilento eyenzekayo bawafakile amagali bazifumana izindlu (Life history 2, Duncan Village 12/05/2017).[23]

[23] I have heard people saying that side of the township there are DA people and I have said to myself Tyiiini, I DA elokitshini? But you will see that these are the people from the informal settlements, abantu abafikayo elokitshini. You will see that they do not know anything about the struggle because they are from rural areas. When things were ok, they just came to the city. They are the ones who are getting houses and our children are not getting any houses. Some of us will never go back to the DA – we would have lied to ourselves. All those who have just arrived they do not know anything about the struggle. They have just arrived, and they were just told that you put your shack so that you will get your own house – and that is exactly what is happening. They just put their shacks and the next day they get a house (Life history 2, Duncan Village, 12/05/2017).

These sentiments are shared by another local historian who also believes that *abantu basemagalini* do not belong to Duncan Village:

> Ubuninzi babantu basuka ezilalini, bafike baxhoma amagali esiqikini. Noma engasuswa lawo magali ngomso ubabona sebewaxhomile.
> (Life history 1, Duncan Village, 11/05/2017).[24]

These two narratives locate the mushrooming of informal settlements within a particular period, i.e. the late 1980s to the early 1990s. Yet, Bank notes that (backyard) shacks pre-date apartheid and their existence was one of the major reasons for the creation of apartheid townships in the first place (Bank 2005:6). However, the progression of the mushrooming of informal settlements could be explained though a structural reality that lies in the historical making of South African black townships and broader apartheid politics. As apartheid faced both internal contradictions (Wolpe 1972) and external resistance from township revolts, the Influx Control Act came to be abolished in 1986. This allowed for unrestricted movement to the city and almost legalised those who were already forcefully occupying some spaces in the city. As also observed in Alexandra, there was a massive increase in black urbanisation in the 1980s and "Alexandra became a destination for thousands of impoverished immigrants looking for economic opportunities" (Bonner and Nieftagodien (2008: 14-15). However, for some historians in Duncan Village, this period also coincided with a national response to the call [from Oliver Tambo in Lusaka – as local historians put it] to make the townships ungovernable.

The second historical narrative on the contestation of urban space in Duncan Village comes mostly from political and community activists of the time. They argue that the encouragement of informal settlements/squatting was a political strategy as a response to the call for making townships ungovernable. Community activists of the time maintain that they had to bring back people who were forcefully removed and some from rural areas to occupy open spaces so that they can increase the urban population. As has been noted by Bank (1999), with the escalation of resistance, the homeless people reclaimed open spaces where there were structures demolished by the apartheid government and established some informal settlements (Bank 1999:404). This narrative acknowledges the fact that some of the people have always been residents of Duncan Village. However, even in these narratives there are undertones of

[24] Overpopulation comes from the people from the bundus who come here to build shacks – on these settlement areas. Even if those shacks are removed you will see them the following day (Life history 1, Duncan Village, 11/05/2017).

'stranger' and acknowledgements of how township life has changed since the occupation of open spaces. A DVRA member explains:

> Kwakufike izwi livela eLusaka kuTambo [Oliver] ukuba ilokitshi mazingalawuleki. Kwaye kwanyanzeleka ukuba mabahambe baye eMdatsane, citshe wonke umntu wayegodusiwe apha kutshiyeke thina nje nabanye. Kwanyanzeleka masibuyise abantu abasuka eMdantsane nasezilalini ukuze sikwazi ukufeza lento yokuba masingalawuleki. Ewe sababiza abantu ngoba sasibadinga nyani…Kodwa andinoze ndixoke ndithi ilokitshi isafana nangokuya, zitshintshile nyani izinto and ke kukhona nobundlobongela kulegenge ifikayo. I Duncan ijikile ayisafani nale sasiphila kuyo (Life history, DVRA Member 2, 15/05/2017).[25]

The final narrative comes mainly from those perceived to be *abantu bokufika*. As already argued, *abantu bokufika* are not a homogenous group although narratives of exclusion tend to generalise their existence and experiences. As stated in the prologue of this chapter, I met most of my participants at their spaces of activism. By stating this, I am acknowledging the possible suppression of other voices of those who chose not to participate in public politics. This then follows that most participants from *esiqikini* are mainly from an activist background. What gives them voice and courage to speak about their struggle is mostly their experience in activism and struggles. It is therefore not a coincidence that most of them are part of the residents who returned from Mdantsane after forced removals.

Most importantly, the perceived *abantu bokufika* reject the binary of *abantu bokufika* and *inzalelwane*. As much as they are rejecting the imposed identity of *abafiki* (the new arrival), they equally contest the identity of *inzalelwane* too. This is grounded on two positions. Firstly, they argue that they are not *abantu bokufika* because they have always been in Duncan Village with their parents. They were victims of forced removals and they or their parents continued to fight the politics of Duncan Village despite them being moved to Mdantsane. As Xoliswa

[25] We received an instruction from Tambo in Lusaka that we must make the townships ungovernable. Almost everyone had been forcefully removed to Mdanstane and there was only a few of us. Because we were very few, we were then forced to bring other people from Mdantsane and some from the rural areas so that we can increase numbers and make the townships ungovernable. Of course, we called more people to occupy spaces because we needed them…However, I cannot lie to you and tell you that life here is still the same. Things have really changed and there is crime too from these people who are newcomers here. Duncan has really changed, it is no longer like the one we lived in back then (Life history, DVRA Member 2, 15/05/2017).

explains: “sasigodusiwe kodwa enye ifamilily yayitshiyeke apha eDuncan. As a result, besiyazi uba kwenzeka ntoni, nini” (we had been forcefully removed but the other part of the family remains here. As a result, we always knew what was going on and when in Duncan Village. Hence, we have always been here) (Life history, Xoliswa Mqwaba, 11/03/2017). It is therefore not surprising that most of the narratives of apartheid violence in Duncan Village trace the back-and-forth movement of people between Mdantsane and Duncan Village. As one senior politician once put it; “We cannot talk about Mdantsane without talking about Duncan Village or vice versa” (Senior Politician 2, 05/07/2014). Duncan Village gave birth to Mdantsane and this meant that family ties and struggles remained between Mdantsane and Duncan Village. Those who were already politicised before evictions continued to participate in Duncan Village politics even after forced removals.

Secondly, the identity of *inzalelwane* is contested based on the fact that Duncan Village is a township that was only officially established between 1941 and 1942. For many local historians, this means that no one can claim to belong to Duncan Village over the other because it means that no one has their ancestors in Duncan Village (see Mayers 1963 for a detailed discussion of immigration to East London). This means that everyone has a right to belong to and therefore benefit from state resources in Duncan Village as long as they are of South African nationality and consequently citizens. This argument introduces another layer in these identities that engages the question of national boundaries and how these are negotiated in the everyday production of space and means of survival in Duncan Village.

4.5. Disrupting Conceptions of National Identities: AmaGhana and AmaGrigamba

Here I pay attention to *amaGrigamba* as an idea and as an identity as understood and used broadly in South Africa – its construction in relation to the foreign ‘other’ along nationality lines. This foreign ‘other’ is normally someone from across the border – not any other border but an African border, used alternatively with *amakwerekwere*. In Johannesburg, it is normally used against/in relation to Zimbabweans and Nigerians. As an idea, *amaGrigamba* or *amakwerekwere* is closely associated with xenophobia, while as an identity it has different connotations. I am interested in how *amaGrigamba* as an identity speaks to particularities of urban life in Duncan Village, and how as an idea challenges us to rethink our urban cities in relation to global concepts in general.

AmaGrigamba in Duncan Village are not located within African identities. They are those who in Johannesburg, and mostly in xenophobic discourses, are identified as amaPakistan – people of Pakistani origin who in most cases are spaza shop[26] owners and normally the main competitors in township businesses. The *amaPakistan* as an idea almost has no place in conversations on struggles over space and access to public goods and services in Duncan Village. Similarly, *amaGrigamba* occupy a different space from the one they occupy in Johannesburg and broader xenophobic discourses. These different identities both as ideas and identities make possible a space for another not-so-common identity, but very common and located within the histories of immigration in Duncan Village – *amaGhana*.

AmaGhana in Duncan Village is an identity attached to people beyond South African borders, further north in particular. The relationship among South African nationals and cross-border identities of Swaziland, Lesotho, and Botswana is largely discussed around histories of African kingdoms and migrations. Although historically the Southern part of Zimbabwe is meant to be part of these conversations, the diversity of Zimbabwean ethnicities and the political context of the last two decades have pushed the narratives of Southern African identities of Zimbabwean nationals further north, therefore qualifying them as *amaGrigamba* in dominant narratives of Duncan Village. However, in Duncan Village there is an interesting narrative behind the historical construction of *amaGhana* as an identity.

Historically, *amaGhana* are people of Ghanaian origin who were brought to the Eastern Cape, East London in particular, to teach at high schools. They were used as part of a political strategy of enforcing Bantu education and suppressing political education and/or activism within schools and the curriculum. They were an appropriate apartheid tool as they could not speak the local language and therefore their compliance could be easily monitored. Although the relationship with local people was somewhat hostile by then, there was still tolerance of *amaGhana* because of the role played by independent African countries in accommodating South Africans in exile. *AmaGhana* were hated for being used by the apartheid government, but also appreciated for being good educators. Interestingly, over time this identity has stuck to any national of African origin beyond the northern parts of South African borders. This means that in Duncan Village any black person of African origin who cannot speak any of the

[26] The common name for tuck shops in South African townships.

South African languages and uses English as a means of communication is identified as a Ghanaian. Local historians describe this history as follows:

> Uyabona wena Hlengiwe iyahlekisa lento [ehleka…] yazi lento yamaGhana yafika ngexesha lengcinezelo Urhulumente ubesebenzisa abantu baseGhana ukufundisa ezikoleni ngoba esonqena ukupolitika kotishala. Ngokuya bebengafunwa ncamu ngoba abantu bengayithandi lonto yoba kusetshenziswe bona ngamabunu. Phofu bekuphinde kubekhona nalento yoba inkokheli zethu zise elubhacweni kwaye zihlala kulamazwe aseAfrica, kwanyanzela ke ukuba masibanyamezele…Hhayi ngoku akukho mntu unomsebenzi namaGhana apha eDuncan. Mna ndiyabathanda ngoba bakhuthele Hlengiwe, bayayenza into yabo noba ungababeka kuphi bayakwazi ukuphila (Life history, Former Councillor 3, 17/06/2017).[27]

I was, however, amazed by how this understanding of *amaGhana* has been passed from one generation to the other. When I was talking to a sixteen-year-old girl from the family I stayed with in Duncan Village, she also spoke about *amaGhana* with so much ease:

> Hlengiwe: your hairstyle looks good, where did you plait your hair?
> Zenani: from this other Ghanaian womxn
> Hlengiwe: where is that?
> Zenani: Down there by the Ghanaian salon
> Hlengiwe: Oh! I wasn't aware that there is a Ghanaian salon around here. I really like their shea butter hair food and I want to go and check if they sell it.
> Zenani: where is it from?
> Hlengiwe: it is from Ghana or anywhere in West Africa
> Zenani: Oh! I am not quite sure that those girls come from there [Ghana/West Africa]
> Hlengiwe: what do you mean? Did you not say they are Ghanaian?
> Zenani: Yes, they are. But I am not sure if they are from Ghana

After a longwinded conversation of me trying to understand her, her mother intervenes and explains to me that those girls are from Zimbabwe. She then went on to explain to me why her daughter (and everyone in the community) calls them Ghanaians – they have always been known to be Ghanaians.

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[27] You know Hlengiwe this thing of amaGhana is very funny. It started during the apartheid time when the apartheid government was using people of Ghanaian origin as school teachers because they did not want to encourage political consciousness at schools. That time they were not really wanted here because people were angry that they were being used by Afrikaaners. But also, there was also that thing that our leaders are in exile and they were housed in different African countries, then we were forced to tolerate them [Ghanaian teachers] …But now no one cares about them any more here in Duncan Village. As for me I like them because they always make a survival plan no matter where you put them in the world, they know how to survive (Life history, Former Councillor 3, 17/06/2017).

> Bendihleli ndiliva ngomama eli bali, baninzi kalokhu abamama abathengisayo apha elokitshini. Umama wam udlangothatha izinto ezithengiswa ngababantu, ngamanye amaxesha xa ebabona besiza uvele abazimele athi nali eli Ghana uze ulixelele ukuba andikho. Xa ndimbuza ukuba wazi njani ukuba li Ghana, uthi kususela ngeliyaxesha lotitshala base Ghana babizwa ngolohlobo...Ewe wonke umuntu ubabiza ngolohlobo ikakhulu abantu abadala (Conversation with Pumzile, Duncan Village, 13/09/2016).[28]

These excerpts presented above speak to both the history of the presence of Ghanaian teachers and how people related to them during apartheid. As much as they were resented for being used as political tools by the apartheid government, residents also sympathised with them given the role played by African countries in accommodating and training exiled freedom fighters. On the other hand, the last two excerpts speak to how the name *amaGhana* has been normalised, internalised and passed through generations; how the identity has been stuck on anyone who is of non-South African origin (but African); and how the relationship with *AmaGhana* has changed post-1994. As I show later, the relationship has improved from that of resentment to that of admiration of the 'friendly other.'

As much as *amaGhana* as an identity may not yet have a place in broader South African literature and urban space in particular, it remains an important (emerging) concept in understanding the idea or concept of '*layered citizenship'* in relation to both national and urban citizenship. Identifying black African nationals as *amaGhana* destabilises national citizenship by arguing that *amaGhana* are not bounded by the Ghanaian national borders/identities. In fact, anyone can attain a Ghanaian identity the moment they cross the South African border and settle in Duncan Village in particular, and to some extent, East London in general. This then positions *amaGhana* in a different space in urban citizenship and struggles over everyday production of space.

[28] I used to hear the story from my mother you know because there were many of them [Shona women] selling stuff around the township. Even my mother used to take some stuff from them and sometimes she will see them coming and will say here comes a Ghana, just tell them I am not around. When I asked her how she knew they are from Ghana she told me that ever since that time Ghanaians arrived as school teachers, everyone from outside the country has been referred to as Ghanaian…Yes, almost everyone call them that especially old people (Conversation with Pumzile, Duncan Village, 13/09/2016).

In de-centering dominant theory, urban scholarship may find the identity of *amaGhana* and its particular uses in Duncan Village a useful concept. Locally, the concept of '*layered citizenship'* presented through the construction of the *amaGhana* identity disrupts broader conceptions of national and urban citizenship – as a standalone (imposed) identity. In beginning to think about dislocating theory, amaGhana can be a useful concept in exploring similar constructions of related identities located within similar socio-spatial contexts. It may be useful in understanding certain (imposed) identities. For instance, my experiences of Germany have taught me that the immediate identity imposed on Africans is that of Gambians where local people tend to identify black Africans as Gambian nationals. My first reaction to these assumptions was based on the sheer presence of Gambians in some parts of Germany, Tubingen in particular. However, there is a possibility to further explore the origins of these assumed identities that transcend national boundaries of citizenship(s) which may or may not resemble those that exist in Duncan Village in relation to *amaGhana*.

4.6. Towards a Concept of Layered Citizenship?

The type of citizenship that is emerging from the descriptions above is one that is multi-layered and can be delineated according to multifarious privileges and/or discriminations. It is an *onion-layered* like type of citizenship that is fluid, contested, and can be manipulated and appropriated for certain privileges or for certain forms of exclusion. This is a citizenship that transcends the notion of nationality. In fact, national becomes a point of contestation and re-invention of the notion of citizenship. It is important to note that contestations of belonging between *inzalelwane* and *abantu bokufika* are largely amongst Xhosa-speaking South African nationals from the Eastern Cape region. These are predominantly shaped by struggles over access to state resources like houses, food parcels, job opportunities and other services. A reading of broader literature on contestations and struggles over urban space is usually located within the binaries of the rich versus the poor where the rich reject the existence of 'informal settlements' and see it as polluting their spaces, hence degrading their property value. Similarly, within the literature on xenophobia, urban struggles are usually located within 'foreign nationals' and poor township dwellers fighting over scarce resources and what has been dubbed as 'taking our jobs.' This then locates the Pakistanis (*amaGrigamba* of Duncan Village) within struggles over business opportunities mainly related to township businesses. The case of Duncan Village presents us with a complex, but interesting opportunity for

exploring these dynamics towards understanding the complexity of the concept of citizenship where it is defined by struggles over access to state resources and how communities are reconstituted for strategic positioning to this access. I argue that communities of Duncan Village have overlapping but also porous boundaries determined by strategic needs for survival in an ever-changing economy.

As I have shown in the prologue of this chapter, the meaning of a community remains fluid. What is emerging is that in cases where residents have to mobilise for access to public goods, there seem to be little or no solidarity between *abantu bokufika* and *inzalelwane*. Interestingly, these two groups are mainly Xhosa ethnic groups. Although there is a long history of ethnic divides among the Xhosa from former homelands of Transkei and Ciskei, these divisions remain silent in contestations of space in Duncan Village. What is more visible is that both groups are pre-dominantly of Xhosa origin. Although there are other people from different ethnic groups in Duncan Village, people from other provinces who are not Xhosa speakers are either identified as *abantu baseGauteng* or Zulus. However flawed[29] the *abantu base Gauteng/amaZulu* identity is, it remains a distinct identity – one that is not of rivalry over state resources in Duncan Village. This is not to argue that other South Africans do not come to settle permanently in Duncan Village or at least register and wait for RDP houses. However, in most cases they come as part of construction companies or taking up certain positions in the corporate or private sector. I return to *abantu baseGauteng* and their relevance later in the chapter. At this point I am only interested in their role in the everyday production of urban space and their role in shaping ways in which communities are (re)constituted in Duncan Village.

This is not to argue that there is no solidarity between *abantu basemagalini* and *abantu basezindlini* in other everyday relations as some even share kinships. However, I am interested in possibilities of moments of solidarity and issues that are most likely to bring solidarity among these groups. As observed by *utata* in the prologue of this chapter, and as one of the

[29] Gauteng in one of the provinces in South Africa where the cosmopolitan city of Johannesburg is located. It is important to note that most people on other provinces conflate Gauteng with Johannesburg. Johannesburg is the most cosmopolitan city in the country that brings together people from different province and from different countries – across the continent and beyond. However, the Zulu language seem to be the most dominant language although it is not, as all 11 official South African languages are spoken in the province and there are also other languages from abroad. However, it is common practice to reduce people from Johannesburg as Zulu speakers.

participants adds, “The only time where *abantu basezindlini* (residents from the formal houses) and *abasemagalini* (residents from the shacks) unite is on struggles over electricity. Electricity is the backbone of every household” (Interview, Duncan Village, 02/08/2014). This is one of the instances where they come together, organise and take to the streets because electricity it is a common good. However, there is almost a state of hostility between the groups that exists outside of mobilising against electricity blackouts. This is not to take away relationships and kinships that exist between individuals. However, I am exploring these relations within conceptions of a community and how these differences are articulated in group contexts.

In *Against the Romance of Community*, Miranda Joseph (2002) argues that practices of production and consumption play a greater role than identities in the construction of communal subjectivities (2002). For her, invoking community is to immediately raise questions of belonging and power relations within multi-layered structures of belonging (2002). For Judith Butler (1994), forms of subjectivity are based not only on identification, but also on disidentification. She proposes that “the map of future community and hope for the possibility of avowing an expansive set of connection lies in tracing ways in which identification is implicated in what it excludes” (Butler 1994: 118-119). Similarly, production and consumption play an important role in the redrawing of boundaries of inclusion and in reconstructing ways of relating to those who are already excluded in Duncan Village.

In *The Inoperative Community*, Jean-Luc Nancy challenges us to imagine community as “unworked and unworking.” He argues that the “finitude, or infinite lack of infinite identity is what makes community. This is, community is made or formed by the retreat or by the subtracting of something” (Nancy 1991: xxxix). This is to say that a community can be understood as a process or as work in progress. Different ways of constituting communities discussed in this thesis can be understood as ‘unworked and unworking’, suggesting that they are not static, but communities in progress. Giorgio Agamben argues that “in order to displace the discrimination that constitutes community we should approach the experience of a community with an attitude of whateverness.” “Here whatever – not being indifference, but rather being such as it is” (Agamben 1993: 1-2). It is this idea of ‘whateverness’ that allows us to explore ways in which communities and community relations are (re)constituted as they are and begin to rethink the idea of communities by drawing from ‘whatever’ the relationship looks like or means to the residents of Duncan Village.

Below I develop different ways in which communities become (re)constituted and show their fluidity. The different communities that I discuss below can be described in different ways. Some may prefer describing them as groupings or any other operative word. However, my interest in developing these relations as communities is motivated by the evocation of the word "*umphakathi*" (a community) in the prologue of this chapter. Furthermore, there is a constant distinction and emphasis between *umhlali/abahlali* (resident/s) and umphakathi throughout most of the interview excerpts presented on this chapter. Furthermore, these distinctions become louder whenever residents of Duncan Village are articulating their everyday struggles in relation to different strategies and groupings that they employ. This invites an interrogation into ways in which *umphakathi* wase Duncan Village is constituted, therefore my preference of referring to these groupings as communities.

4.6.1. Convenient Communities

The first type of community that I want to develop is the concept of a '*convenient community.'* By '*convenient communities'* I am describing a relationship that exists *temporarily* because it is convenient for the other party to be part of that arrangement. I am interested in how temporary relationships are forged to address an urgent problem. This is a temporary relationship that is strategically constructed to solve day-to-day problems as they arise. Returning to the relationship between *inzalelwane* and *abantu bokufika,* I have shown how they only come together in solidarity as a 'community' acting in harmony and mobilising for common goods when they are fighting for electricity. I argue that this is a characteristic of a '*convenient community'* brought together by the urgent need to solve an urgent, immediate problem that is of common concern. This means that in such circumstances that require an urgent mobilisation for a common good, both *inzalelwane* and *abantu bokufika* can mobilise to constitute a '*convenient community'* that comes together to fight for electricity because it is convenient for both groups to come together and organise a collective protest to demand urgent restoration of electricity.

However, on issues that concern housing delivery, communal toilets and communal taps, *abantu basezindlini* are most likely not to attend as these issues do not concern them. It is expected that a community should fight together and die together, but this is not the case in Duncan Village for *inzalelwane* and *abantu bokufika*. Similarly, if the meeting concerns issues

of electricity metres, billing systems, etc. that are not necessarily of primary concern for *abantu basemagalini*, they are most likely not to attend. A *convenient community* is only constituted for immediate needs and the relationship is more *convenient* as it exists to 'fix' an immediate problem. If we take out the common denominator (electricity), there is otherwise a non-existent relationship when it comes to mobilising for common goods amongst *inzalelwane* and *abantu bokufika*. This then means that there is nothing common between them and therefore '*akuyo* community' (*this is not a community*) – as utata puts it in the prologue of this chapter.

4.5.2. Instrumental Communities

The second concept that I am interested in developing is of an '*instrumental community.'* By '*instrumental communities',* I am referring to a relationship that only exists as part of a means to an end because it is instrumental for the other party to be part of that relationship. Here I am interested mostly in the relationship between *inzalelwane* and *amaGrigamba*. As I have shown earlier, while *inzalelwane* perceive *abantu bokufika* as their main competitors over access to basic services such as housing opportunities and food parcels, *amaGrigamba* only pose a threat as business competitors for those running small businesses in Duncan Village. However, given the small number of people running small businesses such as spaza shops, it leaves *amaGrigamba* with almost a monopoly over running small businesses in Duncan Village. Moreover, most spaza shop owners either reside out of the township or if they are within the township, they are most likely to be backyard tenants rather than *abahlali baseziqikini*. Their existence therefore removes them from the contestation over basic state resources while they remain the main players in the everyday production of the urban space in Duncan Village.

The *inzalelwane* of Duncan Village may not consider *amaGrigamba* as allies when fighting for basic public goods. Although they have common interests in fighting crime, *amaGrigamba* contend that most crime affecting them does not come from informal settlements as *inzalelwane* would claim. However, for them to survive and to be safe from weekly attacks, they have to forge relations with *abahlali basezindlini* for many reasons. Among other perpetrators, spaza shop robbers are said to be mostly children of homeowners. Their parents are street committee leaders and are allegedly responsible for giving directions on who to be protected in the township. Most spaza owners who refuse to operate within the terms of those

in control run the risk of being targeted. This is not to argue that all relations are coercive because there are many voluntary relations that exist. As one spaza owner puts it:

> This place is generally not safe, but if you are clever and know the right people you can be safe. The thing is they [street committees] know who is responsible for all these crimes and some of these thugs are their own people, I mean their own children. So how do you tell someone to control their child when they know? The thing is some of these attacks do not just happen. They are not an accident. They are not random. If you are lucky, I don't mean lucky as being lucky. But I mean if you know how to live with people, how to help them, you are also helping yourself from not being attacked (Interview with Yussuf, 13/05/2017).

In '*instrumental communities,'* residents of Duncan Village forge relations that are *instrumental* for their own interests or everyday survival. In the case of the relationship between *amaGrigamba* and *inzalelwane,* the relationship can be forged through willingness of *amaGrigamba* to accept *inzalelwane* as clients who are trustworthy because of their status as 'permanent residents' with 'proper' addresses (houses). This means that they can be allowed to open accounts at the spaza shop where they get their essentials before the month ends and can pay by the end of the month. Whether they do pay consistently by the end of the month is a different question. However, the fact that this arrangement can exist as a starting point for building a relationship makes such a relationship *instrumental* in that it only exists because it is strategic for the other to survive under these circumstances.

Although it is more of a protective measure for *amaGrigamba* as I have shown above, it is also *instrumental* for them for business purposes. They may not have good business before the month ends but can still afford to sell their goods. Hence, *inzalelwane* can only speak of *amaGrigamba* as part of their community when describing their means of daily survival strategies – as we are part of this community with *amaGrigamba*:

> Ubomi bunzima kule Duncan yethu. Aabantwana abaphangeli kanti nathi sesibadala. Umasipala akasincedi nganto. But kodwa-ke siyakwazi ukuphila ngoba singabahlali sinendlela yethu yokuphila. Njengoba ubona nje sinentlantla-lucky because ngoba kukho namaGrigamba kulendawo. Sendisitsho ukuba singumphakathi siyakwazi uncedana because ngoba

> uyakwazi ufumana ne sepa for ye inyanga kubo thenubuye uyibhatale ukuphela kwenyanga (Life history 5, Duncan Village, 12/09/2017).[30]

The excerpt above captures the hardness of navigating everyday life for the unemployed or those earning too little to survive the month. This is one of the points where *inzalelwane* speak of *amaGrigamba* as part of their community as they assist them in surviving monthly hardships other than identifying them as *amaGrigamba* when sending their children to the spaza shops. Similarly, *amaGrigamba* view themselves as neutral players in this 'community' who are just there to survive. The only time they mention themselves as part of a community is when they are describing their survival strategies and how this relationship of allowing people to open accounts at the spaza shop becomes part of their participation in the 'community'. As one spaza shop owner (*amaGrigamba*) noted:

> Sometimes you don't even know. Sometimes you feel like you are not wanted, but also you always know that even if they don't want you, there are still those who need you. I mean, I don't mean that we do not need them too because we are running a business and they are our customers… sometimes are hard business-wise. I don't think it's only with us here, it's the economy that's going down. You see, that's how you begin to appreciate your community. We are in fact a community here. You know, business may be bad but you always know that you can give people stuff during the month and they will be paying you month end and you are happy because you have money again…It's not easy but because we are community, we are family, they help us and we help them (Interview, Raphael, 13/05/2017).

It is from these observations and narratives that I develop the concept of '*instrumental community.'* This signifies that a community can be constituted based on the strategic need to achieve a particular end that is beneficial for the actors/participants. This means that some residents will recognise the existence of the other as part of their community only if the relationship is *instrumental* for their everyday survival needs.

As the last interview excerpt shows, the participant feels that he is unwanted in the community. He is clear about his existence as a 'foreigner' in that space. However, due to economic

[30] Life is difficult in this Duncan of ours. Our children are unemployed, and we are also old. The municipality is not assisting us with anything. However, we are able to survive because as residents we have our own ways of survival. As you can see, we are lucky because there is also amaGrigamba here in this place. I mean, as a community we are able to help each other because you can get a bath soap for a month then you pay by the end of the month (Life history 5, Duncan Village, 12/09/2017).

difficulties, he appreciates the relationship between spaza owners and residents of Duncan Village because despite all challenges, it keeps his business going. It is only at this point, where he identifies himself as part of the community and he even extends the type of these relations to that of a family relationship. As Butler argues, "The map of future community and hope for the possibility of avowing an expansive set of connections lies in tracing ways in which identification is implicated in what it excludes" (Butler 1994: 118-119). In this scenario, identification with those who are normally excluded from discourses of belonging becomes a starting point in mapping the future of '*instrumental communities.'*

Similarly, *abantu bokufika* also have ways of positioning themselves strategically as a means to end with *amaGhana* or *amaZulu* who mostly come to Duncan Village working on construction projects. The relationship between *abantu bokufika* and *amGhana* or *amaZulu* is usually not a positive relationship because most of them are renting backyards of 'formal' houses. This puts *amaGhana* and *amaZulu/abantu baseGauteng* accidentally at the centre of these community struggles. Most of *amaZulu* are only in East London for work purposes and are not looking forward to benefit from any government projects. As part of the requirement for most construction projects, companies should employ local people for local projects like building shopping malls or roads. The relationship here can be described as multi-dimensional at best. On one hand, most residents would build a relationship with *amaGhana* or *amaZulu* so that they can secure job opportunities for their children who can be employed in the short-term. On the other, the young boys who tend to be employed by these companies resent young migrant workers for holding permanent positions in these companies that they are travelling with.

For *amaGhana* and *amaZulu*, although they occupy different positions on national politics, i.e. external and internal immigrants respectively, they almost face the same predicament. They are all migrant temporary citizens in Duncan Village. Most tenants that I spoke to had already lived in more than five houses, but they were still not sure whether they prefer to be in the backyard shacks or in the shacks of esiqikini. Backyard landlords are said to be the worst as some of *abantu bokufika* would explain how they ended up *esiqikini*. They are too demanding, and their rents are always fluctuating and apparently one cannot have a good meal or drive a car while renting at their backyards. As Mbongeni puts it, "that day on its own [of bringing a fancy takeaway meal] you know that it's the day when your rent goes up or you are getting a notice to leave" (Interview, Mbongeni, 21/05/2017).

While life *esiqikini* may be bearable, there is just too much crime and too many setbacks for one to cope. "One day you left your TV at home but by the time you come back the house is empty. You just don't know what happened and when." (Interview, Gatsheni, 20/05/2017). Sometimes these crimes happen at night which is even more dangerous. As much as some of these crimes happen during the day when they are at work, the worst and more dangerous ones are the ones that happen at night. As Xolani narrates:

> I don't really care if it happens when I am away because after all it's an informal settlement and it is not safe. What I can't stand is when I am sleeping and imagine, your things leave while you are in the house and you can't do anything because also you don't want to die…I do not belong here, and I am not aspiring for any life here. Most of us are just here to work and then we go back home … so we really got nothing to fight for. You just have to be nice to people because you feel safer when you know they take you as one of them (Interview, Xolani, 21/05/2017).

The three interviews cited above by *amaZulu* participants speak to difficulties of navigating both the formal and informal parts of Duncan Village as an outsider who is not contesting any form of belonging. Their agendas are clear; *amaGhana* and *amaZulu* are here to work and have no aspirations of belonging. However, due to their precarious status, they find themselves having to forge some community relations that are *instrumental* for their short-term survival. They are not benefitting economically, but it is *instrumental* for them to belong to these communities. As Ray puts it, "Sometimes you know you don't need them at all but it's them who need you the most. You just have to be nice and give their boys work opportunities cos who knows, next time you may want to come and stay here, or the contract may even be longer than anticipated" (Interview, Ray 20/05/2017). These forms of precarious existence allow us to read how *amaGhana* and *amaZulu* enter into *instrumental* community relations to ensure their immediate survival strategies.

4.6.3. Political Communities

Finally, I explore the concept of '*political communities.'* Until now, I have placed *inzalelwane* at the centre of other two types of communities because they play a major role mainly in the politics of othering. Although *amaGrigamba* and *amaGhana* are main actors in the everyday (re)making and (re)production of urban space in Duncan Village, they do not participate much in the creation and deployment of identities of *inzalelwane* or *abantu bokufika*. The concept of

'political community' therefore seeks to show how community relations are (re)constituted across all township divides. This relationship is about building strategic medium-to-long term relations to consolidate different factions and groupings. This is not to argue that during apartheid people did not position themselves strategically in community struggles (see *Chapter 5).* Here I seek to explore how these positions have shifted post-1994 with new actors and new identities coming into play. In '*political communities'* I focus on how different actors position themselves strategically in 'community' relations for political benefits.

Although this concept of '*political communities'* is similar to that of '*convenient communities'* and '*instrumental communities,'* it relies more on reciprocal relations in such a way that individuals position themselves strategically so that they can benefit through the interplay of politics. In *Chapter 5,* I explore some of these political relations and how strategic positioning in political networks benefits both local politicians and different communities. The difference with the other two is that while '*convenient communities'* and '*instrumental communities'* exist to solve immediate day-to-day problems, '*political communities'* can be long-term. They may also concern other socio-political issues that do not necessarily have a direct relation with everyday survival. It is mostly politicians or people with political ambitions who are strategically positioning themselves for long-term political benefits beyond the township – such as municipal and provincial positions.

In the prologue of this chapter I introduced the character Pumla who was at the march not because she was (immediately) affected by concerns of the protest but because she is interested in positioning herself strategically for the next local government elections. In a long conversation with umama uPumla, she explained to me why she took part in the protest despite being *umhlali wasezindlini*: "Awuzenzi izinto ngoba zikuchaphazela qha. Zikhona ezinye ozenza ngoba ucinga ngekamva lakho. Ngeny' imini uzawudinga umphakathi" [You do not participate in struggles because they affect you directly. There are other things that you do because you are thinking of your future. One day you are going to need this community]) (Interview, Pumla 17/08/2014). When Pumla said these words to me in 2014, I could only understand this as an African proverb that you have to treat other people with respect as you may never know when you will need them. I had not thought of it as meaning something so practical and personal in the nearest future.

When I returned to Duncan Village after local government elections in August 2016, I learnt that the incoming councillor did not want umama uPumla to be part of her ward committees because she was a ward committee member of the previous councillor who was competing with her. Interestingly, the constituency that helped umama uPumla to win was from the informal parts of the township, as she explained to me. In her explanation, she brought the African proverb to life and inspired my idea of *'political communities.'* She had told me that in 2014 that she will need this 'community' (the informal settlement dwellers at the march) for the future, and for me this means that she had positioned herself strategically in belonging to this community which, according to many narratives of Duncan Village, she does not belong to.

Similarly, one of the former councillors who served in the same term as umama uPumla demonstrated how he positioned himself politically for the 2016 local government elections. When I first interviewed him in 2014, he assured me that he was going to return to the ward councillor position in 2016. During the time there were rumours that implicated him in several corruption scandals. However, when I asked him how it was possible for him to return in 2016, he explained his political approach to earning respect in the community. According to him, he is a politically connected man and he uses his position to secure internship and learnership programmes with big companies for the youth. Although I was unable to interview some of the young people that he claimed to have assisted with bursaries in 2014, there was considerable agreement from other residents that he plays an important role in the lives of the youth of Duncan Village.

When I returned to Duncan Village in 2016 just before local government elections, I found that he had grown a huge following from *abahlali basemagalini*. He had achieved this by doing door-to-door visits to listen to the needs of the people arguing that they are not listened to in ward meetings. As I have noted earlier how *abahlali basemagalini* are treated in community meetings, the former ward councillor became their voice as *inzalelwane* of Duncan Village. This meant that while the views of *abahlali basemagalini* were either dismissed or ignored at the meetings, they carried a more authentic voice from someone with political influence.

In 2017, I spent most of my evenings with the former councillor as I was documenting the history of Black Sunday (see *Chapter 1*). During our many evening meetings, people would come and go, collecting parcels from the former councillor. He later explained to me that there

will be many disturbances because he assists many people in the community. These were mostly *abahlali basezindlini* who were mainly his neighbours or from the neighbouring streets. The former councillor would buy meat bones, cow heads and chicken from the farm butcheries that sold these goods at wholesale prices. He would then bring these to the township and sell them to the residents at the same wholesale prices. This was helpful for a township like Duncan Village where there are high levels of poverty. When I asked him about his political ambitions, he explained to me the importance of navigating different communities:

> I am a resident of *ezindlini* but I do not discriminate between *abantu bokufika* and *inzalelwane*. I also work well with the young and the old because if you are a leader you need to understand the different needs of different communities. If you are to win the position of a ward councillor, your votes do not only come from *emagalini* or *ezindlini*. You have to win both constituencies. Even these are not enough, you also need to be known and appreciated by the young and the old…Most old people already know me, and they respect me, but I also need to win the hearts of the youth. A good political leader knows how to do this without causing fights (Life history, Former Councillor 1, 17/10/2017).

The life history excerpt shows how the former councillor is deliberate about his political ambitions and how he is strategically positioning himself to win different constituencies. His everyday activities described above show how individuals participate in different communities that they mostly do not identify with for political benefits. These relations take deliberate and conscious planning. I discuss these political communities at length in *Chapter 5* where I show the reciprocity of political gains for both local politicians and residents. The *political community* has a potential of a longer life because of the five-year political office term. While local politicians use the '*political community'* as a network of support, it becomes a network of access for housing opportunities, food parcels, municipal jobs and other benefits for the residents who are part of the network (see *Chapter 5*).

The different communities discussed above are nowhere close to being perfect. They are not permanent as relationships shift and people seek to forge other relations. Most importantly, they are not static or fixed; they remain fluid and intersecting in some cases as members can belong to multiple communities simultaneously depending on their everyday needs and their future endeavours. However, as much as this is one way of thinking through ways in which communities are constituted in Duncan Village, these communities remain exclusionary to the marginalised groups. As discussed above, these communities are constituted differently

depending on needs; they remain exactly what they are: '*convenient communities,' 'instrumental communities' and 'political communities.'* This means that they are mostly driven by immediate and short-to-medium term goals, and to a lesser extent, long-term goals. Consequently, the motives are personal or individualistic at most. This makes it difficult to mobilise for a greater cause like inclusive human rights, or against gender-based violence and patriarchal domination (see *Chapter 7*).

4.7. Conclusion

The main aim of this chapter was to explore intra-society relations among residents of Duncan Village through their everyday interactions for understanding how the historical, the present and the future are embodied, imagined, and reimagined. In the mapping of history, I paid attention to special historical events that are key in constructions, mobilisation and deployment of identities of inclusion such as *inzalelwane*, and of exclusion such as *abantu bokufika*, and those of othering – *amaGhana*, *amaPakistan*, *amaGrigamba*, *amaZulu/abantu base Gauteng*. I argued that these identities are crucial in beginning to re-imagine the concept of citizenship as ever-changing and porous that remains open to appropriation and manipulation for personal benefits. I also looked at the concept of community - how it has changed from what a community entailed in the 1980s and how it has shifted post-1994. The communities observed in Duncan Village have become porous, allowing for multiple forms of communities to be constituted and exist within the same geographical space.

I have argued that identities explored in this chapter are important for understanding the everyday (re)production of space and reconstructions of a community in Duncan Village. In thinking about citizenship, while the question of nationality is almost explicit, the question of urban citizenship is complicated by articulations and silences in the everyday (re)production of space and contestation over scarce resources. What emerges is that concepts of citizenship and community, and meanings of belonging have shifted from how they used to be imagined during apartheid Duncan Village and how they are embodied in the everyday production of urban space – and they remain shifting and porous – as residents of Duncan Village continue to shape their future.

Chapter 5

Disrupting Narratives of Corruption, Patronage Politics and Clientelism and Re-imagining Democracy

It is a bright morning at Abbotsford Christian Centre in East London and inside the hall the mood is sombre as residents of Buffalo City have come to pay their tribute to their renowned comrade. He is well known for his role in political activism and as a founding member of the Duncan Village Residents Association (DVRA) at the height of the forced removals in the 1980s. Comrade Ngcaba has also played a major role in the transition period from the apartheid to post-1994 'democratic' dispensation. He served as a ward councillor between 2011 and 2016. For those who felt very strong about his politics, comrade Ngcaba was a selfish person who could not look beyond his ethics and values "as if people eat ethics". He refused to budge even for the smallest things that could easily be resolved "without a big fuss." For some, he will go down in the history of the council as one member who refused to compromise 'values' and 'ethics' of the ANC that he held so dearly. In his ward, he is notorious for disbanding his ward committee because of claims of corruption and nepotism. He claimed that he could not work with selfish ward committee members who only cared about their own needs and those of their families. At the council, he is known for refusing to cover for comrades embroiled in the late president Nelson Mandela's memorial service scandal – having acted as individuals they nevertheless expected to be protected as part of the organisation (the ANC). As he puts it to me in one of our long conversations: "Hlengiwe, ndiyanqaba mna xa kuthiwa masikhusele umbutho yet kukhuselwa iziqu zabantu [I refuse when they say we must protect the organisation yet we are protecting individuals]. These are individuals who went out to do their 'corruption' and now I must lie on their behalf that imali yakhokhela amabhasi endingazange ndawabona?" [The money paid for community buses that I never saw]. At his memorial service at the City Hall yesterday people spoke eloquently and proudly about utata uNgcaba's ethics and ways of doing 'clean' politics. All the speakers reiterated his unwavering stance of refusing to compromise his political values and ethics of service delivery. Unfortunately, as some speakers reiterate today, this is a type of an unpopular politics that causes isolation from the 'common sense' where one finds themselves outside in the cold. As one of the speakers put it, "It is a sad reality that he stood for truth and as a result he could not even participate much in family responsibilities because he could not afford. He was being deliberately excluded because during his term he stood for the truth." And the speaker continued, "…this is what happens when you fight for inkululeko and you receive democracy. Sasilwela inkululeko kwasuke kwathi gqi le democracy. Sixakene nale democracy ngoku" [we were fighting for inkululeko and we were given democracy. We are stuck with this democracy now]. Unfortunately, this is a sad reality for most of the former councillors that I spoke to during my stay in Duncan Village between 2014 and 2019 (adapted from fieldwork diary, 04/05/2019).

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is premised on the argument that failures of the South African democratic transition to address the legacies of apartheid is an over explored topic. There is almost consensus in public and academic debates that the South African post-1994 negotiated

settlement has achieved far less than what was expected. Most of the studies have arrived at these conclusions based on what democracy has failed to deliver in light of what was expected by those who fought for liberation. Drawing from the evidence emerging from Duncan Village, in this chapter I show that exploring shortfalls/failures of the democratic transition through the lenses of democracy as an end in itself characterised by 'expectations' and 'failures' undermines some of the strategies employed by communities and local state representatives at the margins as they navigate and negotiate their livelihoods post-1994. In order to understand the strategies employed by communities at the margins, I suggest that we need to pay attention to the meanings attached to anti-apartheid struggles and expectations thereof. I argue that paying attention to these narratives will help us understand how and why democracy has been problematically marked as the transitional period, the pillar between the old and the new dispensation and how it stands as a marker of continuities and discontinuities.

To paraphrase James Ferguson (1999), the crisis of post-1994 is not only a reflection of the failures of the democratic transition, but also a crisis of coming to terms with the meanings of democracy and understandings of *inkululeko* that people fought for. As Ferguson suggests, "People are never passive in the face of changes; they continue to struggle to make sense of their experience as they fight towards a realisation of freedoms fought for during the liberation struggles" (Ferguson 1999: 14). As cited in the prologue of this chapter, evidence from Duncan Village suggests that people never fought for democracy that was imposed on them through the negotiated settlement. Instead, people were fighting for *inkululeko* that has not been realised as they continue to struggle towards its realisation. Democracy has therefore provided a platform – a new *battlefield* on which the struggle for inkululeko continues in post-1994 dispensation. Through understanding the difference between democracy and *inkululeko* and how the former shapes popular narratives while eschewing the latter, we begin to understand the meanings attached to the strategies employed by communities from the margins in their everyday struggles.

In this chapter I explore the relationship between the state and communities at a local level. I map the day-to-day interactions between community members and state representatives to show how these everyday interactions unravel notions of the shortfalls of democracy in which narratives of corruption, patronage and clientelism are embedded. Although elite corruption remains intertwined with lower level corruption, it falls outside the scope of this chapter as the thesis is premised upon the local state as its unit of analysis. Thus, my main focus is on

narratives of corruption at the margins of Buffalo City. The chapter is not concerned with detailed discussions on definitions or debates around these concepts as they are widely documented elsewhere (see Leff 1964; Ekeh 1975; Alam 1989; Bayart 1993; Gupta 1995; Mbaku 2000; Auyero 2000; Gbaffou 2011; Von Holdt 2013; 2019). The aim is not to deny or challenge the existence of corruption in post-colonial societies and South Africa in particular; however, it is to explore the concept of corruption and associated concepts such as patronage politics and clientelism. Here, I map parallels between the fundamental principles of capitalism and corruption that are both built on notions of private accumulation for selfish gains. I therefore ask a question if it is possible to think of corrupt-free societies in a neoliberal global order which in itself is built on the same principles underlying corruption.

There is no doubt that grand corruption, patronage and clientelism have dominated the post-1994 order. The current testimonies on state capture at the Zondo Commission[31] are enough evidence of private accumulation by individuals and groups using the state at a national level. Furthermore, the detailed account of corruption, patronage and clientelist practices documented in Crispian Olver's (2017) *How to Steal a City: the battle for Nelson Mandela Bay* is enough evidence that corrupt practices are a normalised cultural practice of doing politics. Following Karl von Holdt's thesis on '*violent democracy'* (2013; 2014), I argue that elite corruption in South Africa is a form of resistance to the compromised struggle for *inkululeko* that was mystified by democracy that used the liberal language of the constitution to entrench apartheid inequalities. By extension, elite corruption is therefore a form of resistance to neoliberal capitalism that continues to privilege a few while dispossessing multitudes. By engaging in patronage politics, clientelism and corrupt activities, the 'excluded' elites are contesting their space to participate in the global economy.

This is not to downplay the effects of elite corruption that continues to dispossess multitudes in South Africa and other developing countries. However, it is to interrogate the capitalist accumulation system in relation to the legacies of colonialism and negotiated democratic transition. By resistance, I am referring to ways in which the black elites are rejecting the neoliberal system of accumulation that excluded them from the economic empowerment post-1994. I argue that when they turn to the state (wrongfully so), it is their own way of refusing

[31] https://www.sastatecapture.org.za/;accessed 12/10/2019.

to be excluded from the mainstream economy and therefore turn to the state to use it for their own personal accumulation.

I propose an *Alternative Means of Survival (ASM)* approach to understanding corruption. I argue that corruption, clientelism and patronage activities at the margins of society are both a form of resistance and an alternative means of survival. The majority of South Africans who were disadvantaged through slavery, colonialism and apartheid have realised that the compromised struggle for *inkululeko* presented through democracy has done less to ensure their inclusion in the economy. Unlike the popular scholarly and journalistic narratives that patronage politics and clientelism deny citizens from the margins participation in the economy, I argue that in a neoliberal capitalist society characterised by an increasingly jobless economy and limited public goods, patronage and clientelist networks sometimes offer what is seen as the only opportunity for the marginalised to participate in the economy and thereby create different strategies for survival. Participation in these networks can be understood as creative ways of (re)imagining different ways of survival where the state cannot provide for its citizens. Moreover, narratives of corruption pose a challenge to the idea of 'imposed' democracy and the bureaucratic expectation on which it operates. I argue that it is difficult to understand corruption practices within the South African state where the negotiated democracy ignored the historical experiences of structural inequality. What is happening in Buffalo City can be understood as strategies and means by which communities at the margins of society are coming to terms with the notion of democracy while they continue their struggle for *inkululeko*. If we are to come up with means of eradicating corruption, we ought to disaggregate levels at which corruption takes place, understand the underlying principles, and debunk certain concepts as understood and deployed by actors in their particular contexts.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section presents theoretical and conceptual tools that aid in understanding narratives of corruption, patronage politics and clientelism and what these mean for postcolonial states especially when one considers their complex histories and present realities. The second section foregrounds narratives of *inkululeko* that are embedded in discourses of democracy and how these shape everyday struggles towards the realisation of freedom within a democratic dispensation. Here I pay attention to the different narratives from both ordinary citizens and state officials on how they draw a clear distinction between *inkululeko* and democracy. The third section explores the negotiated democracy and how it has presented a new platform to contest struggles over the realisation of *inkululeko*.

Although the evidence and discussion is grounded in analyses of Duncan Village and Buffalo City, the discussion locates BCMM within the broader South African situation with possibilities of illuminating broader conversations across the continent.

In the final section, I highlight some conceptual contributions to the literature on corruption and local politics that this study offers. I develop an *'Alternative Means of Survival Approach' (AMS)* to reading and understanding corruption from the margins. I also propose some alternative readings of narratives of service delivery. I argue that what we observe in Duncan Village should be understood as *'selective service delivery'* and '*strategic service delivery,'* not as 'lack of service delivery.' These propositions are inspired by the *AMS* approach as I argue that Duncan Village is not 'lacking service delivery' per se. This is because if we agree to adopt the idea of 'lack of service delivery,' or 'no service delivery' at all, we assume that basic goods exist, but are not distributed to the rightful beneficiaries. I argue that adopting concepts of '*selective service delivery'* and '*strategic service delivery'* locates the question of the availability of public goods within broader debates on neoliberal capitalism, while simultaneously grounding them in local practices. In a neoliberal capitalist state where resources are not enough for everyone, Duncan Village councillors become strategic in how they distribute the limited resources and therefore '*selectively*' deliver to their constituencies where in most cases they are almost guaranteed political support in return. In a precarious political climate characterised by fractured politics and factionalism, *AMS* is not only limited to communities, but also extends to local state representatives in their everyday struggle for relevance and survival in their political positions.

5.2. Theoretical and Conceptual Tools

The local state is understood as a mechanism for the decentralisation of power and a site of democracy where communities have direct access to the state, but also a place of contradictions and contestations (Hart 2001; 2013; Gbaffou 2011). However, it is also (un)fortunate that relations between communities and local state representatives are characterised by networks of patronage, clientelism and nepotism, and are largely associated with narratives bordering on corruption – an indication of the 'failures' of developing state institutions and dysfunctional and corrupt local councillors (Hart 2013). Yet, corruption is a universal problem that affects both first and third world countries (Mbaku 2000; Blundo, de Sardan, Arifari and Alou 2006) and is a result of national political and administrative decisions (Hart 2013).

In understanding the nature of the post-1994 state and narratives of failed democracy, I draw from the postcolonial literature that seeks to understand postcolonial states and their institutions. The literature also challenges the western conceptions of the state and their failures to grasp the realities and complexities of postcolonial states - factors that make narratives of corruption seemingly justifiable. Writing on discourses of corruption in rural India, Akhil Gupta cautions about legacies of western scholarship in understanding postcolonial contexts. He argues that these tend to draw from specific historical contexts of Europe to construct an idea of the state that have drawn a boundary between the state and civil society (Gupta 1995: 376). In *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective,* Crawford Young (1994) challenges the idea of conceiving the state as a continuation from the colonial state that seeks to assert its legitimacy as an independent state post-independence. He argues that colonial states were never fully-fledged states. They did not have any form of sovereignty or autonomy and were far detached from society as they remained 'appendages' of their colonial masters (Young 1994). These arguments are useful in understanding some of the comments made by local officials in Buffalo City in relation to their experiences of working for the local state.

John Mbaku (2000) notes the failure of local politicians to address the challenges created by colonial state institutions that were never designed to cater for their indigenous populations. He argues that post-independence, indigenous elites should have reconstructed neo-colonial states through establishing and developing inclusive institutions that would advance the welfare of the people and ensure adequate socio-economic transformation (Mbaku 2000: 2). He therefore locates corruption on the continent as "a direct consequence of poorly designed institutional arrangements and distorted incentive structures that allowed elites who captured the state at independence to turn governance structures into instruments of accumulation" (Mbaku 2000: 5). This observation is taken further by Karl von Holdt on how the South African transition to democracy rather continued with structures of exclusion and the making of the black elite post-1994. He notes how the democratic transition entrenched economic power in the hands of the previously advantaged, only allowing a few black elites to emerge economically. Von Holdt argues that given the continued inequalities entrenched in the constitution, the state itself "remains a key site for black economic empowerment, and the constitutional constraints on redistribution of assets in the private sector have driven the struggle for asset accumulation and elite formation into the state" (Von Holdt 2013: 594). Narratives of corruption, patronage and clientelism in Buffalo City and South Africa in general

should therefore be understood within this historical background whereby 'democracy' simply meant a continuation of the old system.

Following the preceding discussion, understanding narratives of corruption in South Africa will require one to look back into the history of colonialism and apartheid, and how their interplay with current policies has shaped the transition to democracy and the post-1994 struggles. There is a need to further understand the South African transition in a broader perspective by (a) unpacking the implications of the neoliberal order during a time when the ANC government was taking over political power, (b) examining implications of the ANC as a traditional elite party (Lodge 1983) and the policies adopted post-1994 and (c) understanding meanings of the negotiated democracy viz-a-vis the *inkululeko* that was fought for. The sudden shift from the RDP economic policy that had aimed to address these inequalities, to the GEAR economic policy that was an explicit expression of a neoliberal order just two years after the transition, implicates both the global neoliberal order and the South African government in all aspects of the post-1994 socioeconomic order. As Hart (2013) notes, the political transition coincided with external and internal pressures to push South Africa into adopting the global agenda of neoliberalism (2013). However, she further warns against the "impact model" and cautions readers to always interrogate the term "impact of globalisation" (2013: 3). This is to say readers must be cautious of understanding the impact of globalisation as a totalising effect such that we overlook other issues like national economic policies. Reading against 'the impact model', allows us to explore the role of the neoliberal order while simultaneously interrogating the role of the ANC in the transition and post-1994 economic policies, not as a passive actor, but equally as an active player in global and local politics. In exploring the everyday interactions between communities and local state representatives in Buffalo City, I argue that informal practices of corruption and patronage will always compete within a neoliberal capitalist system and present a push-back to local economic policies as a form of resistance by the poor and marginalised.

In beginning to think about spaces that allow informal practices of the state that are dubbed as 'corruption,' I take Auyero's (2000; 2012) work on Argentina as a point of departure. In *Patients of the State: the politics of waiting in Argentina*, Auyero (2012) explores the everyday workings of the bureaucracy and how it impacts on the daily lives of citizens. He argues that whenever the poor are dealing with state authorities, they are forced to endure lengthy times of waiting as they are being pushed from 'pillar to post' without getting any help (2012: 4). In

this process, Auyero argues that the Argentine state, rather than being a functional bureaucratic apparatus, becomes a powerful site of "cultural and symbolic production" that ultimately produces citizens who are *patients of the state* (2012: 6). The state defines and creates certain subjects who know that "when dealing with bureaucracies, they have to patiently comply with seemingly arbitrary, ambiguous, and always changing state requirements" (Auyero 2012: 9).

Auyero's approach to the analysis of state - society relations is useful in that it takes a relational approach that allows us to understand the construction of the image of the state at a local level drawing from everyday experiences and interactions of actors from both sides (the state and citizens). The approach does not only bring the relationship between the state and society into scrutiny, but further exposes the dysfunctionality of the state through the workings of its bureaucracy. I argue that it is within these cracks of the dysfunctionality of the state bureaucracy that we find spaces for 'informal state practices' packaged in narratives of corruption, patronage and clientelist practices.

However, as much as Auyero's (2012) approach is appealing, his ideas have their own challenges when applied to the South Africa context. As has already been noted in *Chapter 1*, the apartheid and post-1994 periods have been characterised by contestations of state power and resistance through repertoires of protest among other forms of resistance. This means that the practice of cultural production of '*patients of the state'* is not clear cut. The South African terrain is complex and contested – "challenging, charged, and contradictory" (Saul and Bond, 2014: 4). As Von Holdt (2012) reminds us, in post-apartheid South Africa, order is not stable or given, but is constantly challenged, contested and reconfigured. Auyero's analysis therefore forecloses spaces for analysing different forms of resistance and other 'informal' state practices that take shape when the state fails to deliver to its marginalised citizens – an idea theorised by Partha Chatterjee (2004) in his work on '*political society.'* I am interested in what happens when the bureaucracy fails to answer to its assumed consistency; when the state fails to play its role of distributing (limited) resources; and how citizens of Duncan Village move on with their lives as they 'wait' for the state. Perhaps Auyero's (2000) earlier work offers alternative tools for understanding narratives of corruption, clientelism and patronage politics i.e. as alternative ways of closing the gap between state bureaucracy and everyday needs of Duncan Village communities meshed with personal interests of local politicians.

In *Poor People's Politics: Peronist survival networks and the legacy of Evita,* Auyero (2000) explores clientelist networks within the Peronist political party and its supporters. He

problematises researchers' and journalistic conceptions of clientelist networks that draw from episodic experiences such as public rallies (or election campaigns as in the South African case) and concludes that they represent an unequal relationship that exists between clients and patrons where clients' support is only used for public grand standing and personal interests. Hilgers (2009) points to the important aspects in the definition of clientelism. This includes the "voluntary, dyadic arrangement in which two individuals of unequal status, who have a long-term personal relationship that may include elements of friendship and affection, engage in diffuse reciprocal exchanges of non-comparable goods and services to mutual benefit" (Hilgers, 2009: 23). In the same vein, Auyero argues that the very terms governing the analysis of clientelism are problematic as they center narratives of "flows, rational choice, and exchanges that are foreign to the logic of problem-solving enacted through clientelist networks" (2000: 23). In understanding clientelism, Auyero challenges us to abandon a view that focuses on the spectacular at the expense of the mundane:

> …the most obscure, intricate and interesting aspect…because these are to be found, not in the rally, but in the underlying ties expressed, strengthened, and sometimes even re-negotiated at the rallies and in the memories shared and future plans made there…The rally (and all other activities that take place there) dramatizes the already existing informal networks and shared cultural representations…It is one constitutive element, among many others, of on-going informal problem-solving networks meant to ensure material survival and shared cultural representations. They are important parts of everyday relationships that make up the political culture(s) in which the lives of the urban poor are embedded. They [rallies] are thus a dramatization of intricate networks, of competing histories, of multiple identities (Auyero 2000: 13-14).

Auyero's analysis of clientelist networks is important for its recognition of the strategies employed by poor residents in navigating everyday life by drawing our attention to the underlying complexities that transcend the spectacular (the rallies). Hilgers highlights the important aspects of clientelist relationships by noting that "the alliance is informal but is governed by a set of norms based on reciprocity, integrity, honour, respect and obligation" (2009: 52). As I show later in *Chapter 7,* strategies deployed by young womxn at a national conference (the spectacular) cannot be isolated from their survival strategies drawn from everyday lived experiences (the mundane). I argue that taking Auyero's work as a point of departure allows us to complicate everyday interactions between state representatives and Duncan Village communities. In a state of compromised *inkululeko*, and in a neoliberal capitalist state equipped with limited resources, how do poor communities like those of Duncan

Village navigate everyday life to ensure their survival? I argue that the strategies employed are embedded in these 'informal' state practices understood through narratives of corruption, clientelism and patronage. Paying attention to the narratives associated with these practices offers us an opportunity to understand the complexities of the state – its institutions and practices (Gupta, 1995). The following section maps narratives of transition from apartheid to the post-1994 state. It foregrounds narratives of *inkululeko* that are embedded in discourses of democracy and how these shape everyday struggles towards the realisation of *inkululeko* within a democratic dispensation.

5.3. Hopes and Betrayals: Fighting for Inkululeko and Dealing with Democracy

The history of South Africa's transition to democracy is widely documented in literature (see Bond and Garcia 2000; Alexander 2003; Von Holdt 2003; Hart 2002; 2013). The in-depth details of the transition and the negotiated settlement fall outside the scope of this chapter. Here, I am interested in the narratives of the construction of the post-1994 state through expectations of 'democracy.' Unlike the popular understanding that the democracy that was fought for has failed to deliver, I offer an alternative understanding of this transition through harnessing evidence from Duncan Village and Buffalo City which suggests that people never fought for democracy, but for *inkululeko*.

The transition period (1990 -1994) remains a mirror through which citizens look back into history, reflect on the present and imagine the future. Among these reflections, the failures of democracy and betrayal of its expectations dominate the public and scholarly debates. But what do we mean by 'betrayed promises' or 'expectations of democracy'? The response to this question is usually captured in the ANC slogan adopted during the anti-apartheid struggle - 'a better life for all.' But we have not really paid close attention to what this 'imagined' better life looks/looked like for ordinary South Africans. In 2014, I explored the meanings of this 'imagined' better life and discovered that indeed, these imaginations, while embedded in the discourses of democracy, are equally far removed from the meanings of democracy itself. While *inkululeko* is implicated in democracy as captured in the prologue of this chapter, for many residents of Buffalo City, democracy and *inkululeko* are two different things with different implications. For argument's sake, if we are to understand the differences embedded in narratives of *inkululeko* and democracy, we need to start by looking at the definitions of both words/concepts.

It is important to note that there is no exact translation for the word *inkululeko* from IsiXhosa to English. For the purpose of discussing definitions and deconstructing the notion of democracy, I have loosely translated *inkululeko* to 'freedom,' but I maintain *inkululeko* as the original term because of the need to maintain the original meaning because freedom is a loose translation. The difference between inkululeko and freedom is that inkululeko concerns specific outcomes of the liberation struggle as expected by local historians who have used the word. I prefer using *inkululeko* and not freedom to show how this *inkululeko* is framed (broadly) by certain expectations. The definition of freedom presented below does not capture all the dimensions of *inkululeko* as articulated in many interview excerpts presented in this thesis that give a detailed description of the expectations of *inkululeko* as an expected outcome of the struggle. According to the Oxford online dictionary,[32] democracy is "a *system* of government in which all the people of a country can vote to elect their representatives." It relates to "fair and equal treatment of everyone in an organization, and their right to take part in making decisions." On the other hand, the Merriam-Webster online dictionary[33] defines freedom as "the quality or state of being free: such as the absence of necessity, coercion, or constraint in choice or action." Taken from these two definitions, it is already clear that there are conceptual and theoretical differences between democracy and freedom. While the two concepts may share some of the underlying principles, it is clear that democracy is a *system* while freedom relates to individual or group freedom.

I found these differences between democracy and freedom embedded in Xhosa narratives of expectations of the post-1994 dispensation. As I show below, people of Duncan Village fought for inkululeko (freedom), yet democracy to them is something new that they had to make sense of after it had 'arrived,' as the funeral speaker puts it in the prologue. The struggle with the concept of democracy is found in the absence of the word democracy when Xhosa speakers explain the post-1994 dispensation in relation to the anti-apartheid struggles. It is only when you ask them to reflect on what democracy means in Xhosa when one finds translations such as '*imvume yokwenza izinto ngokomgaqo'* (the right to do things by law) or '*intando yesininzi'* (rule by majority). I argue that the differences embedded in these meanings cannot be taken for granted as they remain key to how the residents of Duncan Village understand the anti-apartheid struggles and expectations of the post-1994 order in relation to the negotiated

[32]https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/democracy?q=democracy
[33] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/freedom

transition that delivered 'democracy' instead of freedom. Furthermore, these differences are important in shaping post-1994 struggles and everyday politics in Duncan Village.

5.3.1. 'We Fought for Inkululeko not Democracy'

During fieldwork for this project, I asked local historians and state officials to reflect on the anti-apartheid struggles and their expectations of the outcomes. What is clear from their narratives is the absence of the word 'democracy' as they constantly referred to the struggle for *inkululeko*. Below I capture some of the responses as directly articulated by participants.

> Emveni kokuphumelela ukhetho luka 1994 itoyi-toyi eyaysuka apha uya edolophini yayingamandla kuba wonke umuntu wayeleqa uyozifumanela indlu. Sasicinga uba yiyo inkululeko, saye sayonqandwa pha edolophini yayingona sibona uba inkululeko ayiyo le esasicingba yiyo (Life history 5, Duncan Village, 12/09/2017).[34]

This local historian shows the literal understanding of *inkululeko* and what people really thought it was going to look like – "sasicinga ukuba yinkululeko and wonke umuntu uzazithathela indlu etown ahalale ngaphakathi" [we thought it was freedom and everyone was going to grab a house and occupy the city]. *Inkululeko* in this case was imagined as an immediate transformation and access to resources like housing as 'a better life for all.' The form of ultimate liberation is imagined through the physical grabbing and occupation of houses; an immediate move from the township one-roomed house or shack to bigger houses in the city. The idea of *inkululeko* as improved standards of living is shared by other local historians.

> Sasicinga sizakufumana inkululeko yonke into ibe yeyethu ngelhlobo sasimane sithenjiswa ngalo. Sasicinga sizakuba nezindlu ezinkulu kwaye nabantwana bethu bazofunda mahala bafane nabantu abamhlophe. Emveni kweminyaka engamashumi amabini ane sithathu enkululeko sisabhatala isikole ekubeni umthetho sisekelo wenkululeko wawuthi ukufunda kuyaba mahala, sisahlala ezindlini ezincinci kwaye inkululeko asiyiboni kuba

[34] In 1994 after winning the elections the toyi-toyi that came from here going to town was very serious. We were running and we were stopped up there. We thought it was *inkululeko* and everyone was going to grab a house and occupy in the city – but then that was not the case (Life history, Life history 5, Duncan Village, 12/09/2017).

> akukho ukwabelana ngantoyonke esasiku thenjisiwe (Life history 15, Duncan Village, 21/10/2017).[35]

The idea of *inkululeko* as linked to housing is further expanded by this local historian. Here we are getting a sense that *inkululeko* is not just about getting any house in town, but "very big houses…like how white people are having it." For many residents of Duncan Village, the idea of equality also assumed a material dimension and questions of access were imagined to match those of white experiences who stood as a direct comparison for oppression during the apartheid. This idea is echoed by Ekeh as he notes that during the struggle for independence, "the ordinary man was promised increased benefits that were characterised with extravagance" (1975: 103). This extravagance is echoed here as an aspiration to the lives of white people. The struggle for access to free education has been put in the spotlight through #feesmustfall protests that wracked public South African universities between 2015 and 2017 (see Chinguno et al. 2017 and Langa et al. 2017). This is to say, these promises of 'a better life for all' rooted in the Freedom Charter were expected to materialise immediately. But as many struggles have shown, these have failed to materialise.

> Lena ayiyo inkululeko endandicinga uba izakuba yiyo, andazi kwabanye abantu uba kubo injani, kum ayiyo endandiylindile. Ndandilindele uba sizakhululeka kwaye sifumane imisebenzi singakhalazi nganto. Ndandicinga uba abantwana xa begqibe umatikikiletyeni abazusokola ungena kumaziko amabanga aphakamileyo, qha ayikwazi kwenzeka lonto kubabengenayo imali yobhatala. Ndiva buhlungu ngalento kuba ayiyo inkululeko lena ngumbuso esingazi kwanto ngawo. Ngelaxesha uNelson Mandela wayelungisela uba ngumongameli wabuzwa uba uzakuliphatha njani elilizwe kuba linabantu abanintsi waphendula wathi elilizwe lityebile. Ndisabambelele kulonto nangoku, kwaye abakwazi usixelela izinto zoba awukho umhlaba wempuncuko (Life history 7, Duncan Village, 15/05/2017).[36]

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[35] We thought we were going to get *inkululeko*, to be free, to have everything like how things were being said. We thought we were going to be home owners with very big houses, and that our children will go to school for free like how white people are having it. But it was never like that, we are still paying for the education of our children because they never got that free education…Twenty-three years after democracy we are still not free because all the things that were said on the freedom charter, we have not seen them. The freedom charter had said people shall share, and that we will have big houses, but we are still living in small houses (Life history, Life history 15, Duncan Village, 21/10/2017).

[36] This is not what I expected *inkululeko* to be like. I do not know for other people, but as for me this is not what I expected. I was expecting that we will be free and not complain about many things like jobs. I was expecting that when children finish their standard 10, they would be able to proceed with their education but now they can't because they do not have money to

The question of access to resources cuts across the hopes of many. This life history echoes the disappointment over issues of unemployment and access to other resources in general, including land. This local historian implicates the late former President Nelson Mandela in failing to keep up with what he promised in the public. She notes that Mandela was asked how he was planning to manage the country that has a large population. This is to acknowledge the fact that apartheid resources and institutions were designed to cater only for a few (the whites) while the rest were excluded from the economy, a point stated by Mbaku (2000). In his response, the historian notes that Mandela alluded to the richness of the country (possibly referring to resources such as land and minerals). The local historian contends she is still holding onto that promise and she is not expecting the government to be telling people that there is no land for development.

Ideas of *inkululeko* are also not linked to the role of the struggle and dignity only, but also to the benefits for those who took part in the struggle.

> Sasicinga wonke umuntu uzakufumana umsebenzi, izindlu, qha abantu abanintsi basahlala emagalini nangoku. Izindlu zifunyanwa lulutsha endaweni yabantu abadala. Ndandicinga abantu abadala ngabo abazawqala ufumana izindlu qha ayililo elohlobo, isenza intloni thina malungu eANC kunye nombutho weANC ubona ibhokisi yesidumbu somntu omdala iphuma egalini ekubeni kumele uba unendlu (Interview with Former Councillor 4, 10/11/2014).[37]

Although the above excerpt is also speaking to basic needs like jobs and housing, the local historian is concerned about young people being the main beneficiaries while the old remain excluded – an important dynamic in patronage politics. Although he emphasises dignity (or lack of) in terms of older people dying in shacks, he also echoes the popular narrative associated

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proceed. It pains me so much because this is not *inkululeko*, but a democracy that we know nothing about…When Nelson Mandela was gearing up to become a president, he was asked how he was going to manage the people of South Africa because they are a big population. When he responded he said: "*lityebile eli lizwe*" (this country is very rich) – I am still holding on to that so they should not be telling us about all those things that there is no land for development (Life history 7, Duncan Village, 15/05/2017).

[37] We thought everyone was going to have a job, a house, but most people are still living in shacks and house beneficiaries are young people instead of the old. I was thinking that the people who were supposed to benefit are those with an experience of the struggle. It is even embarrassing for us as residents and the ANC organisation itself to see a coffin of an old person coming out of a shack, yet they are supposed to be having houses (Interview with Former Councillor 4, 10/11/2014).

with rewarding those who took part in the anti-apartheid struggle. In his words, he "was thinking that the people who were supposed to benefit are those with an experience of the struggle." It is therefore not surprising to find narratives of 'looting' that are associated with narratives of the struggle and the people's time to 'eat'- 'the politics of the belly' (Bayart 1993). Another official argues along the same lines, using the language of eating:

> Now you are saying you did not join the struggle to be poor. It is time for you to reap the benefits – what do you expect from that person? You are not going to carry out what you are expected, you just look after yourself as long as you are covered. And I think that is the mind-set of all the comrades. They have reached a point where they say we are done with the struggle and it is time for them to reward themselves for what they fought for. That was not what the struggle was all about; it was all about *inkululeko* yabantu. The struggle was about all of us sacrificing to make this country better for all – not to be rewarded in the process by being rewarded with a job as a councillor or any other post in government. Now this democracy has made people believe that the struggle was all about them. I think this is where it's gone wrong (Interview with Senior Administrator, Engineering, 20/02/2017).

The above expresses disappointments in the new dispensation. Clearly, democracy did not deliver expectations of *inkululeko* i.e. 'a better life for all', as expected by the masses. Instead, the struggle continues and everyday becomes a struggle for survival.

Commenting on the promises made by liberation movement leaders, Ekeh (1975) notes how these promises raised hopes and expectations of citizens in two different directions. On one hand, increased benefits were understood to be characterised with extravagance – a lifestyle their oppressors lead. On the other, the promise was expected to lower the 'colonial burden' i.e. duties of the common men including payment of rates and services (education and other basic necessities in the South African context) (Ekeh 1975: 103). The disappointment in the failure to meet these expectations is expressed by life history excerpts documented above, and also widely documented in literature on the post-1994 dispensation. One example of the post-1994 state coming to terms with this reality is captured by Naidoo (2007) in her work on struggles around commodification of basic services. She notes that after the democratic transition, the ANC-led government devoted its power to forming alliances with civil organisations such as SANCO that led township struggles during apartheid. These were efforts to demobilise the culture of resistance and non-payments, part of the attempt to produce a particular idea of 'responsible citizenship' (Naidoo 2007). This resonates with Ekeh's claim on expectations to lower the 'colonial burden'. As I have shown in *Chapter 6*, where the local

state encounters communities, it is demystified and given a human face. It is where someone is held responsible for some of the decisions that seem to be abstract and remain unaccounted for. Similarly, someone has to be held accountable for the failures of democracy to deliver on the expectations of *inkululeko*.

5.3.2. 'Our Government was not Ready to Govern': Colonial and Apartheid Legacies

At the funeral of an uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) veteran, one of the speakers lashed out at those who are in positions of power for having failed to provide leadership and instead focused on looting state resources. He reminded the audience of how people avoided leadership during apartheid because they were afraid of being targeted by the state police for detention, torture, or killing. He lamented how people are now fighting for positions because leading today has benefits. He wished things could go back to the apartheid state of affairs where leadership was a commitment with no gains. One local official, commenting on conflict between administrators and politicians and expressing his disappointment on how councillors are carrying themselves, echoed the same sentiments:

> Where it went wrong, back in the apartheid the councillors were not full-time employees of council. They donated their time and received stipends for the day-to-day running. So to be a councillor was not an enrichment exercise, you were there because you were willing to assist your community and you were being reimbursed for your expenses used for carrying out those duties. Post-1994, being a councillor has become a career and councillors get paid so much, even above an average person. As a result, the calibre of the people that we have are not people-orientated. Some, if not all, are self-orientated. A person is here to make money. Once that passion disappears, you are only here to look after yourself irrespective of the fact that you were taking to the streets before 1994 (Interview with Senior Administrator, Engineering, 20/03/2017).

According to many narratives in the field in relation to how the people in leadership have carried out the duty of distributing public goods, it would seem like the people who are leading have forgotten where they come from (the struggle), or as some put it, the leaders are prioritising their needs over those of communities. The participant cited above raises the issue of serving in council as a public duty. However, I also note the role of the 'puppet councillors' that were used by the apartheid regime to inflict injustices on black-against-blacks in the township. Those were later targeted by community protests and forced to resign. Those who

resisted had their houses burnt down. While there were gains associated with serving the apartheid government, there were also risks associated with being on the other side of communities.

Nonetheless, the participant cited above echoes some of the issues that I raise in *Chapter 6* in terms of the role of councillors and how the current economic situation has turned the state into the primary employer, a problem produced by what Hart (2013: 6) has theorised as '*de-nationalisation.'* This underscores the contribution of white monopoly capital in widespread unemployment through disinvestment in the country's economy and the failure to contribute in creating job opportunities. As a result, Buffalo City, like other municipalities across the country, has become the principal employer (Mukwedeya 2015). For this official, contestations around council positions show how being a councillor has become a preoccupation about one's career and need for survival more than community service. However, as evidence shows later in the chapter, the situation is more complex than this oversimplification.

Commenting on the prevalence of protests, one former councillor noted how the people entrusted with leadership have abandoned the mission and focused on their self-interests. According to this participant, if the people in leadership had carried their mandate, people would not be where they are by now; lives would have improved.

> Iinkokheli zethu azisikhokheli ngalendlela inintsi lethu lalilindele ngayo. Bashintshile kuba inintsi lethu sasicinga asizuphinda silambe kuba sikhululekile, sasicinga uba inkululeko izawgqiba indlala. Ngamashumi amabini eminyaka sakhululeka qha ushintsho luseluncinci. Enyanisweni sasingathi urhulumeni acofe iqhotsha yonke into ilunge, sasifuna kube bhetere kunoku. Umzekelo imfundo sasithi iyoba yeyamahala njengokuba umthetho sisekelo wawusitsho qha aykenzeki lonto kwaye isazothatha ixesha uba yenzeke (Interview with Former Councillor 4, 10/11/2014).[38]

[38] The people who are leading did not go according to the way that we expected as the masses. They have moved because we thought that since we are free no one will go hungry, we thought that people were at the centre of the struggle. Twenty years after democracy things have not changed that much although there are slight changes. Of course we were not expecting that the government will press a button and everything be ok, but we were expecting some improvements. We had thought that for example education will be free as per the freedom charter, but it did not happen and we know that it is still going to take time until that happens (Interview with Former Councillor 4, 10/11/2014).

While the local historian blames those in leadership, he also acknowledges that they did not expect change overnight, but at least that there will be some improvements. While evidence provided in this section points to the betrayal and failure by those who are in leadership positions to translate the fruits of 'democracy' into tangible benefits, for some the problem is deeper than that. They point to the legacies of colonialism and apartheid, on how the negotiated transition turned out and what it meant for those taking over the country. This is perhaps an important argument to consider given that democracy was negotiated or 'imposed' as some of the participants contend.

Some of these sentiments have already been echoed above in how Mandela told the journalists that the country was rich with enough resources to look after its citizens. However, some of the officials believe that these promises were made before there was adequate assessment of resources. As one official explaining the prevalence of protests in Buffalo City notes:

> Unfortunately, in 1994 people made unrealistic promises and those [protesting] communities are holding the government to those promises that they made. You promised us this, you promised there will be no shacks by 2014, you promised there will be no bucket toilets by 2011 so why are we still having bucket toilets in our communities? So it is dangerous to make promises before you assess what needs to be done and what resources are at your disposal. That is why we have service delivery protests because people are just frustrated (Interview with Senior Administrator, Engineering, 20/03/2017).

This local official argues that through these unrealistic promises, the government shot itself in the foot because it was dangerous making promises without knowing how much resources were at the disposal of the state. This is so because the apartheid transition would further entrench the economic power into the hands of a minority while only giving Black people political power. He continues:

> With post-apartheid protests, the government shot themselves on the foot. They promised people what they could not deliver. And as soon as you make promises you raise expectations from the people. Instead of levelling with the people and say ok – this is the mountain that we have to climb but we will climb it in piecemeal. This is what we can deliver in 5 years, 10 years, 15 years, and 20 years…(Interview with Senior Administrator, Engineering, 20/03/2017).

The local official agrees with some of the sentiments shared by residents of Duncan Village that the promises of *inkululeko* have not been realised. He acknowledges the fact that the

leading elites had no idea of how many resources were available and he blames them for not being able to communicate these setbacks once they were in power. This would have allowed the leaders to be on the same page with communities they are accountable to. Perhaps this is the dilemma captured by Ekeh on promises and expectations of independence. He argues that these "promises may have been honestly made in some cases because of the limited experience of the African bourgeois class; but in many other instances they were made to discredit the alien colonizer, and to win the allegiance of the ordinary man" (Ekeh 1975: 103). The situation was further worsened by how the negotiated settlement that left economic power in the hands of the previously advantaged, while continuing to exclude the previously marginalised groups.

In addition to the lack of knowledge in assessing available resources, there exists another complexity in the South African experience and postcolonial Africa broadly. In colonial governments (apartheid included), state resources and institutions were designed to cater for the white minority while the majority were excluded. Thinking about taking over power meant that the ruling elite were also supposed to think about how they were going to expand institutions and capacitate them to be able to serve larger populations. Also, importantly, Ekeh (1957) argues that perhaps some of these promises were made to discredit the colonial (and apartheid) regimes. However, as the participant notes above, after coming into power post-1994 (and post- independence in general), the ruling elites did not take the responsibility to correct the mistakes they made during the struggle. Instead, they continue to make more promises as part of election campaign strategies. Furthermore, the economic policies adopted have been at most a clear commitment to neoliberal capitalism (or a home-grown Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) as it came to be understood after the adoption of GEAR in South Africa) (Bond 2000; Hart 2001).

However, for others, the problem of lack of service delivery is more complex than lack of assessment of resources. Despite the promises made and failures to meet expectations, legacies of colonialism and apartheid remain key in understanding systems of governance and what it means to take services to the people. One conversation worth quoting at length captures this complexity.

> Our government was not ready to govern. We were only fighting so that sizokwazi ukukhululeka, ukuhamba edrophini, now that if you are told to take services to the people you have to figure out how to do it. Even the posts; we black people were only responsible for making tea or drivers, not on office levels. We only got the chance from 1994, but the whites have been here since 1652, therefore they knew what they were doing. From 1994 until now

> you are only trying to figure out things such that you have to read for other people and make it clear for them. Not everybody who is elected by communities knows, because there is nothing that says in order to be a councillor you need to have standard 10, unyulwa ngabahlali ukuba ukwazi ukuthetha. But when you get here to the council things are different…Even if utata uZuma can say it on his January 8 speech that these are the priorities, but the people that are deployed to the local government if they cannot read, what are they going to do? Officials will still write what they want to write and mind you the officials above us are still those from the apartheid system and their job has not changed, it is to supress black people that is why I am saying we were not ready to govern. Because we did not study to become engineers, it is only now that we have children who are able to be engineers who can make sure that we are not robbed. We also need to learn supply chain that is still run by white people because we never studied for that. We were only trained as teachers and police but still we were teaching children but not in administration…That is why I am saying we were not ready to govern but we are governing anyway. It will be alright as time goes on so abantu mabangasingxami, mababekezele, siyasifunda nge mistakes zethu then sikwazi ukulungisa amaphutha laphaya because idemocracy yasuke yathi gqi! We were thinking that by this time our army would have been trained and we will be ready to go to the war so that we are able to take over the country and work towards attaining our freedom, maybe others starting to study physical science and some sent to Cuba to study medicine. We thought they will be done by then but as they are coming back it was late because we were already governing (Interview with Senior Administrator, Public Participation, 13/08/2014).

This conversation excerpt provides some insights into the complexity and multi-layeredness of the post-1994 state on how nationalists attained 'democracy' while they were 'not ready to govern' as understood by some of the local officials in Buffalo City. This view is in line with many views that are shared by local participants who believe that there were too many challenges presented by the transition making it difficult for the ANC to govern as presented in this chapter. The above local official raises three important issues that are key in understanding the current crisis. Firstly, the legacies of colonialism and apartheid remain significant in understanding the ability of officials to distribute public goods. She notes that during colonialism and apartheid, Black people were relegated to the service industry such that teaching and policing were only professions reserved for Black people while the white people have been governing since 1652. This speaks to centuries of experience in running the country, politically and economically. Black people are now only coming into administration and supply chain – services crucial for running the state in general, and it is only now that children are being sent to study critical skills such as engineering. Understood within this lens, this also has

some implications on the experiences of post-1994 public personnel and the related tasks of public service.

Secondly, the participant notes the continuity of this legacy in regard to the importance of literacy in understanding state documents. She argues that there is no rule that says people who are deployed to local government must be literate as they are elected by their communities based on their ability to articulate community struggles. Yet, the officials who are drafting policies remain the same i.e. those from apartheid whose mandate has not changed - "to oppress Black people." Putting it in Xhosa, she dramatises the arrival of democracy: "Idemocracy yasuke yathi gqi" while we were still fighting for *inkululeko*. Evidence presented throughout this chapter has shown what this statement means in concrete terms. As most of the literature cited here has shown, the negotiated democracy was a strategic plan by the apartheid government and the negotiating stakeholders.

Finally, the local official argues that with all these factors in place, the post-1994 government was not ready to govern. She echoes most of the sentiments shared in this section about meanings of democracy amidst the struggle for *inkululeko*; "…so that we can walk freely and have access to all spaces, hoping that we were still going to send our doctors to Cuba for training so that they come back home to take over the country." Yet, the suddenness of democracy meant that once oppressed South Africans found ourselves governing, albeit with no idea on how to take services to the people. She ends this discussion by stating that people should be patient as the government continues to figure out things. These sentiments are shared by one of the senior politicians commenting on corruption and looting: "We are new in these things and we never trained to run a country, to control our resources, we thought ukuthi sizophatha ngezandla zethu iresources zethu" (Life history with Senior Politician, BCMM, 04/05/2017).

While the senior politician is condemning corruption and looting, similarly, she echoes the idea of not being ready to govern through the control of resources in governing. Using Xhosa, she dramatises how the idea of ukuphatha in its literal sense is manifested in the everyday running of the state, "sizophatha ngezandla zethu iresources" meaning that those in power were never trained to govern. People assumed that governing literally meant holding resources in their hands, hence rampant corruption and looting.

Again, Ekeh's work is useful for understanding the complexity of the post-1994 order and the implications of the outcomes of democracy. He argues that "if we are to capture the spirit of African politics we must seek what is unique in them" (Ekeh 1975: 111). He is persuaded that the colonial experience provides that 'uniqueness.' Mbaku blames the failure of the postcolonial states to address the inequalities of the past on the processes of preparing colonial states for independence. Using the case of the French departure from Guinea in 1958, he argues that in most colonies, the process was controlled and dominated by colonisers and a few indigenous elites who were already Europeanised, without making any efforts to "adequately prepare the Africans to effectively manage the post-independence society" (Mbaku 2000: 147-8). Although the apartheid government did not necessarily destroy the infrastructure, some of the arguments by Ekeh and Mbaku remain relevant in understanding the negotiated settlement in South Africa.

The material presented thus far shows how the democratic transition has been and is understood by South African ordinary citizens, politicians and administrators of Duncan Village and Buffalo City at large. What I can conclude thus far is that the anticipated outcomes have not been met. For others, there are people to blame for the failures of lack of transformation, yet lives are supposed to move on. It therefore becomes imperative to explore ways in which residents are making sense of the outcomes of the democratic transition as they navigate their everyday lives.

This chapter is concerned with everyday making of the state and how ordinary citizens navigate livelihoods through their everyday encounters with the state (representatives). The important question is: Now that the anti-apartheid struggle is over and the (imposed) democracy has set in, what do citizens make out of this democracy and what does it mean for their unrealised struggles for *inkululeko* twenty-five years after? I argue that the answers are to be found in the narratives that are directly attached to meanings of democracy rather than those of the expectations of *inkululeko*. The following section explores meanings and implications of democracy for the continued struggles for the realisation of *inkululeko*.

5.4. The Unmaking and Remaking of Democracy

Despite the failures of democracy to deliver the expected *inkululeko*, the democratic dispensation provided a space for contestation. Although the lives of the ordinary people have

not changed to expected proportions, democracy has provided a space – a *battlefield* to continue the struggle for *inkululeko*. This is not to argue that the apartheid social order was not challenged or contested. However, the democratic settlement has important implications for institutionalised racism and segregations as carried by the apartheid state as outlined by the South African constitution. This means that post-1994, business cannot continue as usual. People can question things, they can challenge the state and they can hold someone responsible. This does not mean this contestation has a complete autonomy from the powerful state actors and how they shape the direction of the struggle. This is because the state continues to use its institutions and machinery to shape the direction of the debates, and to control protests and dissent.

Commenting on the mushrooming of shacks in Duncan Village, one local official echoed some of the ideas that I captured in *Chapter 4* in relation to the struggles between *inzalelwane* and *abantu bokufika*. When asked about the existence of shacks – something that they are against, some of *inzalelwane* noted that one of the disasters presented by the post-1994 order in their township was the arrival of democracy that brought shacks along with it. Expressing a similar view, but not necessarily associating shacks with negativity, the local official also explained the mushrooming of the shacks as an expression of democracy:

> There was no squatting during apartheid because the apartheid government did not tolerate squatting. This all came with democracy. If the government cannot deliver services, people will take for themselves. The government promised people houses and now people are told that there is no land, but you see an empty land and you are told it is private land. In a democracy, people have agency and they can take land for themselves. You see all these shacks around here, this is democracy, people are taking for themselves (Interview with Senior Administrator, Housing, 27/02/2017).

The participant quoted above also echoes the failures of the government to meet expectations of the people post-1994. Interestingly, she further points out how people engage in 'self-help' by grabbing pieces of land and occupying despite the government telling them that there is no land. She acknowledges the agency of the people who are holding the state accountable by taking up services for themselves. For this participant, democracy has provided a space where people can forcefully occupy land and protest to demand basic services. As one of the former councillors once noted:

> This thing of informal settlements, people can just build for themselves (*umuntu uvele azakhele*), they are using force to build in some areas. Then as a result the government has to provide services because people are already there; water, ablutions, and currently we are giving them electricity so that at least they have basic services. However, they did not wait for the government to do that, they do it by force and some of them over night. I think the life here is around that. I do not want to use that thing of correct of incorrect because people are surviving, but I am not sure on how to put it (Former ward councilor 4, 04/08/2014).

This does not mean that during apartheid people did not forcefully occupy land. However, the point is that the state response to squatting post-1994 is different. Post-1994, the level of violent state response to squatting is different from that of the apartheid state. Most importantly, the participant notes how the government is left with limited choice to make basic services accessible when people have already settled on occupied land. While some of these services like pre-paid electricity metres have to be paid for, the municipality cannot force residents to pay for the provision of water using standpipes.

Some officials have noted how post-1994 'democracy' has allowed people to reject services that they are not consulted about and how they continue to hold the state responsible for its duties.

> In the 1980s there was no freedom – there was no democracy. Today there is democracy even though *singakakhululeki.*[39] That time decisions were taken by a circle of minority who will tell you to do things no matter you like it or not. But today, it is people who make decisions – for instance you cannot build a house without consulting the community and they must approve the development plan. They also have a right to stop the project if they are not happy about processes. So in apartheid, things were done whether you wanted or not. You would be moved to wherever they decided to put you. These days you have to consult people, educate them, and reason with them - and they still have a right to say no I am not moving…Democracy and what is called rights, says that if you are not satisfied you have to knock at the office – because even the constitution prescribe basic services (Interview with Administrator, Human Settlements, 22/02/2017).

The participant above draws a sharp contrast between the apartheid and the post-1994 order showing how during apartheid the government imposed decisions like forced removals on people without consultation and consent. He draws our attention to how decisions were made by a minority yet affected the majority of the population. This has implications on the meanings of democracy as not only a *system* of majority rule, but also as a contestation or a *battlefield*.

[39] A process of being free, taken from *inkululeko*

Post-1994, democracy means that people will have a say on how they are governed. This is not to argue that all decisions are taken with consultation, rather, it is to acknowledge the space for contestation and challenge presented by the 'democratic' space. For this participant, democracy means that people have the right to challenge even projects that are happening in their communities even when they are not satisfied with the processes. This has been very visible in the relocation processes where people are relocated to places they have not approved (see *Chapter 3* for a discussion on rejected iGoli flats) and they find that the new settlements are trampling on their dignity or undermine their means of survival. One relocation officer noted:

> The other challenge has to do with people resisting to be relocated. They will tell you that they will not be able to move away from the amenities like schools, clinics, shopping complexes. Most of our houses are not human settlements; they are built as houses without amenities and services that people usually get from where they were staying. Sometimes these grievances are justified because you will find that you are relocating someone that you found unemployed, you move them about 15 km away from where their children would move from the shack and go straight to school but now they are supposed to have money for transport to get to school. Also employment – you move them from places where they would wake up in the morning *bahambe bayofola* but now when it is 10-15 km away they cannot do the same because they do not have transport money to go and look for piece jobs. Democracy allows people to say 'No, I don't want to move to Chicken Farm, and then they can complete a form with the housing department stating that they are swapping their house for someone who wants to move. But you would not find that during apartheid because there was no consultation – people were just being moved. Of course they would resist, at a cost, but there were no negotiations. (Interview with Administrator, Human Settlements, 22/02/2017).

This shows how residents can refuse to be relocated if the place they are being moved to does not meet the 'expected' human settlement standards. 'Democracy' allows people to refuse to be dehumanised and to have their situation worsened by the relocation process. As one participant who refused to be relocated noted in a focus group discussion: "As for us if umuntu unikwa indlu sicinga uba kuphuculwa ulife wakhe, ngoku kutheni kuzaphinda kufane?" (*…when someone is being given a house, we assume that their life is being improved, so why would the house look dangerous as a shack?)* (Focus Group Discussion, Area 8, 24/07/2014). This participant notes that she refused to move to the new iGoli houses[40] that were of poor quality because in her belief, when someone is being moved from a shack to a house, their life

[40] See Ndhlovu (2015) for a detailed discussion on the iGoli housing project.

is supposed to be improved. She did not understand how they were expected to be moved to a place that reproduces the same precariousness.

From the evidence presented above, what can be learnt is that for the residents of Duncan Village and Buffalo City, democracy is not held accountable for the failures to address the inequalities of the past. However, it provides a space for contestation, questioning, and resistance with the backing of the constitution. Residents of poor communities are able to use the provided space to contest some of the things they believe to continue to undermine their dignity and expose them to further dangers like poor quality houses.

In post-1994 South Africa, the 'democratic' space can be understood as a site of contestation – a *battlefield* where power dynamics are not a reflection of pure state domination through top-down policies, but what Appadurai (2001) conceptualises as "*governmentality from below"*. Von Holdt (2013) argues that the democratic transition gave birth to a constitution that created space for policy innovations as well as contestation over the meaning and interaction of the various rights while attempting to subject these processes to the rule of law. This means that the new institutions offered new forms of engagement where citizens could hold the state accountable for its promises. Naidoo (2007) notes that the delivery of free basic services became a site of immense struggle between poor communities and the state after poor communities around the country began to experience in their everyday lives the immediate effects of the adoption of neoliberal policies in the form of cut-offs from water and electricity and evictions for not paying for these resources.

Furthermore, protests that have characterised the post-1994 period reveal the complicated nature of democracy, which is far from being understood as an end in itself, but a platform that allows for further struggles towards the realisation of *inkululeko*. The characterisation of post-1994 protests as "*a rebellion of the poor"* (Alexander 2010) and the rejection of poor quality houses as presented above, reveal the complex, intricate, and complicated nature of democracy where marginalised citizens refuse to settle for the 'imposed' democracy but rather use it as a space for contestation of what they believe to be their rights. Where marginalised citizens have felt that they continue to be ignored, they burn public buildings and property of local state representatives to express their discontent as a "*smoke that calls"* (Von Holdt et al. 2011) to make sure they force those who are in power to recognise them and respond to their grievances.

Other than taking to the streets in protest, some residents have undermined the bureaucratic power of the state by using their networks to access state resources, thereby refusing to be subordinated to it. Benit-Gbaffou and Oldfield argue, in their work on everyday practices and politics of accessing the state in cities of the South, that state-society relations are characterised by expectations and experiences that co-exist with "everyday practices of negotiation, seeking of favours, and clientelism" (2011: 445). Furthermore, they argue that these practices also shape ways in which local residents access state resources (ibid). Chlore Buire also demonstrates the role played by sub-councillors as another platform for residents to be heard, to access the state, or to develop personal relationships with decision makers in Cape Town. She argues that sub-council processes can be appropriated and manipulated by local residents for their own benefits (Buire 2011). Similarly, Rubin (2011) explores the relationship between low-income residents and local administrative services in Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni. She argues that corruption and favours may constitute a 'space of hope' for residents awaiting access to state benefits in a context of slow service delivery (Rubin 2011). This highlights the complexity of the concept of democracy when applied to contexts of specific histories of dispossession structured by colonialism and apartheid like South Africa. Below I explore how conceptions of democracy as a *battlefield*, contradictions between the western conception of the state and local realities, neoliberal capitalism and the ANC's economic policies and factional politics structure everyday interactions between members of Duncan Village communities and their local state representatives as they continue their struggle for *inkululeko*.

5.5. Towards an Alternative Means of Survival Approach?

Drawing from the arguments made thus far, I argue that narratives of corruption, patronage and clientelism are embedded in the complex ways in which local administrators, local politicians and communities navigate the realities of compromised inkululeko while dealing with the meanings and implications of democracy. I propose an alternative approach of reading corruption from below and argue that narratives of corruption, patronage and clientelism, when explored from the margins of society, represent an *alternative means of survival'*(AMS) for the marginalised – for both local state representatives and residents of Duncan Village.

I begin this section by presenting three different cases of particular activities that have bordered on narratives of corruption, patronage and clientelism. These three cases were documented between 2016 and 2018, and I followed up for some updates in 2019. Although these cases

form part of the public narrative in Duncan Village, I maintain the anonymity of the individuals involved in the cases. While I use each case to illustrate a separate concept, this does not suggest that these cases speak to specific situations which they have been used to illustrate. As I show by drawing across three cases, in making some of the arguments, these cases can mean different things in different settings; some of the events discussed overlap and sometimes complement each other.

In *Blurred Boundaries: the discourses of corruption, the culture of politics, and the magined state'*, Akhil Gupta (1995) complicates the relationship between corruption and the culture of politics. He notes that by definition, corruption is already posed as a violation of norms and standards of conduct. By defining corruption along these lines, a sense of accountability is already implied because if one is to abide by 'norms' and 'standards,' they equally have to be accountable. Gupta argues that however messed up this discourse of the violation of norms and standards can be, it remains embedded in social relations as well as in the state. He notes that certain officials can be vilified for failing to fulfil the obligations of their kinsmen or village brothers when they fail to provide support through provision of resources to their communities. On the other hand, an official from another village can be condemned and accused of being corrupt and guilty of encouraging nepotism if they are seen doing the same in another village. These complexities and contradictions are captured in the prologue of this chapter that looks at how the late comrade is being remembered in contradicting ways.

Mbaku (2000) poses an important question on corruption narratives around the violation and undermining of these 'norms'. He asks: "Whose norms would be used to determine if the public trust has been betrayed? What criteria would be used to determine if any activity is corrupt?" (Mbaku 2000: 9-13). The complexity of corruption narratives and its embeddedness in social relations makes it an important window through which to explore everyday state-society relations in Buffalo City.

In recognition of the contradictions within narratives of corruption, Blundo, de-Sardan, Arifari, and Alou (2006) prefer to adopt the concept "complex of corruption" – a concept that is far removed from the legal definition. They point us to two faces of corruption: the overtly illegal and broadly condemned on the one hand, and the socially accepted practices that are legitimised albeit unofficially on the other. They argue that understanding corruption is an initial step towards understanding the multi-layered state and its administrative institutions and processes. Therefore, for Blundo et al., "Any study of corruption is also a study of practices which exist

beyond corruption, but are functionally, structurally or culturally closely related to it." "The corrupt exchange is not separable from other similar or closely related forms of exchange involving social capital as opposed to economic capital" (Blundo et al. 20016: 12). Below I explore narratives of corruption, patronage and clientelism as part of the strategies employed by both local state representatives and communities to navigate their livelihood as they continue to struggle for the realisation of *inkululeko*.

5.5.1. Case One: Towards an Idea of 'Selective Service Delivery'

As part of the norm, during local government elections candidates are given some resources to strengthen their campaigns. In one of the wards in Duncan Village, there were two council candidates campaigning for the 2016 local government elections. As expected, one candidate lost and the other one proceeded to become a ward councillor. Some of the evidence presented to me (with some copies) suggests that the candidate who won the elections had actually lost the public vote through the ward's annual general meeting. However, it is important to note the role of the political atmosphere as this was just less than eighteen months to the ANC national congress to elect the incoming ANC president, which meant that it was important to prioritise consolidating political factions over the majority vote of the branch members. As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, the battle lines were already drawn and factions were consolidating their powers through local branches.

The ward in question happened to be one where there was no trusted candidate preferred by the regional faction. On one hand, the first candidate who lost (henceforth – candidate one) was a councillor before and had broken ranks with political 'gurus'[41] of the province. On the other hand, the other candidate who won (henceforth candidate two) was notorious for public shaming and calling out corrupt practices during her term as the ANC branch chairperson. However, the political players had to reach a compromise and lobby one of the candidates to their side to consolidate power dynamics in the province. The councillor who won the elections through whatever controversial means[42] was eventually made the ward councillor.

During the campaigns, both candidates were given wheel-bins to distribute to their supporters, but as expected – and argued elsewhere in this thesis in relation to limited resources, the wheel-

[41] Politicians with power and influence.
[42] https://www.dispatchlive.co.za/news/2016-07-26-anc-supporters-at-war-over-candidate/ Accessed: 13/09/2019

bins were not enough for everyone in the ward. Candidate one took the wheel-bins and distributed them to his firm supporters. For candidate two, she was already aware that she had been lobbied to become the ward councillor and this meant that after the elections, she had the responsibility to unite the ward divided by election campaigns. This meant that she did not only have to bring together ANC factions, but also communities from other political parties. As noted, the wheel-bins were not enough for everyone, so it only made sense for her to keep the bins and wait to get more so that she can distribute to everyone.

The case of the wheel-bins was later to dominate public contestations (see footnote 42 above) where those who did not receive the bins accused candidate two for incompetence and keeping bins for her friends and supporters. Candidate one was accused of patronage (within the mainstream understandings of patronage – perhaps the accusations were valid) because he only distributed bins to his firm supporters. The important point to note is the fact that the bins were not enough for the entire ward, even when combined with the ones from candidate two. Candidate one was still expected by those who did not receive the bins to distribute to everyone, yet candidate two was bashed for failing to distribute what she had because her reasoning (sensible for an incoming leader) was that she needs to provide for everyone.

As noted, candidate one had been a councillor before and his term had been marred by accusations of corruption scandals that included major housing projects[43] (see Ndhlovu 2015). When I returned to Duncan Village a few days after the 2016 local government elections, I spoke to residents who in 2014 were accusing candidate one of stealing their houses and giving them to his friends. I was intrigued to see the renewed energy and support for a candidate they once vilified. When I asked them if they think he has changed from his corrupt ways, one community member did not attempt to mince her words, "wathatha izindlu zethu wazinika ichomi zakhe. Ngoku sifuna abuyise ezozindlu ngolohlobo ayezithethe ngalo" [he took our houses and gave them to his friends. Now we want him to use the same strategy to give us [our] houses] (Local historian, Florence Street, 16/08/2016).

The case presented above represents one of the many cases of the everyday functioning of the state at a local level. In the same vein, the practices of the two councillors border on narratives of patronage, clientelism and corruption as the case has demonstrated. In this case, I argue that

[43] https://www.dispatchlive.co.za/news/2016-02-16-expelled-former-anc-councillor-qebeyi-could-make-return-to-chambers/Accessed:13/09/2019.

actions of candidate two may be understood through the framework of democracy and practices of a 'functional' state. The candidate is already aware that she will be the ward councillor and therefore has a burden to unite the ward i.e. both political groupings within the ANC and different political parties in the ward. The spectator of 'good governance' is therefore inclined to imagine that it is wise for her to keep the bins until she secures enough for everyone. On the other hand, candidate one may be understood to be operating according to the realities on the ground that demand that he assess the situation and consider 'shared norms and values' of his community, and by extension, his supporters. Yet, candidate one is still accused of patronage, while candidate two is accused for incompetence. This paradox is presented in the prologue of this chapter in which other comrades believed that the deceased comrade was disciplined and held the ethics and conduct of service delivery, while others strongly believed that "people cannot eat ethics."

In his work on 'patients of the state' cited above, Auyero (2012) shows how the state makes ordinary citizens run from pillar to post and wait for services until they become disciplined citizens – '*patients of the state.'* Since the work of Von Holdt (2013) has shown that this assumed relationship or order is contested, how do Duncan Village residents who have been waiting for wheel-bins since the last local government elections in 2011 deal with the situation presented above? In her work on clientelism from the clients' perspectives, Tina Hilgars (2009) make reference to scholarly views which perceive clientelism as undermining the functioning of democratic institutions and the emphasis on the gap created by the current democratic capitalist system, an argument elaborated by Auyero (2000) at length (see *section 5.2*). She argues that the current democratic capitalist system remains imperfect in distributing public goods to the poor who consequently turn to their personal networks for access (Hilgars 2009). The case presented above can be understood within this line of argument. In a neoliberal capitalist order where state resources are not enough for everyone, how then do those tasked with the responsibility to distribute the limited resources proceed?

I argue that the answer to the above question is to be found in the everyday state practices when we shift our understanding of the clash between service delivery 'ethics' and realities on the ground. I therefore propose that instead of understanding lack of services as lack of service delivery, we should consider the idea of '*selective service delivery.'* The idea/concept of '*selective service delivery'* acknowledges the scarcity of state resources as presented in the above case study. However, from the actions of candidate two, one learns that principle of

fairness that is expected to guide ward councillors, when applied to poor communities structured by histories of dispossession and inequality, becomes inadequate to deal with the realities on the ground. From actions of candidate one, one sees that the problem is not necessarily lack of services; the wheel-bins were distributed, but *selectively*. His decision to distribute the bins selectively can be justified, not only on (collective) moral grounds, but also on the reality of the situation. The wheel-bins were not enough, and candidate one distributed them *selectively* according to what his political ambitions would allow him. I argue that poor communities of South Africa are not necessarily faced with the problem of lack of service delivery, but of '*selective service delivery'* given the realities presented by the global neoliberal order and the ANC's economic policies. While the actions of candidate one points to the idea of '*selective service delivery,'* there is also another dimension of his actions which is strategically aligned with his political ambitions of becoming a ward councillor. The following case explores some of the strategic dimensions of service delivery.

5.5.2. Case Two: Towards an Idea of 'Strategic Service Delivery'

In 2014, one of the informal settlements in Duncan Village had a situation where a womxn was electrocuted by illegal electrical wires from the 'illegal' connections, leaving more than fifty households without access to electricity.[44] In 2017, residents demanded that the municipality install a transformer. It did not last because of its small size which resulted in it being overloaded and ultimately bursting. In 2018, the battle for access to electricity ensued once again as residents from the informal settlement continued to take electricity from the transformer of *ezindlini*. In April 2018, a street light caught fire, once again leaving about 100 households without electricity. In August 2018, residents demanded that the municipality restore the transformer so that they can access electricity "whether izinyoka (illegal connections) or not."[45] Tired of these tensions, the ward councillor approached the municipality and demanded that they install a transformer for *abantu basemagalini* (people from the shacks) so that they could lessen the burden on rate payers.[46]

[44]https://www.groundup.org.za/article/illegal-electricity-connections-leave-duncan-village-residents-dark-again/Accessed:20/09/2019.
[45]https://www.groundup.org.za/article/east-london-residents-demand-illegal-electricity-connection-be-restored/; Accessed:20/09/2019.
[46]https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/east-london-residents-demand-that-electricity-connections-be-restored-20180814;Accessed: 20/09/2019.

Local residents maintain that in late 2018 the councillor called a ward meeting where she directed *abahlali basemagalini* (shack dwellers) to the new transformer and warned them against connecting on rate-payers' transformers. She further assured the rate-payers that they will no longer be bothered by illegal connections. The councillor in question is well-known for her uncompromising character and strong leadership skills proven by her track record in her third term council position. Some have accused her of corruption and patronage, yet she has maintained that her support comes from township communities and therefore she must be accountable by making sure that everyone has access to services. It is important to note that this is not the only ward that is experiencing problems with 'illegal' connections that put pressure on rate-payers. However, the negotiating skills, connections in the municipality, and the problem-solving skills of the councillor should be commended for managing to resolve these tensions.

In *Chapter 4,* I showed how Duncan Village is mostly divided along *inzalelwane* and *abantu bokufika*, among other divisions. However, at the center of these struggles there are still politicians who are tasked with uniting these communities when they become ward councillors. As an ANC councillor who is also faced with community challenges from those who refuse to recognise womxn in leadership positions (see *Chapter 7* for a detailed discussion of womxn struggles in communities), how is such a councillor expected to bridge all these divisions? I argue that the answer to this question can be found in some of the strategies employed and deployed by local councillors in distributing limited public goods.

Drawing on experiences from land registration practices in '*gray*' settlements in South Africa, Margot Rubin (2018) argues that the divergences from the norms cannot be simply understood as a failure of the state institutions or practices of corruption. In fact, sometimes there are no legal regulations or prescriptions that exist to cater for informality (2018: 2228). Chatterjee makes a distinction between civil society and political society. He argues that the principles of civil society cannot be applied to illegal populations who are deemed 'illegal' because they have violated norms of property by squatting and hawking on public lands. The state therefore deals with these populations through a range of 'paralegal' arrangements that involve the 'bending and stretching of rules' to accommodate those that fall outside the definition of legality (2004: 73). Understood through this lens, the challenges faced by informal communities and struggles over access to electricity would therefore be associated with their

informality and lack of rules that govern informal practices. However, the case presented above poses a challenge that extends beyond the understanding of the workings of political society.

In her work on accessing water and the state in Mumbai and Johannesburg, Zainab Bawa (2011) reminds us that the idea of state practices cannot be separated from the lived realities of communities and state bureaucrats who are responsible for serving communities. She argues that "in cities, water flows not only via pipelines but also through intricate webs of social, political, and economic networks underlying the distribution system" (Bawa 2011: 491). In her study of municipal administrations in metropolitan cities in India, Pinto points out ways in which councillors sometimes have to bypass rules in order to solve urgent matters in their constituencies. For Pinto, this is not only because councillors are anxious to account to their constituencies, but because they are aware of the bureaucratic obstacles in delivering services to informal communities (2000: 113). Bawa contends that these actions of councillors cannot be detached from their "personal backgrounds and economic interests, as well as the pressures and influences of the constituencies that have supported their elections" (2011: 498).

The case presented above shows how community struggles, tensions, and needs for services are a constant negotiation between the needs of communities and political ambitions that are mediated through particular skills, networks and strategies. In fact, throughout Buffalo City, shack dwellers access electricity through 'illegal' connections or prepared electricity metres dispatched through the project for the electrification of shacks that is currently being rolled out in Duncan Village (see Ndhlovu 2015). For a councillor to be able to provide a transmitter for shack dwellers, there is need for special skills and connections within the municipality – reflecting in this case too what is argued by Bawa (2011).

I argue that the strategy employed by the ward councillor in the above case to her constituency shows that service delivery can also be *strategic*. The case demonstrates that where the state cannot provide access to electricity for informal settlements, '*strategic service delivery'* can be employed to negotiate access. There are not enough services for everyone, therefore while other sections of the township are experiencing lack of services, there is a '*strategic service delivery'* practice running parallel with this lack. To say there are no services or there is lack of service delivery is to recuse the government from its role to provide electricity and to underplay the role of neoliberalism in undermining access to basic services, and thereby undermining strategies of those who are making access to electricity possible, while overlooking experiences of those who access services through '*strategic service delivery.'*

5.5.3. Case Three: ASM Approach

I first met Putuma* in 2014 and at that time she was unemployed but she was a ward committee member in one of the informal settlements. When I returned in 2016 she was working on a short term project with a three month contract. Putuma is married with four children who are still at school and her husband works for a travel agency. She was once nominated as council candidate but she declined the nomination arguing that she is living in a shack and that poses risks for her family and herself. Living in an informal settlement is the highest level of precariousness as shacks burn at any time (see *Chapter 2 & 3*). For Putuma, this meant that residents can deliberately burn her in her shack if they are not happy with her service. She has been in and out of short term contract jobs, but not secured a full time job in a while.

In 2011, Putuma was pushing for a womxn candidate for the ward councillor, who was arguably overlooked because of her gender. I am told that the local branch sat down and decided that "there was a lot of mess by the municipality and at the ward level." "It would be better to send a man for the 2011 term who will clean up and then they would bring a womxn in the following year" (Interview with Former Councillor 4, 10/11/2014). Marginalisation of womxn in political and leadership spaces is discussed at length in *Chapter 7*. Similarly, the womxn candidate was a victim of this culture. After the womxn council candidate lost favour in 2011, she became a branch chairperson and it was during this term that she broke ranks with Putuma because of what Putuma described as lack of accountability. Putuma was not going to support her again in 2016 – so she retreated.

The political divisions described in *case one* saw the ward divided into two factions with candidate one and candidate two splitting the ward and consequently the ANC local branch. It is alleged that after winning the council position, candidate two refused to recuse herself from the chairperson position which led to a further split within the local branch, and between the branch secretary and herself. The branch secretary in question was new in the ward coming from another province and he took advantage of Putuma's organisational skills and experience in community mobilisation. The secretary later rewarded Putuma with a job opportunity that had a contract that lasted for almost a year, but they later experienced a breakdown of the relationship when Putuma refused to be used for political battles.

Reflecting on her position in this ordeal of the fallout with the ward secretary, Putuma noted the precarity of the unemployed, and mostly womxn who are used by powerful men for their

sexual needs in exchange for short term contracts. She narrated a case where a senior administrator from the housing department had once taken her to view a house that he had promised her. The administrator later demanded that they have sex in his car before they finalise the paperwork, which she refused to do, and thereby forfeited the opportunity of getting the house. In a different occasion, she was promised a job by someone who works for the City Parks who later attempted to rape her. Responding on how she feels about these incidents, Putuma noted that she was still angry and disappointed, especially because these incidents were forced on her without having a discussion first. However, she shared with me the fact that she knows people who have slept with certain officials to get houses and have secured full time jobs and said she can't judge them because at the end of the day "people need to survive."

For Putuma, although she has always been passionate about her community, she does not feel like she has used anyone to secure a job through her political relationship with the ward secretary. In an increasingly jobless economy where opportunities are secured through favours, there is nothing much that could be done to satisfy everyone. Furthermore, Putuma is tired of being unemployed when her children need her support. She would not mind paying "these R3000 that people are talking about" to get a job in the municipality because the R3000 would be a once off, but the job will be permanent with long term benefits.

Arguments presented thus far have shown that the struggle for *inkululeko* continues on the *battlefield* of democracy. But what does this democracy mean for those in positions of power who are able to exploit state resources for their selfish needs? And how do those exploited continue to negotiate and navigate their exclusion and participation in the economic system that continues to undermine their dignity? The case presented above has shown some strategies that have been employed by poor communities to attain public goods or access to jobs. This is not to argue that these strategies are not exploitative in their nature or to romanticise womxns' struggles especially where they have to lay their bodies on the line to make a living (see *Chapter 7*). However, it is to offer an alternative reading of the narratives of corruption, clientelism and patronage, especially when they are deployed at the margins of society.

In *Poor People's Movements: why they succeed, how they fail*, Piven and Cloward (1977) argue that "people experience deprivation and oppression within a concrete setting, not as the end product of large and abstract processes, and it is the concrete experience that moulds their discontent into specific grievances against specific targets." As a result, people on relief programmes "experience the shabby waiting rooms", and not the American social welfare

policy (1977: 20). Similarly, residents of Duncan Village experience joblessness, homelessness, and lack of basic services, and not neoliberal capitalism or South African economic policies in their crude sense. Piven and Cloward further note that poor people do not occasionally resort to violence because the costs of violence are too much to bear when the state begins the clampdown. But they will most likely resort to violence where their institutional setting prevents them from exercising other forms of defiance (1977: 18-19).

The statement cited in *case one* resonates with some of the issues raised by Piven and Cloward above. In my research conducted in 2014 on the Reeston 87 case,[47] I documented the insider perspective of a protest planning and I showed how the Reeston 87 members have been protesting for years (see Mukwedeya and Ndlovu 2017; Ndhlovu 2015). In 2016 they said that they were now exhausted because of police violence when they have gained nothing out of protests except for court cases – criminalising their experiences. However, as I have argued above, democracy creates a space not only for contestation, but the messiness of the system allows for informal state practices too. As a result, we encounter the members of the Reeston 87 in *case one* supporting candidate one because they are tired of protesting, yet they continue to experience neoliberal capitalism through everyday concrete experiences. But the experiences documented in *case one* cannot be read in isolation from everyday experiences of Duncan Village residents and how they employ alternative survival strategies.

Hilgers (2009) argues that the issue of clientelism is complex. "Although it has a series of corrosive effects on society, it cannot be roundly dismissed as negative: the socio-economically marginalised perceive clientelism to be a useful strategy for fulfilling basic needs and, in some cases, clientelism actually has positive effects on collective action and political involvement by giving poor citizens organisational and participatory skills" (Hilgers 2009: 52). She notes the political nature of the actions of clients, but also the fact that clients' needs although individually experienced, are shaped by socioeconomic structures within their contexts. For Hilgars, fulfilling those needs therefore requires "organisation and interaction with individuals or groups in government, or at least with brokers who have access to public goods" (Hilgars 2009: 56). Auyero (2000) notes the centrality of the "problem-solving" networks in addressing everyday needs of the poor and in construction of political identities in Argentina. He argues that through the:

[47] See Ndhlovu 2015

> Peronist way of solving problems, a stomach can be filled, pain relieved, the flu cured, and a political identity revealed and transformed…This means that clientelism is not only a network of distribution of material resources, but also a symbolic system, a structure that provides ways of ordering reality, thereby rendering the experience of poverty in particular time and place meaningful (Auyero 2000: 27).

The strategies employed and deployed by local communities in Duncan Village and their state representatives are to be understood within the broader system of capitalism and the deprivation that characterises it, the precarity of political positions for local politicians structured by factionalism, and the everyday negotiations for survival.

I argue that strategies presented in *case three* are struggles for survival where the poor and marginalised struggle to access basic resources and opportunities. When Putuma agrees to accept a job after mobilising support for the ward secretary, some can understand this as a form of clientelism such that she will mobilise support for the secretary and the secretary will reward her with a job. While this can be/is true, I argue that there is a need to explore the credibility of these arguments especially in relation to the everyday struggle for *inkululeko* in post-1994 South Africa. When a young womxn makes a hard decision to sleep with a local administrator who later on rewards her with a house, do we then understand the young womxn as encouraging corruption through clientelism? In *Chapter 7,* I show how most men abuse power for their personal needs. But what do we make of womxn who realise that men will abuse their power anyway, and then decide how about using this as an opportunity to get a house? I argue that when we impose a moral judgement on these womxn and conclude that they are encouraging corrupt practices, it would equally mean that our moral judgements are biased against womxn because we apply those judgements selectively. Does it mean that we seek to create a hierarchy of morality by accepting poverty, homelessness and joblessness while bashing womxn who employ certain strategies to dignify their lives?

Similarly, I argue that paying R3000.00 to get a permanent job in government can be understood as an '*alternative means of survival'* more than being corrupt. In the case of Putuma who has four children and is unemployed, what is more corrupt between a neoliberal global order that has created growing jobless economies and a womxn who pays R3000.00 to secure a job that will sustain her family and herself over years instead of relying on handouts? This is not to argue for a hierarchy of corruption by comparing the strategies. However, it is to

acknowledge the role of neoliberalism and the ANC's neoliberal economic policies, and structural patriarchy in everyday struggles of the poor and womxn in particular.

Furthermore, it is to highlight the contradictions located within narratives of democracy that simultaneously preach 'good governance' while denying the majority of the population participation in the economy and a dignified life. The strategies employed by communities at a local level, although they remain framed by popular discourses of corruption, patronage and clientelism, are more complicated than this simple reduction. As Gupta notes, discourses of corruption are a privileged space through which the state, cities, and other organisations can be imagined. He argues, "instead of treating corruption as a dysfunctional aspect of state organisations, it is a mechanism through which 'the state' itself is discursively constituted" (Gupta 1995: 376). Similarly, the strategies employed by residents of Duncan Village and their local politicians, while bordering on practices of corruption, speak to everyday people's livelihoods that are characterised by their everyday struggle for survival. Most importantly, they speak to ways in which local communities are coming to terms with the imposed democracy and how they navigate their continued struggle for the realisation of *inkululeko* post-1994.

5.6. Conclusion

The main aim of the chapter was to explore the relationship between Duncan Village communities and their local state representatives in their everyday interactions for understanding how narratives of corruption and patronage politics come to be embedded in everyday relations. The chapter also mapped narratives of transition from apartheid and the post-1994 state and suggested a shift from understanding the democratic transition as mirroring continuities and discontinuities of apartheid state practices. I suggested an alternative reading of narratives of anti-apartheid struggles with hopes to unearth the embedded narratives that have suggested that people fought for *inkululeko* and not for democracy. I have therefore suggested alternatives of readings of the democratic settlement – not as an end in itself, but as a new *battlefield* for a continuation of the struggles for *inkululeko*.

I have argued that democracy as a *battlefield* has exposed the legacies of colonialism and apartheid in the development of new institutions capable of redistributing public goods. Grounded on these narratives, Buffalo City officials have argued that the entrenching of *inkululeko* in democracy continues to undermine their efforts for governing since the

suddenness of the arrival of democracy was imposed on a government that was not ready to govern. In a state with a history of institutionalised violence and structural inequalities, I have suggested alternative readings of corruption, patronage politics and clientelism at the margins of society.

Drawing from three case studies of 'informal' practices between local politicians and Duncan Village communities, I have argued that practices related to corruption, patronage and clientelism present '*alternative means of survival'* (AMS) strategies in reality, more than a reflection of what they are understood to be. In addition to the *AMS* approach, I have proposed the concepts of '*selective service delivery'* and '*strategic service delivery'* as alternatives to lack of service delivery. I have argued that the conceptualisation of lack of service delivery using these alternative concepts locates the question of the availability of basic services within broader discourses of neoliberalism and state economic policies, while simultaneously grounding them within local practices and national politics. The following chapter explores intra- and inter-state relations within Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality and how these relations structure understandings, meanings and the re-imagination of the state.

Chapter 6

The State as an Elusive Puzzle? Reconfiguration, Demystification and Personification of the State

Thandokazi and Nomaxabiso are young professionals working for the housing department. Thandokazi is registered for an MBA while Nomaxabiso is working towards her Master of Public Administration degree. They took the opportunity to further their studies because they were frustrated by spending the whole day, weeks, months…waiting for decisions to be made so that they can carry on with their work. In a bureaucracy, you have to wait, and wait and wait until someone signs off some papers so that one can proceed with their job. Sometimes the office is vacant for weeks, months, or so while politics is still taking its course to appoint a replacement or put someone to act on the vacant position. For Thandokazi and Nomaxabiso, this is the major source of their frustrations as their work is dependent on signatures. They contend that sometimes it is not that the person occupying the office does not want or is delaying to sign documents. However, people are scared to come in and sign documents that they found there because they are acting on a vacant position. One official once put it like "the Hollywood politics is the worst." This has been my experience of BCMM in most offices where I could not find someone to speak to because either the office is vacant or the incumbent is acting which gives the acting incumbent limited powers to make decisions. Mr Lukhele once said that for people signing documents they only need to trust the person bringing them because there is just no time to read the whole proposal or, even more, some officials do not understand the technical aspects of the offices they are assigned to direct.

Sitting at one of the municipal buildings today has given me a little window on the politics of signing papers. The director of one of the Directorates (HoD) is currently running two offices and he is also acting at another senior office. His Personal Assistant (PA) plays an important role in monitoring and regulating all the documents going through to him for signatures. However, I am amazed by the specifications that Nomonde, the PA to the HoD, runs in the business of preparing papers for signatures. While sitting here in her office, she has turned back more than five people to go and redraft their documents. She has called more than six people to come and collect their documents that they left last week to re-do them, and she is also regulating entry into the HoD's office for those whose structure of documents she has approved and those with urgent needs to be attended to. Documents do not just come in for signing – they have to follow a particular structure, format, letterheads, fonts, style, as well as language! Documents that do not meet the standard (set by whoever, god knows) do not make it past Nomonde's desk even though they are still going to be turned back by the HoD despite having been turned back by Nomonde, "they will be turned back, and turned back, and turned back again" – as one frustrated administrator once emphasised.

After sitting in this office for three hours, I realise that I am not going to see the HoD today although he has already rescheduled my appointment twice before.

It has been a long day already, but as I go down the stairs towards the exit, I notice someone that I know from Duncan Village at the housing department. She also notices me as I walk towards her and she asks that I wait for her so I can give her a lift to the township. Mam' u Thandiswa is here to check the status of her brother's house that was given to someone after he failed to occupy it because of mental illness. I met mam' a few weeks ago when I went to document the life history of her sister – an ex MK veteran. I ended up having to come the

following day as she invited me to do hers too. Her family was forcefully moved to Mdantsane during forced removals, but she and her sister stayed in Duncan Village because of their involvement in politics.

We sit in the queue at the housing department, but not as long as other days I have spent doing observations here. We catch up on township gossip and before we know it, we are already at the counter, something strange and unusual because I normally see longer queues that take time. But once we are at the counter, I realise the reason for the queue moving faster. The womxn at the help desk is not 'helping' anyone today; she is not asking people for their identity documents or even opening her computer to check anything. She has a standard response: "Umaspala uthe abantu banganikwa nto namhlanje, nizafumana into etshoyo xa izindlu ziready." [The municipality said we must not give any information today; you will get a message or a call when your house is ready]. People have been coming and stopping for a while. I draw closer as umam' Thandiswa tries to understand the statement. She turns around to explain to me what is being said from the counter. The same message is passed to three more people. Some draw back, hesitate, and leave, and some try to seek some clarity. I also move to the counter with umam' uThandiswa and she asks the womxn at the front desk to repeat her message and she tells me what she has told everyone. "Umaspala uthe singaniki mpendulo namhlanje, nizafumana into etshoyo xa izindlu ziready." Caught off guard by her repeated statement, without any reflection – I ask her:

Hlengiwe: Sisi uthi ngubani otheni? [Sister you said who said what?]
Administrator: Ngumaspala [it's the municipality]
Hlengiwe: Who is the municipality?
Administrator: [She blinks, looks up, turns her roving chair around, and looks at me again] em…eeh, I don't know, eh, someone up there…
Hlengiwe: Up where?
Administrator: Someone from the municipality
Hlengiwe: Is this not part of the municipality? [Referring to this particular office at the housing department].
Administrator: It is but I mean, eh, eh, someone from up there.

I eventually give up on the conversation seeing that we are not getting anywhere and that she probably also does not know who the person she is referring to is –she is only certain that it is someone who is "up there." As I am writing these fieldwork notes, I am reminded of my first focus group discussion in Duncan Village where one participant asked me to come and see her so we can have a one-on-one interview at her workplace. When I asked her if she has any specific time preference, she responded: "I run my own time mna at work. Ndifun'bona lo azothi mandingathethi nabantu during working hours. Ndifun'thi hambo biza loMaspala umzise apha azondixelela ngokwakhe" [I want to see the one who will prevent me from speaking to people during working hours. I will tell them to go and call the municipality to come and tell me that]. After these and other experiences, I conclude that the state (represented through the municipality) is some superpower or some human being sitting somewhere up there (adapted from fieldwork diary 15/03/2017).

6.1. Introduction

The fieldwork diary extract above presents the many facets of the state, not only as I encountered it as the researcher, but also as encountered by many local residents and state

officials that I interacted with during my fieldwork. Firstly, it presents a methodological crisis of researching the state as a young black womxn, not only in terms of dealing with sexual harassment and power abuse (see *Chapters 2 & 7*), but also in terms of accessing the state – as in accessing participants as well as spending hours waiting in queues for appointments or with residents waiting to be served. Secondly, as I continued to chase the 'state,' I also encountered it as absent – empty offices and incumbents who were not in a position to make any decisions or act in the capacity of that particular office. Thirdly, I encountered the complexity of the 'state' along with state officials in sisi Nomonde's office through documents that have to follow a particular structure before they are to be signed by the HoD. I was also made to re-do my permission letter according to the 'required' format of this office, only to be turned back to go to the research office and seek permission – a bureaucratic procedure that I had already covered. This was despite the submission of proof of permission to conduct research in BCMM; the attached letter was never checked by the administrator who demanded that I re-do the letter to request permission for the particular department.

Fourthly, and related to the third point, I encountered the *anxious state* through the submission of my documents detailing who I was and the purpose of my research along with a copy of my identification document, proof of university registration and my university student card. This anxiety is connected to the fifth point: the instability of the state emanating from what one of my interlocutors has described as the *Hollywood politics* – the politics of acting, which causes anxiety among those who occupy offices in which they are acting. Lastly, in navigating the state through waiting with others and through speaking to different people, I discovered an *elusive puzzle* whose power resides somewhere not known by the frontline bureaucrat described in the prologue, or as some powerful person who has to come and give an order or instruct a participant that I met through a focus group not to waste time speaking to people during her working hours. However, twenty-six months of navigating both Buffalo City and Duncan Village has exposed the myth about the elusiveness of the state. Firstly, speaking to lower level officials demystified the state boundaries thereby exposing their porosity. Secondly, encountering the state 'at work' in Duncan Village unmasked its elusiveness and gave it a human face that could be finally held responsible and accountable for its 'supposed' duties.

I am aware that until now I have treated community/society as detached from the state. However, by the end of this chapter, I hope to have convinced the reader that the state and

society is one thing; there are communities in the state and the state is also within communities. This understanding has currency in the (re)imagination of the state by shifting focus from 'practices' of the state to the subjective lived experiences of the local state officials in relation to their positionality within the state and their subjective identities formed through their everyday interactions with communities.

This chapter is premised on the understanding that most studies that have explored the local state in South Africa have focused on its developmental mandate, service delivery and institutional capacity. These studies have emphasised questions of skills, resources, revenue collection and the ability of the local state officials to distribute public goods (Koma 2010; Von Holdt 2010; Meny-Gibert and Chipkin 2012; Chipkin 2013; Hart 2013). Not much has been said in terms of the intra- and/or inter-state relations among state employees and the implications of these relationships for their everyday mandate and/or conception of their positions within the 'state.' Some scholars have explored the structuring and functioning of the state bureaucracy and how these undermine and/or diverge from the western conception of the Weberian notion of state bureaucracy (Von Holdt 2010b; Chipkin and Lipietz 2012; Elloker, Olckers, Gilson and Lehmann 2012). While other studies have focused on the clashes between the executive and legislative powers of local municipalities (de Visser 2010), very little has been said about the subjective identities of these office incumbents and implications of these identities and their relation to everyday politics and moral dues owed to their communities. I argue that exploring intra-state relations through subjective experiences and subjective identities in terms of how local state officials choose to identify themselves promises to complicate the idea of the state and its (imagined) boundaries. This kind of exploration taps into ways in which the state is (re)configured, demystified, and personified at the local level.

What I explore in this chapter is the subjective identities and the positionalities of those who have been theorised as street-bureaucrats in scholarly language (see Lipsky 2010). However, I am reluctant to refer to them as street-bureaucrats, not only because of their '*hybrid identities'* that I found during my research, but also because they do not necessarily see themselves as part of the bureaucratic machine. I cannot even begin to argue that perhaps they undo bureaucracy because they do not even consider themselves as part of it. I would like to believe that in their everyday practices they reject the idea of being part of the bureaucracy since their subjective understanding of their roles suggests that they are engaged in what they understand to be 'in service to their people.' This is because when they become part of the bureaucracy,

they are expected to be doing the work of the 'state' and serving communities (which they do). Yet, they see themselves as performing community service rather than engaging in service delivery as part of their mandate. I therefore prefer to call them local state officials.

By focusing on individuals who occupy certain positions within the state, I do not want to dispute the (assumed) role of the state or its institutions because one way or the other (arguably so), what is understood or perceived to be the state exists somewhere – whether through ideas as shown in the prologue of this chapter and other existing scholarly work (see Abrahams 1988 [1977]) or through institutions/buildings as they have come to be understood by many (Meny-Gibert and Chipkin 2012), or through individual personifications of the state by officials or residents, as I show at the end of this chapter. However, my focus on individual incumbents is the recognition that the state (perceived) comes into 'being' through actions of these individuals who occupy particular offices and therefore their actions demand scholarly attention.

In this chapter I unmask the subjective identities of those who are tasked with redistributing public goods. I argue that exploring understandings of the subjective identities of state officials and their positions within the state exposes the double-face of the state. In its everyday attempt to exercise its crumbling bureaucracy, the state presents an abstract image that poses itself as an '*elusive puzzle'* that changes its form and shape as individuals and groups attempt to reach out to it. I argue that the state can remain abstract as long as we hold on to the bureaucratic illusion that often seeks to shift responsibility and renders no one responsible for any state actions. However, when the state is brought down to the communities where bureaucratic administration clashes with lived realities, this '*elusive puzzle'* is demystified, challenged, and the state is re-configured and given a human face.

This chapter is divided into four parts. The first section outlines the conceptual and theoretical tools as a point of departure. Here I outline some of the major debates on the state. The aim is not to exhaust all debates as the debates themselves fall outside of the scope of this chapter and thesis as a whole. However, the aim is to recognise existing work that has shaped the debates around the nature, image and identity of the state. The second section presents some arguments on the state as an '*elusive puzzle*.' In *Chapter 7* I will show how the state sometimes fails to provide leadership or take responsibility where it is expected the most. It is mostly through the experiences of womxn that I documented and those at the margins of society where the state fails to account and keeps on shifting responsibility in its lack of accountability. By shifting

responsibility and failing to be accountable, I argue that the state becomes an '*elusive puzzle'* that many have spent their lives trying to locate and hold accountable.

The third section unmasks the blurred boundaries of the state and exposes their porosity. Through following the lives and experiences of those who have attempted to chase the state hoping to change living conditions of the people in their communities, I show how the state boundaries remain a myth. I show how 'community' relations are mobilised within and without the state, suggesting that there are communities within the state and that there is a state in communities. The final section picks up from the third section and shows how local state officials, through what I theorise as '*hybrid identities,'* play inside and outside the state - as both the state and communities in their everyday dealings with the state and community business. Through an exploration of the subjective experiences of the officials with '*hybrid identities,'* I argue that both the image and the idea of the state is unmasked and demystified, and through the encounter with communities, the state is reconfigured, personified and finally given a human face as it is held accountable for its elusiveness.

6.2. Conceptual and Theoretical Tools

Following the work of Foucault on *governmentality*, anthropologists have focused on understanding the state from below as informed by forms of engagements from a grassroots perspective. Writing on development projects in Lesotho, James Ferguson (1990) shows how development ideas drawn from a top-down approach have failed to achieve their objectives. He argues that the development discourse produces an illusory image of the 'less-developed country,' and that this illusion's disjunction with reality causes the development project to fail at its stated goals while achieving an unintended goal of expanding and strengthening bureaucratic state power in the rural areas of Lesotho. Ferguson concludes that development "is an anti-politics machine, depoliticising everything it touches, everywhere whisking political realities out of sight, all the while performing, almost unnoticed, its own pre-eminently political operation of expanding bureaucratic state power" (1990: xv). As much as Ferguson's understanding of a top-down approach and its unintended consequences is a productive contribution, the emphasis on expanding and strengthening bureaucratic state power assumes that this bureaucracy becomes a stable bureaucracy. However, as I show later in this chapter through state officials '*hybrid identities,'* in countries with multi-layered histories of colonialism (and apartheid in South Africa), the idea of (stable) bureaucracy or its expansion

cannot be taken for granted. Evidence from Buffalo City suggests that this bureaucratic power in itself is unstable, contested, and sometimes disrupted.

In the introduction to *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State*, Hansen and Stepputat suggest that "the study of the state and its practices must discern and explore the different languages, their localised meanings, genealogies, and trajectories as they appear couched in mythologies of power, as practical, often non-political routines or as violent impositions" (2001: 5). This is an important intervention for understanding state/society relations in Buffalo City as I have shown in previous chapters and later in this chapter. In *Chapter 5,* I emphasised the localised meanings and practices as a productive idea in understanding disjunctions between the imposed democracy and meanings of *inkululeko* embedded in the liberation struggle. I argued that democracy as a *battlefield* can be understood through these localised languages, practices and meanings attached to understandings of struggles for *inkululeko* and the 'imposed' democracy.

In her work on accessing water and the state in Mumbai and Johannesburg, Zainab Bawa reminds us that the idea of state practices cannot be separated from the lived realities of communities and state bureaucrats who are responsible for serving communities (2011). She argues that "in cities, water flows not only via pipelines but also through intricate webs of social, political, and economic networks underlying the distribution system" (Bawa 2011: 491). In *Chapter 5,* I unpacked some of the implications of these networks and connections thereof. In this chapter I explore the subjective identities of these local 'state bureaucrats' as understood by Bawa, and I offer alternative readings of their identities and how these identities shape ways in which they navigate the 'bureaucracy' and the terrain of distributing state resources.

As much as local state officials are influenced by their political ambitions and shared cultural norms, the complexity of the South African democracy and the state officials' subjective identities allow them to re-imagine their positions in the state in relation to their '*hybridised identities'* on which they put much emphasis as they navigate what they call 'community service.' As Hansen and Stepputat (2001) have suggested, understanding state/society relations (in Duncan Village and Buffalo City) demanded that this project discern and explore these relations from their localised (and subjective) understandings and meanings. Thus, the focus on subjective understandings of positions within the state and subjective identities of the local state officials in their day-to-day interactions with both the state and communities offer some insights on (re)configuration of the state at a local level.

6.3. Reaching out to the State: An Elusive Puzzle?

In this section I present evidence that portrays an image or idea of the state as an '*elusive puzzle*.' I draw from narratives of those officials who have considered their efforts to 'leave' their communities in 'search for the state,' yet once they arrived at higher positions of power where they believed they could make change, they then discovered that the higher one goes, the more the idea of the state gets mystified. I do not claim that these experiences were collectively shared by state officials, or that their subjectivities create homogeneous experiences. However, I draw from those experiences of the state officials that I spoke to whose narratives informed my reading of the state as an '*elusive puzzle.'*

By an *elusive puzzle* I am referring to the experiences whereby people keep chasing the state with the hope to realise the fruits of *inkululeko* fought for during the liberation struggle (see *Chapter 5*). Many individuals with political and leadership ambitions who hoped to bring change in their communities have at some point believed that their communities lack services because 'people at the top' are not doing their job as argued in *Chapter 5*. They had hoped that once they get to the top, or any part of the state, they will make efforts to channel public goods back to their communities. However, their experiences suggest that they have been chasing an '*elusive puzzle'* which, when they thought they had gotten hold of, kept shifting to another centre where they cannot reach. In its elusive nature, the state manifests itself in different faces, thereby posing different challenges to those in a mission to search for it, whether for collective or personal gains.

6.3.1. An Absent, Anxious and Contradicting State?

The state can be said to be absent where it is needed but cannot show up to protect those who need its protection or to deliver public goods. In *Chapter 5,* I argued that communities at the margins receive public goods through '*strategic service delivery'* and '*selective service delivery'* mechanisms. Evidence presented for these arguments has shown that there are still others who remain outside of these networks that enable access; these remain seeking the intervention of the state. That being said, there are those who do not fall on either of the strategies deployed by local officials. Their only hope is the state that seems to be absent when they need it the most. These communities/groups normally take to the streets to demand the accountability of the state.

The case studies presented in the *Smoke that Calls* by von Holdt et al. (2011), community struggles theorised as "*a rebellion of the poor"* by Alexander (2010), and actions characterised as "*a ballot and a brick"* by Booysen (2007) are some of the cases that have demonstrated a demand for the visibility of the state by protesting communities. In these cases, the state is supposed to show up and deliver public goods, yet it remains absent. Furthermore, as I have already stated earlier in this chapter, I also had moments where I found the state absent through vacant offices. In these instances, the state was absent for me and others who waited for it but never encountered it.

However, there were moments where I have seen the state present, very much present when residents of Duncan Village have been demanding its presence to deliver services as some cases of public protests across the country have shown. However, in this presence, the state has shown a violent face through Public Order Policing (POP). The cases of the Marikana massacre, police violence during #Feesmustfall protests 2016 to 2017, the death of the community activist Andries Tatane during service delivery protests and many other cases where protesting communities have experienced police violence are some of the cases of violent state presence. During these moments of protest, the visibility of the state, has been to assert its presence by force, and not to answer for its absence or to be accountable. I find the state very contradictory and complex when it comes to such moments.

The state becomes self-contradicting when it asserts itself as present (violently) in spaces and instances where its absence is being challenged. It seems it relies on these contradictions for its very existence and legitimacy. Drawing from the experience of India, Veena Das has argued that the very illegibility of the state allows it to live a double life where it can be absent when needed and be present where it is being challenged. She argues, "What allows the double existence of the state between a rational mode and a magical mode to be sustained is its illegibility" (Das 2007: 167). A scene described in the prologue of this chapter in Nomonde's office is one example where the state is seen contradicting itself. In Nomonde's office, papers are being turned away with her demanding that the structure and layout of all documents be signed and follow a particular format that is 'acceptable' for the office of the HoD. The state is self-contradicting, first because this is just one municipal office and I am inclined to believe that if municipal documents are to follow a particular structure, every office must know how these documents ought to be structured. Is Nomonde herself assuming another structure (a center of invisible power) that imposes its own demands on how documents ought to be

presented? However, from what I gathered on the many days that I spent in that office, I got a sense that this is how documents going to the HoD's office have to be structured.

Secondly, one would expect that the amount of time spent on perfecting documents for the signature of the HoD would mean guaranteed signature on their first landing. However, what I observed was a different case. People would still come to collect their documents and found them not signed after being returned by the HoD himself. The amount of effort that goes into perfecting those documents presents an image of a functional orderly state that relies on a clear bureaucratic structure that follows certain rules and regulations when structuring documents. However, returning documents does not only speak to the contradictory nature of the state, but also points to something deeper about the diversion between processes and real practices of the state. This means that the state can stage itself as a functional bureaucracy rooted in well-structured papers, yet the realities inside the office speak to the anxieties associated with the everyday functioning of the state itself.

Drawing from James Scott's work, Das and Poole have argued that "the majority population encounters the state through documents such as nation cards, identity cards, criminal complaints, court papers, and birth and death certificates. These documents bear the double sign of the state's distance and its penetration into the life of the everyday" (Das and Poole 2004: 15). While the use of documents can be one way in which the state maintains its visibility and claims its legibility, Das (2007) contends that "the state can be multiplied and literalised through documents…that can be genuine, forged, or even mimicked." "It can enter the life of the community, but because the authenticity of these documents can always be put into question, the subject's identity can never be fully assumed in an encounter with the state…In its turn the bureaucratic rationality of the state can always evoke the facts of its illegibility to the poor as the major form of its defence" (Das 2007: 178).

I made similar observations in Buffalo City as observed by Das (2007) above in many months that I spent in Nomonde's office. If the structure of the documents is so important to spend time and resources on, why would they be turned back without being signed? Perhaps Bourdieu offers an alternative understanding of this contradiction when he argues that "the state not only strives to be a state for its citizens-subjects, it also strives to be a state for itself and is expected by populations, politicians, and bureaucrats to employ 'proper' languages of state in its practices and symbolic gestures" (Bourdieu 1999: 67). I am therefore persuaded that the

paperwork pushed in Nomonde's office becomes one of the state's languages to assert its visibility and legitimacy on state officials and populations who come for signatures in this office.

As stated in the prologue, the HoD of this particular directorate is also acting in another office. Anxieties associated with acting officials are widely observed by many within the metro. However, before I delve into implications of the politics of acting on vacant positions – the '*Hollywood politics*,' in BCMM, let me unpack how anxieties of the state are manifested through incumbents of certain offices and how these actions are understood and interpreted by some of the BCMM officials. Commenting on the difficulties of working in a bureaucracy, one senior official noted lack of understanding between different officials and how this delays processes of service delivery:

> Now let's go back to the definition of the municipal manager. I want you to look at those adverts in particular. There is one thing they always say: public management, social science, public administration, law degree or NQ7/law. Do they say which law? No! Is it criminal law? They just say law! Is it labour law? – I said law! I have a degree in law because you said law. By the way what do you want? Do you want a person with public administration experience or do you want a lawyer? Basically, anything of that nature! Is it not that crazy? Then I have a Master degree in law so it means I do qualify. So, you start by not knowing who you want at that point. By the way, we are expected to be a jack of all trades in those situations. You want a lawyer – ok? A guy who has done a lot of criminal law and has held a senior position in a law firm, or a labour law specialist with top management experience for more than 5 years. Then the labour law specialist, does he know about financial management, auditing issues, and financial statements – can he interpret that? At least at the end of the day we must have a Municipal Manager. How we get there – do not ask, just open up a room to get that person. So now that he is a labour specialist, he does not understand my paper work. I am coming with a claim and all related issues at R5 million that he has to approve. And this person is then supposed to approve and after signing that document he probably goes "Oh my God! What is this person talking about – and after all my life is dependent on them." And sometimes those are the reasons why they do not want to sign and things get delayed. And there is a contractor waiting there for a document to be approved within 21 days but the document is still being played around here inside the municipality (Interview with Senior Administrator, Human Settlements21/02/2017).

For this senior official, the problem of governing starts with advertising of posts and not specifying the relevant skills. He argues that the laundry bucket list attracts any candidate with stated qualifications who might not necessarily have the expertise in that particular area. The case in point here is the position of a City Manager in relation to all departments that he has to

oversee and the implications thereof. For this senior official, the challenge becomes comprehending the scope and specificities of many proposals and documents presented to the City Manager and their battle to understand them. He argues that this causes delays in the process of approving and signing documents. Below he accounts for these delays emanating from the problem presented by these open adverts:

> According to the requirements of the position of the city manager there are things that should be approved by the municipal manager. So, for instance as a municipal manager you have to approve something like a R5 million claim. I have to go and explain all the technicalities of the document – such that I have to motivate for his decision. At the end of the day he has to sign. First of all, he has to be sceptical of that this guy could be correct or could be wrong but how does he disapprove what I am saying. So, in signing he is saying he understood all what I have said when in actual fact he might have only heard 10% or 20% of the content, the rest was too technical for him to understand. In that case the municipal manager only relies on the trust that people know what they are doing and that they are doing the right thing. In any case if they are not doing the right thing, then it means he is also going down with them. So, do you see the danger? (Interview with Senior Administrator, Human Settlements, 21/02/2017).

I am aware of the technical issues raised by the official in this conversation. However, I am interested in his narratives on how BCMM officials experience the state and how those experiences shape ways in which they understand and account for their role in service delivery. The anxieties of the state introduced earlier can be read somewhat clearly from this interview excerpt. Building from the earlier excerpt, when positions are advertised there are no special specifications; the role of the City Manager remains broad. To compensate for those areas that they do not understand they have to rely primarily on whoever is bringing those documents for signing – just "trusting that they know what they are doing." Similarly, the role of sisi Nomonde and the anxieties of the HoD can be understood in light of these struggles. I did not get an opportunity to interview both of them because the HoD was always busy. Sisi Nomonde refused to be interviewed on the grounds that she had spent a lot of time with me, but nonetheless, she arranged most of the interviews I conducted in her department. The insistence on getting the format of documents correct, and the turning of some of the documents from inside the HoD's office, can be understood in light of these anxieties emanating from questions of competence, trust, and the need for one to be always cautious.

In *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State*, Hansen and Stepputat (2001) have observed that bureaucracy is an ethnographic site where state abstractions occur. The very underdeveloped type of abstraction: "its routines, its personnel

and their internal cultures, gestures and codes, its mode of actual production of authority and effects by the drafting of documents, uses of linguistic genres, etc., in brief, an anthropology of policy process that looks at it as ritual and as production of meaning rather than production of effective policies per se" (Hansen and Stepputat 2001: 17). Such practices, they argue, "reproduce the myth of the state by literally implanting it in people's lives, as revered documents carefully stored or proudly displayed on the walls, as stamps, permits, titles from where certain entitlements, social status, livelihood, and identity of millions of people" (Hansen and Stepputat 2001: 21). It is through observations of such practices of the state where office incumbents 'pretend' to carry the mandate of the state which they know nothing about. Through the signing of the documents, they assert the image of a functional bureaucracy and I argue that the actions and decisions of officials tasked with signing documents are marred with feelings of anxiety that further delay processes of service delivery.

6.3.2. Hollywood Politics: Factionalism and the Politics of Acting in Buffalo City

The idea of acting officials being branded as 'Hollywood' was coined by one of the senior officials in Buffalo City. He is the director of one of the departments and holds a Master degree in Public Administration. Commenting on some of the major challenges in doing his job, he alluded to '*Hollywood politics'* – 'the politics of acting in senior positions.' This is where the incumbent of a particular office is either suspended or dismissed and someone is asked to act in the vacant position while processes of filling the vacant posts are taking their (delayed) course. Evidence from Buffalo City and other places (see Olver 2017 for evidence from Nelson Mandela Bay) suggest that it is part of the norm that these positions are used for political reasons to consolidate political factions. The vacancies tend to stay longer as political battles continue, stifling service delivery progress in doing so. Describing these conditions, one senior administrator stated:

> Sometimes you get political instability, you get in-fighting among the councillors and that is also a challenge. Also, administrative instability – sometimes I refer to it as Hollywood. Sometimes you find a lot of acting, there are many actors, acting this, acting that. There is no permanency and stability in the metro. Because even now we have an acting City Manager even though the processes are underway to appoint a City Manager. If decisions are not made it impacts on your performance because we are mainly compliance driven. In other words, the legislation tells us that on this date you must have a draft plan, by this date you must do this and by this date you must do that. So, if decisions are not made then that is on you failing to meet

> your deadlines then there will be compliance issues (Interview with Senior Administrator, IDP, 23/02/2017).

According to this senior official, '*Hollywood politics'* creates instability and delays processes in the running of the metro. This is one of the challenges I had to deal with in accessing some of the departments during my fieldwork as these acting officials seem to have limited capacity when it comes to making decisions and signing papers. These sentiments are shared by another administrator from a different department. Commenting on the impact of politics on her job, a project manager stated:

> What I can tell you is that people from here, especially in management, they do not want to make decisions – they take forever. No one wants to own any decision or wants to be accountable. Everyone is acting here and acting people do not want things to be pointed back to them once they are gone, so they would rather not sign anything (Interview with Project Manager, 22/02/2017).

In a big metro like BCMM, one wonders how a municipality is run with acting people who are not in a position to make decisions. And while we are waiting for these decisions to be made, where are the communities who are waiting for services and how do they continue with their lives? Some of the answers have been offered in *Chapter 5*; the use of informal networks and such practices border on narratives of corruption, patronage and clientelism. However, this calls our attention to the nature of the postcolonial and post-1994 South African state and the extent to which it tries to keep up with an international image of the state while in reality this image is crumbling. I argue that to balance these contradictions, anxieties, and to account for the disappearances, the state becomes *elusive.* The conditions described above create fertile ground for the state to become elusive because otherwise no one will account for its contradictions, absenteeism, and paradoxes.

Writing on experiences of the political-administrative interface in South African municipalities, Jaap de Visser (2010) notes that "while governance in South Africa may be decentralised, politics is not." "Also, while the local party caucus of the ruling party in the municipality should be the platform for rigorous debate of municipal issues on the basis of local concerns, it is often a proxy for regional and sometimes even national politics" (2010: 88).

Drawing from experiences of Nelson Mandela Bay, Crispian Olver (2017) shared his observations about the intersection of politics and administration in the metro. He noted that the decay of one side affects the other. For Olver, the administration of Nelson Mandela Bay municipality reflected the state of politics both in the region and within the national ANC (Olver 2017). Similarly, the fractures in BCMM administration and political offices reflect the broader political atmosphere across the country. Battles to consolidate power balances in the race to Nasrec (see *Chapter 7)* were fought, and even post Nasrec they continue to be fought through these vacant positions that are only filled temporarily as the struggle for the political control of the municipalities continues. This '*Hollywood politics'* affects service delivery and accounts for the absence, contradictions, and anxieties of the state in Buffalo City.

6.3.3. Chasing an Elusive Puzzle?

In the prologue of this chapter, I drew from a conversation that I had with one of the administrators at the housing office. Waiting spaces are perceived as privileged spaces for understanding everyday lived experiences of communities in their encounter with the state by urban anthropologists. Drawing from the experiences of Brazil, James Holston argued that "standing in line for services is a privileged site for studying performances of citizenship, because it entails encounters between anonymous others in public space that require the negotiation of powers, rights and vulnerabilities" (Holston 2008: 15).

Commenting on the experiences of waiting in Argentina, Auyero observed that such mundane interactions, if they are to be "properly inspected, they are far from mundane, and they can be constructed as an extraordinary sociological object that places subjects' experiences of rights and power at the center of inquiry" (Auyero 2012: 8). Although Holston and Auyero used these experiences to understand the experiences of citizens, for me this became a privileged space for understanding subjective identities and the positions of local state officials in relation to the state as they carried their everyday duties of distributing public goods and services. It is in these waiting spaces at the housing office i.e. Nomonde's office and other spaces where I spent time waiting that I came to learn about ways in which local officials (re)construct the image of the state through their experiences.

The idea of a state that exists 'somewhere' was shared by many people that I spoke to in Buffalo City. What was surprising for me was that some of them were very senior officials that I

expected to have answers, at least on issues directly related to the municipality and their offices in particular. Speaking to one of the senior officials who made it a condition that I interview him first before he opens up for other employees in his department to be interviewed, he kept referring to 'there' as some place where superior power resides. Below I present an excerpt from our four hour-long conversation.

> I have only been asked to act as the Head of Department. They are saying we are supposed to have a contract person who will manage the contracts then we will be able to manage the projects. I want to understand how this is going to work where you are managing a project and someone else managing the contract. I wonder whether they think that there is difference between a contract and a project. This is also coming from an understanding that a contract begins where the guy has been appointed, got a tender then we need to sign on how do we work together on running the project. Where we need to agree on terms and conditions addressing things such as what qualify claims on both sides and what are the time frames. They do not consider who issues instructions and what is expected after instructions have been issued. The issue of authority, who says this, is a go decision or it is not, the claims of the processes – and when they claim they do so in relation to clauses on the contract. So, when you say someone must manage the contract and I must manage the project – what do you mean? The day-to-day running of what I have said has to be managed by the project manager but then in this case someone will say I am not managing the project; I am just managing the contract (Interview with Senior Administrator, Human Settlements, 21/02/2017).

It is important to note that when I interviewed this participant he had been asked to act as a head of his department (*Hollywood politics* at play). However, most of the issues he spoke about during our conversation had to do with his permanent position which also happens to be a senior position in a different division. However, I am more interested in the language he used narrating his experiences. He kept referring to "they are saying we are supposed to have a contract person…" ; "I wonder whether they think that there is a difference…"; "They do not consider who issues instructions…" and "So when you say someone must manage…" It is unfortunate that this was one of the earliest interviews to be conducted in BCMM. As a result, I had not grasped this idea of a state as some kind of power residing somewhere, so I could not make a direct follow up to trace where this "*they*" was leading to. However, equally important, I was tracing what I came to understand as political interference in the name of intervention (see Ndhlovu 2015), which allowed me to probe this "*they*" further. Although this official spoke at length about political factions and how they affected his acting position, he refused to discuss whoever was imposing 'unnecessary demands' on his role. He quickly shifted the

conversation to the role of the National Treasury in running of the municipalities, a subject that falls outside of the scope of this thesis.

In her phenomenal work *On Violence*, Hannah Arendt (1970) problematises the concept of bureaucracy and characterises it as 'rule by nobody.' She argues that bureaucracy "is the most tyrannical of all, since there is no one left who could even be asked to answer for what is being done" (1970: 41). Similarly, the forever-shifting of this center of power that remains identified as 'they' is part of this contradictory bureaucracy that leaves no one accountable for what happens in the municipality. This elusive person/power remains 'they' and can be blamed for all that is happening. Even those that are believed to be in higher positions of power still refer to the 'they' that remains elusive. This '*they*' is the one encountered several times in instances outlined in the prologue of this chapter.

Unanswered questions always leave a space for speculation. Similarly, in this case I was left to speculate that the official quoted in the above excerpt is a politician since he is an administrator. In hindsight, I can relate the identity of '*they*' to 'governing through papers.' This is one of the contradictions presented in Nomonde's dealings with the office of the HoD – governing through papers. Perhaps the official cited above has some rules written somewhere, and as we have seen, when brought to the realities of the real signing of the documents, they do not make sense. During the time of conducting early interviews in the metro as indicated above, I assumed that maybe this power lies with the politicians. However, the role of politicians has been ruled out because the people in senior political offices are also faced with this dilemma of chasing an '*elusive puzzle'* – the state. As one senior politician put it to me:

> I am not happy at all with development because the standard of living is too low. If I can leave my term at the municipality with Duncan Village still where it is [underdeveloped], I will feel very guilty because my mandate to change the lives of the people of Duncan Village will have failed. There are many things that cause underdevelopment in Duncan Village despite many projects that have been developed to change the face of Duncan Village. I have worked so hard through all the structures to get here so that I can make change. But when you get here you realise that change is not easy. There are always people who will pull everyone down and progress stops as you enter this building [the City Hall – Mayoral office] (Interview with Senior Politician, 04/05/2017).

The idea of a state as an '*elusive puzzle'* is further developed here through the narratives of this senior politician. When she 'left'[48] Duncan Village to occupy this position, she understood the needs of her community and she had dreams of making a difference as she considers herself to have always done so. However, what we read from her narrative are words of hopelessness, suggesting that even at the highest level of municipal authority there is still some mysterious power that hinders progress. These sentiments are shared by some of the local councillors from Duncan Village who have been given a mandate by their communities but when they 'arrive' in the 'state,' they lose the mandate.

One councillor, narrating his experiences of coming close to be burnt by his community, spoke about challenges of getting to the council and how the hopes for advocating for service delivery become shattered:

> Xa ungena kwaMasipala kukho incwadi enkulu oyibambayo kwaCeba [esetyenziswa xa kufungiswa oCeba abatsha]. Xa ungayibamba leyancwadi, libala ngawo wonke amaphupha akho bewunawo ngobomi bakho. Uyaxelelwa ukuba apha uzosebenzela uMasipala, awunokuze uthethe izinto zakwa Masipala kubahlali. Ngokwenza njalo ke awusenalo igunya (Conversation with Former Councillor 2, 02/10/2017).[49]

Even those who have come into the state through the ticket of their communities – as elected councillors - find themselves being co-opted into representing and defending the state, yet they are meant to represent communities. This is further evidence of a contradictory, anxious state that remains elusive. While self-enrichment cannot be ruled out as no participant acknowledged that they are in the municipality because they needed to work, these participants came into the state so they can hold it accountable for community issues. However, they found themselves being swallowed by it and therefore unable to hold it accountable. While this may present an

[48] I write 'left' in inverted commas to indicate the contradictory position presented by the whole idea of 'leaving' when one is going to serve in the municipality. This idea is further complicated later in the chapter as I show that while it is believed that those serving/working in the municipality are perceived to have left, the reality is they never leave as many of them remain members of the communities they are serving. Later in the chapter I build on this 'left' to develop an argument that there are communities within the state and that the state is in fact in communities.

[49] When you get to the municipality there is a very big book that you touch at the council [the swearing in of the new councillors]. Once you have touched that book, forget about all the dreams that you had before going there. You will be told that here you are representing the municipality and you will never say things that will expose the municipality to the community. Just like that – the mandate is over! (Conversation with Former Councillor 2, 02/10/2017).

image of a state separated from the communities, as one goes down towards the lower level of the bureaucracy, one begins to see the blurring of these boundaries and the fact that they are actually porous rather than fixed.

6.4. The Porous Boundaries of the Sate

The experiences of those at the lower level of the bureaucracy suggest that the state boundaries are not as fixed as they may be thought of. They are permeable - suggesting that communities are in the state and the state is in the community/society. Arguments related to the state being in communities are popularly made in relation to the concept of governmentality and the state's ever presence in the lives of citizens to an extent of regulating private lives (Foucault 1979; Dean 1999). However, in this case I am referring to the physical presence of the state as represented by concrete communities. This shows that those who consider themselves to have 'moved' into the state in their endeavours to change lives of their communities have a double puzzle in their experiences. On one hand, they speak to patterns of experiences of many who have chased the state as an '*elusive puzzle'* – as argued earlier in this chapter. On the other hand, they suggest that even though these lower level officials are within or inside the state, and as I will show in detail in the last part of this chapter, they remain full members of their communities.

The notion of community is often used to depict the 'other' of the state, whether local, political, religious, or other communities that are imagined to be located outside, but in relation to, the state. Much of the discussion on the nature of the relationship draws on the notion of hegemony, thus posing the question of how non-coercive forms of domination are constituted and how communities are brought within the purview of the state (Hansen and Stepputat 2001). However, evidence from Buffalo City suggests that as we move further down in the metro, we discover that this is another myth that has been constructed around the idea of the state.

Moving into the state or getting a job at the municipality comes with a huge responsibility for those from the margins of society. As Auyero (2012) notes that the state usually gives people a run-around with an aim to discipline them, these local officials become the only hope for those seeking to access the state without political connections. This therefore means that those who are 'going to the state' become the beacon of hope for their communities as it is believed that the state is more accessible for those inside. However, despite these expectations from the

communities, when these local officials finally get to the 'state,' they realise that they cannot access it. In fact, they realise that despite being state officials, they are not even a step closer to the state. Most of them still have to 'run around' like everyone to get what they want.

In a focus group with office cleaners and messengers from one of the departments, participants shared their experiences of the state and how these unsettled all the hopes they and their communities had on discovering that they will be working for the Buffalo City municipality. Besides being bullied by their line managers and being taken for granted by other colleagues who are a step ahead of them within the bureaucracy, these employees are mostly frustrated by their inability to access the state while they are already inside it.

> Nakuthi izinto zinzima apha ngoba xa abantu base lokitshini bekubona usebenza kwaMasipala babanethemba lokuba uzobanceda ngezinto ezibaxakileyo ekuhlaleni. Xa usiva kuthiwa ufumene umsebenzi ubanovuyo uxelele wonke umuntu, usuka ungayazi ukuba ubenza babenethemba, kwawena usuka ucinga ukuba kwamasipala yonke into iyenzeka. Kuthi ke xa sewungenile kwamasipala ubone ukuba kubangcono xa uhleli elokitshini kunokusebenza kwamasipala ngoba awukwazi kunceda nangezinto ezincinci njengokuxela ukuba kukho umbobho oqhumileyo, impompo evuzayo okanye ibhokisi yombane iyakhaba. Kulapho ke ozibona khona ukuba ukwamasipala kodwa akukho mahluko nomntu oselokitshini, okwakho kugqithele ke ngoba wena ukwamasipala (Focus Group Discussion participant, BCMM, 15/06/2017).[50]

Some community leaders left their roles in the community or other professions to work in the municipality hoping that it would be easier to influence decisions and channel public goods to their communities. However, when they are in the municipality, they realise that there is actually a huge 'community' inside the state that has little or no influence at all. Joining that community was an eye-opener for a former teacher who painfully discovered that there is actually a 'community' within the state.

[50] Things are also difficult for us here because people in the township see you working for the municipality and they believe that you will help with most of the things that are lacking there. When you hear that you got a job you rejoice and tell everyone, not knowing that you are creating expectations and you do so willingly because you think in the municipality is where things are happening. However, when we get here, we realise that things are even far much better outside because you are here now but you can't help with simple things such as reporting a burst pipe or a leaking tap or a tripping electricity box. That is when you realise that you are here [in the municipality/state], but you are still like someone in the township, or even worse because as for people in the township are already outside (Focus Group Discussion participant, BCMM, 15/06/2017).

> I left teaching because of political deployment and I was asked to come and work here. I am the secretary of the branch that is part of the structure of Mdantsane zone. I believed that if you need to get something you have to be in the system…What I thought when I was coming here was to take care of the community where I am coming from. I have been working with the community in development issues and I thought that I was going to be able to advance our needs from inside. I had hoped that I will get a post and be able to survive in a better job. You do not know what is better until you see it. While I was there [teaching], I thought it was better to work for government and now that I am inside here, I wish I can go back to where I came from. I thought it was going to be easy to push service delivery issues from here. But since I have been here things have been difficult than what I had assumed…The saddest part is when you realise that even inside here you are treated worse than a person on the street. You are not better than them, in fact we are part of them, the only difference is that they [communities] do not know what we are going through and they believe that things are better (Interview with Administrator, Support Services, 22/02/2017).

While these two excerpts may be read as suggesting the precarity of lower level officials, they are simultaneously exposing the myth about the state boundaries and their porosity. These officials remain an important part of the municipality and they are central to its day-to-day business. Their experiences cannot be easily dismissed as experiences of precarity within the state. Instead, they become important in unmasking the myth of the state and its boundaries. In the following section, I draw from the experiences of local officials who consider themselves as community members first before being state employees and the implications of these identities and meanings related to the presence of the state in communities in its physical sense.

6.5. The Everyday Making and Re-making of the (Local) State

Here I present ways in which the everyday encounters of the state representatives and ordinary citizens fracture the image of the state in ways that re-configures, personifies and demystifies its abstract identity – an '*elusive puzzle.'* I show how in their everyday encounter, both ordinary citizens and state representatives make sense of the state and its complex layers – challenge the '*elusive puzzle'* by re-configuring the state in ways that make sense to their everyday lived experiences.

Hansen and Stepputat argue that the study of the state requires that one studies how the state tries to make itself real and tangible through symbols, texts and iconography. Most importantly, it requires that researchers "move beyond the state's own prose, categories, and perspective

and study how the state appears in everyday and localised forms, in a sense of localised ethnographic sites, whether 'inside' or 'outside' of the evanescent boundary between society and the state that usually crumbles when subjected to empirical scrutiny" (Hansen and Stepputat 2001: 5). Evidence from Buffalo City and Duncan Village suggests that the division (assumed) between the state and society "crumbles when subjected to empirical scrutiny." Similarly, I argue that what we consider to be bureaucracy, when subjected to close scrutiny, is nothing more than the image of an elusive puzzle crumbling as the state becomes (re)configured and personified in the everyday realities of communities. The state boundaries are further demystified in discovering that not only communities are in the state, but also there is a state in its physical sense in communities (also see *Chapter 3*).

6.5.1. Service Delivery and Hybrid Identities

The idea of the state as an '*elusive puzzle'* when brought to the community level is challenged by its paradoxical manifestation on the ground. On one hand, the state appears to be an '*elusive puzzle'* that keeps on shifting as individuals and groups attempt to reach out to it. On the other, the embodiment of the state through citizens who identify themselves as carrying multiple identities presents a puzzle to this very idea of representation. I theorise these multiple identities as '*hybrid identities'* because they are formed from a combination of multiple ways in which local state officials identify themselves. As the section below will show, sometimes it is even difficult to choose one identity one is loyal to. The end result therefore becomes a negotiation of these multiple identities that are in turn *hybridised*. This is not to claim that all local state officials understand themselves as carrying this hybrid identity. However, it is to draw attention to the role of subjective identities and their deployment in the politics of service delivery from those officials who have argued that their different identities influence ways in which they participate in the everyday business of carrying out their duties.

I argue that these identities present a paradox where state officials (as the state) have to implement state projects on themselves (as the community). Narratives from some of the local state representatives have shown how this paradox is brought to life through their everyday duties in Buffalo City. They have shown how, when they are commissioned to deliver services at the margins of society like Duncan Village, they are faced with a paradox of negotiating their '*hybrid identities'* and their positionality within their communities and the state. The result

or end product (quality of service or their practices) is therefore a reflection of the negotiated compromise that continues to be challenged even when they are on the ground.

In the *Realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an Out-of-the-Way Place*, Anna Tsing (1993) notes that "at the border between state rule and the wild stand those who dare to define, defy and demand administration – men called leaders because they are ambitious enough to tell the government that they represent the community and their neighbours that they represent the state" (1993: 72). I have explored what this means for politicians in *Chapter 5*. Here I explore those who stand between the state and communities, not as leaders per se, but as those identified by Ekeh (1975) as citizens of the two publics – local state officials with '*hybrid identities.'* Tsing further argues that "local leaders invoke the authority of the state, but often lose out if the state arrives" (Tsing 1993: 51). While this applies neatly for those community leaders without an official status as 'the state,' I am interested in exploring what this means for the state officials with double lives – that of the state and of a society/community, and how this double life is negotiated every day.

Drawing from the experience of India, Veena Das has explored the role of police in quelling intra-community violence. She observed that "rather than talking as those who are engaged in implementing rules and regulations, there were occasions when the police tasked with containing insurgency talked as if they directly embodied the law." For Das, "it is the complicated entanglement of state and community that makes them act as if they are direct embodiments of the state" (Das 2007: 169). This complicated entanglement of state and community/society and its implications for the distribution of state resources and constructions of the image of the state by both state officials and ordinary citizens, is what I seek to explore here.

When I asked one of the officials in the IDP how they engage communities to ensure inclusive public participation, he reflected on how they prioritise dignity and respect in their everyday engagements. They have to be patient and assist as much as they can. But most importantly, their relationship to the communities is shaped by their identity. He notes:

> We always try and treat community members in a dignified and respectful manner. We try to be patient in dealing with them and to assist as much as possible where assistance is needed and we also try to clarify wherever information is needed. We also try to understand their plight because cases differ…It is also important to note that we are members of the communities

> before becoming government employees, so we also keep that in mind. It is different when you work with people that you do not know, maybe for others. But for me, I am here to serve my community and that means whatever the service I am sending back, it is like they are my own services. So we are part of these communities that we are meant to service. That on its own is power to us and to our people (Interview, Senior Administrator, IDP, 23/02/2017).

This local official is emphasising the importance of being part of the community of which you are delivering services to. In her work on accessing water in Johannesburg and Mumbai, Zanaib Bawa highlighted the importance of the proximity to communities in which public goods are distributed. She noted that unlike in Johannesburg where ground staff hail from suburbs, in Mumbai the local bureaucrats come from the same townships. This, for Bawa, allows those who are in close proximity to understand the demands of the slum residents as legitimate since officials can relate to the struggles. In the case of Johannesburg, "the staff, trained in ethics, values and the rule of law, tend to view the claims of informal groups as arising from greed and a desire to obtain water without paying through unruliness" (Bawa 2011: 500).

The idea of being part of the community while being expected to be part of the state machine is shared by many other local officials who still have ties or reside within their home communities. Reflecting on the challenges of working for the local state, one official from the Water and Sanitation Department reflected on what it means to be a member of a community that you are working for/in:

> The challenge of working for the municipality is that people come directly to you; there are no middle men like when you are working for the district or province. In the municipality people come direct to you and queries have to be addressed there and there. You have to jump and address what people need. Again when you are at local [state] you deal directly with people that you know such that even if you are not at work they will always tell you about their problems. It is never your time because wherever they see you they always have grievances to be addressed. This is a challenge, but it means that you have to up your services and push the people who are on the ground, make them understand the urgency of a burst pipe which cannot be fixed in 24 hours because this pipe does not only affect the people, it also affects you. So you think of the dignity of your own people and yours as one because I am not just here as people of BCMM but as a community member of Mdantsane (Interview with Senior Administrator, Sanitation, 13/11/2014).

From this excerpt we do not only learn about the challenges associated with working for the local state, but also what it means to deliver services to your own people and to yourself, therefore the "urgency of a burst pipe that cannot be fixed in 24 hours and people's dignity."

In her study of municipal administrations in metropolitan cities in India, Pinto (2000) points out that councillors bypass rules because they want to resolve the problems of their constituencies quickly, unlike civil servants whose training and personal backgrounds influence them to follow rules and procedural formalities. The concept of '*strategic service delivery'* developed in *Chapter 5* conforms to this observation as politicians rely on their local constituencies for political support. However, how do we understand these practices when they are employed by administrators who are better understood to be trained in rules and ethics? Benjamin employs the concepts of 'porous bureaucracy' to capture the contradictions between the rigid bureaucracy and local realities and argues that this captures the fluidity that provides access and voice to poor communities (Benjamin 2004: 184). It is this fluidity that I am interested in exploring in the case of Buffalo City. More than giving a voice, it speaks to the contradictions of the image of the state as these local officials dissolve into communities and re-emerge to stand with the state (Tsing 2003).

This is not to say that in areas where local officials are based, services are always on point and on time. However, these narratives point to an important idea of the state and how it gets complicated when brought down to the communities. It draws attention to the subjective identities and meanings thereof – of state officials and their positionality within the state machinery and their communities. It disrupts the whole idea of separating the state and the community/society and renders state boundaries porous.

While interviews presented thus far show how state officials are members of the communities they are serving, further evidence from Buffalo City suggests that these identities can be multiple and that they all play a role in decision-making processes by those who carry them. Reflecting on his experiences as a relocation officer in Duncan Village, one official narrated the difficulties of negotiating his '*hybrid identity'* and how this negotiation affects some of the choices he makes that in most cases diverge from what is 'expected.' He shows how despite the expectations from his bosses, service delivery cannot be executed through the blue print rule of procedures.

> So you must know that you belong to that community because if you want progress with your work, want to succeed on your goal, your plan, you can't separate your work from this fact. If you have planned that you want beneficiaries to have moved by a particular time, so if you belong to that community, if someone says they have a problem you have to listen. For example, if they need to do something in town before moving, since we have

> been provided with transport, you need to assist where you can, by maybe rushing them to town. The other thing that you do is to minimise vandalism. Vandalism and illegal occupations is one of the challenges for both communities and BCMM. You minimise because that house was going to be vandalised anyway. So you listen to their problems and you meet them half way. Since houses are being vandalised or illegally occupied, so you minimise by meeting beneficiaries half way. In some cases they tell you to wait for them and that maybe they will move in next week. So you have to understand them and ask them what is holding them back. Sometimes they tell you that they need to fetch some of their stuff from town or somewhere, or someone is working as a stay in domestic worker they only come home on weekends. You have to go to where they are working, ask them and try to negotiate with the employer while you are there to fetch them. You have to fetch them, relocate them and then take them back to their work. Thus, why I am saying you must feel as you are belonging to that community because I do not think that this is possible if you are a stranger in that community or you do not care about them. By that you are not only doing work for this community, you also do it for the government. This is what I call community service because you do the work that minimises risks (Interview with Administrator, Human Settlements, 22/02/2017).

The local official takes the idea of belonging a bit further by demonstrating how these relations are constantly negotiated in their twists and turns. Treating people with respect and dignity is not enough; one has to bend down and pay attention to the complicated lives of the communities that he is working with/in; he has to pay attention to their everyday realities. But the participant insists that one has to carry a particular sense of belonging in order to understand these circumstances. By so doing, the official does not only make his job easier, he also protects the state property and he shows that failure to negotiate the relocation process will lead to the vandalism or illegal occupations of the relocation destination houses.

The reading of the experiences of the local official quoted above demonstrates a complication between the relationship of the state and society and the assumed boundaries. However, the official does not even see himself as part of either the state or an absolute community member as he insists that his practices that consider conditions of the ground are rather important for bridging the gap between state and society by protecting vandalism and illegal occupations of the RDP houses.

Although his actions can be questionable in the eyes of an observer of ‘good governance’, important questions have to be asked in order to understand this complexity. How does the relocation officer account for the time he spends navigating the complex needs of his clients? How does he account for using state resources (the relocation truck) to run ‘personal

businesses' for his clients? What mechanisms does BCMM have to protect the illegal occupations and vandalism of RDP houses? Evidence from the case of Reeston 87 and Mekeni Houses[51] shows that there are no mechanisms in place from BCMM to counter or reverse illegal occupations. Technically, the relocation officer is arguably justified in his negotiations if it is for the benefit of the state. I argue that the answers for these questions are embedded in the deconstruction and re-configuration of the state at a local level. When we disrupt the assumptions of a separation of state/society relations, we are presented with an opportunity to begin to map the identity of the state and unmask the elusive figure that pretends to be detached from society/communities. In these everyday negotiations mediated by the '*hybrid identity'* worn by local officials, we find ways to unpack the complex nuances of an identity of a postcolonial state with a multi-layered history like South Africa.

Writing on experiences of aid recipients in the United States, Joe Soss argues that "in these interactions, bureaucrats try to teach newcomers the expectations and obligations that will make up the client role" (1995: 51). This observation resonates with Auyero's observations in his study on the *patients of the state* as it underscores the relevance of the clients' view in waiting and how they come to be discouraged or lose hope in social welfare services (Auyero 2012). The debate on domination and consent has been widely elaborated in this chapter and throughout the thesis. The South African democracy is a *battlefield* – a space of contestation, therefore domination by consent has already been challenged. Similarly, what we observe from the practices of local officials with *hybrid identities* is more like solidarity in the continued struggle for *inkululeko*, more than lessons for subordination.

Writing from the experience of India, Akhil Gupta (1995) challenges mappings of the state that assume a boundary between the state and civil society (or society in general). He argues that these ideas were developed through particular historical experiences of European states that do not necessarily apply in postcolonial states – an argument that I have tried to pursue for the better part of this chapter. Drawing from Foucault's work on biopolitics, Mitchell Dean (2001) challenges us to understand postcolonial states in their historical specificities and languages of stateness instead of seeing them as failing to catch-up with western civilisation. The

[51] See Ndhlovu 2015 for the case studies on illegal occupations and vandalism of RDP houses in BCMM.

experiences documented above demonstrate the failure of the western conception of the state to capture the realities of the South African experience, and Duncan Village in particular.

Drawing on experiences from land registration practices in '*gray*' settlements of South Africa, Margot Rubin (2018) argues that the divergences from the norms cannot be simply understood as failure of the state institutions or practices of corruption. In fact, sometimes there are no legal regulations or prescriptions that exist to cater for informality (Rubin 2018). Chatterjee (2008) argues that in the absence of rules or means to provide for informal residents, *political society* becomes a space where rules are "bent, expanded, and stretched" to accommodate those that fall outside the definition of legality. Understood through this lens, the challenges faced by these local officials in carrying out their everyday duties would therefore be associated with their informality and lack of rules that govern informal practices.

However, the case of the relocation officer in this case poses a challenge that extends beyond the understanding of the workings of *political society*. I argue that the challenges encountered by the relocation officer in Duncan Village are not merely informed by the informality of residents to be relocated because they have already been recognised by the state and have been allocated houses. However, I read these challenges and processes followed by the relocation officer as a complex situation created by the historical context of the South African state where it clashes with the *hybridised identities* worn by local officials. These officials understand their positionality in their communities, their political power that rests on the masses, and their actions are therefore informed and mediated by these complex histories, shared cultural identities, norms and values.

While the complexities discussed above are centred on *hybrid identities* worn by local officials, further evidence from Buffalo City suggests that these identities can be sometimes more complicated, multi-layered and more political. Narrating the challenges that they are faced with at work, one participant noted the difficulties of placing individuals in particular frames. In a local state with a political and administration complex like BCMM (and perhaps other South African municipalities), understanding the functioning of institutions and the embedded relationships poses a challenge even for those working in the same space. The complexity of these challenges was captured by one of the South African Municipal Workers' Union (SAMWU) shop stewards, who is also a ward committee member in his community.

> If you are leading a union, people look at your honesty, how you communicate with people and how you approach things and also you need to be truthful. Secondly, you need to make sure that on issues of unfairness, inequality, treatment [phone rings – and when he gets back, he discusses what was being said on the phone]. You see someone is told that she will not be sold electricity because she belongs to the EFF. They are lying because one hears from the other and through the influence of the community and how information spreads out and gets distorted…You need to follow the principles and constitution of your organisation and do not operate outside of the boundaries of the constitution. The main challenge is inequality; favouritism is rife in management, treating same cases differently. For example, let's say you request the manager to sign your papers, they will ask too many things and once you have done that, they change again yet there is a memo that prescribes how things should be done. So, you see you deal with these issues and some of the people here at work are from your community and even different political parties. When you deal with union cases at work you don't say this person, I know him he is from my community and EFF, and so I won't represent his case here at work. There is also an issue of factionalism in our ANC and all these different groups are here in your workplace and you are supposed to represent everyone fairly. Also, you can't say I am a shop steward at work, then you get home and treat people differently because still, you are a community leader there and you have to unite people. Now you are sent to do something by the municipality in that community, do you say this one is EFF, this one another faction, this one did not vote for me at the union? No, things don't work like that. You wear all these identities and you must make them work. Sometimes it's hard because we are human beings, but still if you are a true leader you must stay on top of your game and do things fairly (Interview with Administrator, Human Settlements, 23/02/2017).

The excerpt above shows some of the complexities presented by these *hybrid identities* in everyday negotiations between the local officials and different communities they identify with. The local official is already part of the state bureaucracy, and he is a union member who is supposed to represent workers of all political affiliations, including those from his community. On the other hand, he is a community leader representing the ANC on the ground. But being a ward committee member means that he has to attend to all communities' grievances including those of members who do not belong to his political organisation. As I have shown earlier, the porosity of state boundaries means that these very communities that the local official is dealing with – as he notes that some of them are in his department - are within the state as employees. Furthermore, this official is governed by different constitutions that may have humility and dignity as core values cutting across, yet different organisations have different specifications on issues related to prioritising members and so forth. He is governed by the union constitution

as a shop steward, by the ANC constitution as a ward committee member, and by the municipal regulations relating to service delivery.

6.5.2. Re-configuring State Boundaries: Personification and Demystification of the State

The idea of reconfiguring the state is not only presented by the local officials identifying themselves with their communities and going out of their way to resolve community needs that are beyond their call of duty. Ordinary citizens also participate in the process by refusing to be subordinated to or to accept the mystified version of the state and by forcing the state to respond to their urgent needs through protest actions and lobbying their local officials. Furthermore, communities participate in the process of re-configuring the state through their fluid reconstruction of the state where they refuse to recognise its separately structured institutions and collapse them in ways that make sense to their everyday lives. Perhaps Akhil Gupta offers some important insights on understanding of the workings of the state; how it is experienced by local residents, and how these experiences are useful in constructing a fluid image of the state. He argues, "at the local level, it becomes difficult to experience the state as an ontically coherent entity: what one confronts instead is much more discrete and fragmentary…Yet, it is precisely through the practices of such local institutions that a translocal institution such as the state comes to be imagined" (Gupta 1995: 384). As much as citizens are expected to know different state institutions and departments and their functions, evidence from Duncan Village shows that in their everyday dealings, citizens do not draw these departmental boundaries. Instead, they direct their needs and grievances to wherever they consider accessible or where they feel they can be easily heard or attended to. In some cases, they tend to collapse these departments according to how their everyday lives are ordered at home.

Reflecting on challenges of being a community member and working for the state at the same time, one local official shows how some of the challenges are associated with the refusal by the communities to recognise and respect departmental boundaries. He argues that they order their needs according to how they run their everyday lives and how being a local official literary collapses one into an image of the state. Perhaps it is helpful to capture these complexities in this lengthy excerpt:

> Because I work at the Housing Department, housing is one of the departments with most challenges all over South Africa. People think because they know me and I live with them, they think that things should always be easy. They

> think that when they meet with me, they will eventually get houses. This is standard common sense. Secondly, things that people should be reporting to the municipality they report them to me because they think that since I work for the municipality I can deliver. Fortunately enough I have some bit of experience after the years of working here. And there are a lot of departments that are responsible for service delivery, so it depends on what services they want. Sometimes I report on their behalf and sometimes I refer them to relevant departments…The only problem that we have is that everyone knows the housing department for whatever problems that they have. Remember I said we have tried to create awareness in terms of things happening at housing…Everyone comes to housing because everything is inside the house. For instance, if there is a problem with electricity box they will always come to housing. For example, if there is a burst pipe there is Water Works department but people will always come to housing…Working for the municipality is also problematic because people always generalise. Whether you are on local, national, or provincial, *nibotshwa nge bhanti enye*. Like the president, they say he did this and that and that. Same applies here, whether you are an official or politician *uzabotshwa ngebhanti enye*. If maybe say politicians are wrong, even you as an administrator you are wrong without searching what you have done (Interview with Administrator, Rentals, 23/02/2017).

The excerpt above captures the multi-layeredness and the complexity of what it means to be a local state representative in Buffalo City, and possibly across many South African municipalities in lower income cities. Indeed, the interview excerpt speaks to ways in which local residents reconfigure the state at a local level in ways that not only make sense to them, but that also work for them. As the participant puts it: "everyone comes to housing because everything is inside the house." This excerpt shows how in a normal world for the people of Buffalo City all issues related to the house only makes sense for them to be located in the same department. Having departments that are serving along the same needs scattered across and administered by different personnel does not make sense for these residents. In imposing their own understanding and structuring of 'normal life,' residents of Buffalo City *reconfigure* the state by collapsing all relevant functionalities into one department (housing department in this case) – the one that is logical for them to carry out these functions.

The idea of reconfiguring the state is also echoed by another official from the housing department who noted that:

> Everyone comes to the Housing office even for the things that are not related to housing. For example, potholes, lights, etc. And this other day I went to represent my boss at a community meeting. And this one man stood up and complained about sewage and crime, electricity, ambulance, and how the Housing Department is doing nothing to address all these things. Most of the

> times people are not getting help because they are knocking at the wrong doors. You can never get help if you keep on knocking at the wrong place. At this meeting I asked them if the Sewage department was there and they said no. So, I could see how they would never hear about all these problems. I do not know whose responsibility it is to educate people. And the Housing department then becomes the 'government'. And they were also complaining about drug abuse and when I told them to report to the police, they asked me if I can go and report for them (Interview with Senior Administrator, Housing, 27/02/2017).

Earlier in this chapter, I demonstrated the elusive nature of the state as residents try to chase it. These two interview excerpts attest to the idea of an absent state and the difficulties of chasing this *elusive puzzle* when residents assume that those who are already inside the state should be able to chase it better – through housing department personnel reporting drug abuse to the police on behalf of affected communities. If one is working for the state, communities assume that they have easy access, yet the local official quoted earlier in this section tells us, "Because they know me and I live with them, they think that things should always be easy." However, like other local state representatives discussed here, the '*hybrid identity'* that this official wears allows him to traverse this complex *elusive puzzle* (the state) and use his other parts of his '*hybrid identity'* (state official) to navigate the everyday needs of his communities.

In an ideal state, where do we situate this local official and others like him and what rules and regulations allow him to navigate all these expectations? When he moves from his housing department to report a leaking pipe, a blocked drain, a tripping electric box, what identity does he wear? Who is he and how is he connected to the neighbour's house or community on whose behalf he is reporting? I argue that the '*hybrid identities'* that local officials wear allow them to navigate both the state and their communities as they try to create and maintain relations both 'inside' and 'outside' the state in order to be able to carry their everyday duties.

Most importantly, the housing department official's interview shows that the relationship that is being forged with communities does not always work in a positive sense when residents are looking for help. However, this very identity can be challenged, questioned, and held to account for all wrongs happening, not only in the community or municipality, but also across the country. The official shows how people tend to generalise about issues taking place at the provincial or national government level, and in one of their many identities as administrators, are held to account for these. The interviews discussed in this section show how the state is *reconfigured* and *personified* at a local level.

Commenting on discourses on decentralisation and participation and how they emphasise 'a humanised' state, Claire Benit-Gbaffou and Sophie Oldfield note the challenges posed by this proximity to the "Weberian conception of the state as neutral, universal and based on legal, policy and administrative principles." (Gbaffou and Oldfield 2011:446) They conclude that the fine line between decentralization-participation and clientelism is even more striking in countries of the south, where the construction of a Weberian state is either a faraway ideal or has never taken off, and is now challenged by other conceptions of the state, in a context of neoliberalism and the diffusion of global principles of 'good governance' (ibid.). The everyday practices of local officials documented here suggest not only that the Weberian state never took off, but that it sometimes does not exist at all in the understandings of many.

Zanaib Bawa's questions: 'who is the state?' and 'where is the state?' become more relevant when we try to locate these local officials and their *hybrid identities* that they deploy in negotiating processes of service delivery. While Bawa argues that these questions are relevant for "assessing how institutional location of decision makers affects service delivery, people's access to municipal resources and councillors' abilities to negotiate with authorities" (Bawa 2011: 492), I argue that this question is broader and more complex than what she accommodates. These questions do not only transcend the issue of location and access, but also extend to the identities and positionalities of local officials themselves before they begin to interact with communities and politicians. I therefore argue that this is an indication of how the state is *reconfigured* at the local level.

Where the state remains elusive behind its absence, anxiousness, and paradoxical bureaucracy with no one to account for anything (Arendt 1970), at the community level it is *reconfigured* (through ways in which local officials carry out their duties and how residents collapse different departments to the same function), *personified* (individual officials are reduced to the state and identified as the state), and *demystified* (even issues that are taking place at regional or national level including political scandals – when brought to the local level, someone is always held accountable, or at least must explain to the citizens) through everyday interactions with communities.

6.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed ways in which the South African state in Buffalo City can be experienced as absent, anxious, yet contradictory. I argued that while it remains absent where it is needed the most, it exerts its legibility through violence or force on communities who demand its accountability. The state further tries to mask its illegibility through documents that seek to align themselves with a functional bureaucracy. I argued that by attempting so hard to align with a functional bureaucracy, the state exposes its anxiousness. The anxiousness itself can be accounted for through '*Hollywood politics'* – officials acting in vacant positions with no capacity or authority to make important decisions. This in turn stifles the efforts of service delivery and impacts on the experiences of local state officials who cannot proceed to work without signed documents.

In the second part of the chapter I showed how '*Hollywood politics'* coupled with ways in which administration positions are advertised, and efforts to align to the idea of a functional bureaucracy may lead to the elusiveness of the state. I have shown how those who have left their communities, including those in senior positions, to seek the 'state' have encountered an '*elusive puzzle'* where the centre of state power keeps shifting to positions that make the state remain unaccountable. While the state may attempt to present a barricade along its boundaries, evidence from the lower levels of the bureaucracy have exposed the porosity of the state boundaries; suggesting that there are communities in the state and that there is a state in its physical sense in communities.

The last part of the chapter explored ways in which the '*elusive puzzle'* (the state) has been unmasked as the state gets to be *(re)configured* and *personified.* I proposed the concept of '*hybrid identities'* to understand the subjective identities, experiences and positionalities of the local state officials, and argued that these become important in the everyday navigation and negotiation of their state duties. These '*hybrid identities'* mediate state - society relations in ways that unmask the '*elusive puzzle,' reconfigure* and *personify* the state as it encounters societies at the margins. This relationship gives the state a human face that can be held accountable for its duties and other societal issues. The following chapter explores the position of womxn within the state and communities.

Chapter 7

Womxn and the State: (De)constructing Patriarchy, Resistance and Re-imagining Inclusive Citizenship

It is the 16th of December 2017 at Nasrec Expo Centre in Johannesburg and we are here for the 54th elective congress of the ANC. It is early in the morning but the place is already buzzing with journalists from different media houses who made it a point to be here before the arrival of delegates. The delegates from different provinces have been trickling in and as expected, are welcomed by photo journalists as they sang and chanted towards the media station. It is my first time to be in such an environment/set-up and thanks to the South African Labour Bulletin (SALB) for affording me an opportunity with their media access ticket. I still have a lot to learn including chasing individual delegate interviews and fighting for a place in plenary sessions. As a researcher and an ethnographer, this is a very productive space for gathering data through informal conversations, discussions, debates, and gossip.

For a moment I was detached from the reality of politics as I got absorbed in conversations that I had no business with – something to give me a sense of sanity after 17 months of doing my fieldwork in Buffalo City. I am brought back to reality by the arrival of the Eastern Cape delegates as they sang and chanted "Phakama Matamela ixesha lisondele"- a praise song to the then Deputy President (now President) Cyril Ramaphosa as their preferred candidate. Instead of welcoming the team whose politics I closely followed since 2014, I found myself disappearing into a deep dark hole and for a moment shedding tears. I was not aware how deep the politics of the Eastern Cape had penetrated my life, especially the past few months moving to this elective congress. I watched in awe as comrades chanted and danced in front of the media in a united voice. Although I was watching all this happiness and positive energy, at the back of my mind I am distracted by the events of the past few weeks - violence, in-fights, shootings and chair-fights. As colourful and united the Eastern Cape delegation looks, at the back of my mind I am still hearing the gunshots from one of the delegate nominations meetings where a gunshot was fired and comrades ran away and some got injured. While some lay in hospital, the other factions continued with nominating delegates. In another branch, we sat throughout the night until the early hours of the morning because the branch could not reach a quorum to be able to nominate delegates. However, the following day there was a list of delegates and there were signatures confirming that a meeting was organised and delegates were successfully elected. As we are here singing and chanting inside, the comrades of the other faction are outside the Nasrec Expo venue appealing to the national leadership to nullify the delegates from the branch as they were 'illegally' elected. However, it was already clear that this was not a battle that they were going to win since this has been a standard practice across the region. Earlier in the year the national leadership legitimised an executive council from a violent conference. However messed up this whole build-up to Nasrec process has been, interestingly, all the branches that were disrupted were deliberately meant to prevent as many delegates from the NDZ (Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma) camp to proceed to the congress – but this is a debate for another day.

As I continue to reflect on the events leading to the Nasrec conference from at least six wards where I have been conducting my research, what is clear is that from all the six branches, one way or the other the NDZ faction has already been disarmed. As many debates are ensuing here amongst the journalists around predictions of the presidential successor, one can tell that despite the facts already tabled, there is very little appetite for Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma.

Arguably, the media has done a very great job of tainting her name by associating her with her ex-husband and outgoing president Jacob Zuma whose presidential term has been marred by a series of controversies. However, throughout all discussions and debates, I am yet to read some concrete evidence on NDZ's direct connection to the controversial family (the Guptas) or where she is held personally liable for corruption. Until then, I will accept that indeed, just like in the rest of the world, South Africa is not ready for a womxn president. In 2014 Malawi had to unseat former president Joyce Banda, marking her term the shortest in office. In 2016, the world saw the outright right-wing party delivering Donald Trump as the president of the US defeating Hillary Clinton – another womxn. Although there were contradicting statements justifying the losing for the democrats, social media always provide unfiltered views, and most people were clear that they did not want a womxn president. Even from this conference, it is clear that despite the number of womxn delegates, the country is not ready for NDZ or any womxn president.

I left East London yesterday in the evening to get my accreditation before the conference begins. This was after seeing off "friends of the delegates" - a quantum filled with young girls who are transported from different provinces to the conference city. These are neither delegates nor families or spouses of the delegates. They are just what they are called – "friends of delegates". It was my first-time hearing about this concept of the 'friends of the delegates.' Upon probing further, I came to learn that they are part of the "entertainment" for comrades to make sure that particular region does not vote with the opposition faction because they are not being 'looked after'. The irony of this 'entertainment' is that while the conference delegates are both men and womxn, the friends of the delegates are strictly womxn – young, 'good-looking' girls – commonly known as istoko. They are recruited through a senior party/branch member who selects them carefully as per instructions from the male comrades or as per availability. I am going to spend the rest of the conference days sleeping at one of the hotels to follow this disturbing idea of low-key human trafficking where young girls are bussed into the conference as 'entertainment' for men. Even within these taken for granted issues such as entertainment for conference delegates, womxn are erased and seem undeserving of some form of entertainment despite them being the majority of the delegates. In an ideal world, should we not be having a bus of the "friends of the delegates" with half of them being a careful selection of young womxn and another half being a careful selection of ideal men who are able to perform their heterosexual masculinity? And perhaps another bus of queer folks, gays and lesbians? If we believe in the concept of 50/50 and equal opportunities in politics, surely we should begin by disrupting this heteronormative patriarchal privilege that demands to be provided with humans for 'entertainment' as if they are the majority of the voters. Politics remain patriarchal. The different form of violence performed at different venues were all in defence of patriarchy and ensuring continued patriarchal privilege (adapted from fieldwork diary 16/12/2017).

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter I map the role of womxn in politics from a historical perspective to the present. The chapter is based on one of the statements declared by one of the local historians during fieldwork who stated that "the two fronts of war have been (and continue to be) fought on womxn's bodies." "The first front was the anti-apartheid struggle and the second was on poverty, unemployment and other indignities that continue to be fought on our bodies even

post-1994" (Interview with Zukiswa, BCMM, 04/05/2017). Intrigued by the complexity of this statement, I explore these '*two fronts of wars'* and map different types of violence that they continue to inscribe on womxn's experiences. I argue that despite all forms of disruptions that exist at state/community level, these spaces are unsafe for womxn as they continue to be structured by patriarchal relations and domination. Broader systems of neoliberalism, state policies and violent masculinities continue to structure inequality and the exclusion of womxn.

The chapter is disruptive and controversial in a few ways. Firstly, I draw from the literature outside the social sciences and sociology disciplines in particular. I draw mainly from literary texts (fictional and non-fictional novels) authored by mainly African and African-American womxn. This choice is motivated by the challenge encountered in gathering scholarly resources for this chapter. Most studies on violence and Black womxn struggles in South Africa are authored by white womxn. This suggests that the problem of decolonisation and transformation is not only disciplinary, but can be located in specific subjects (such as violence) within disciplines. Drawing from literary texts has allowed this chapter to extend the conversation on womxn and experiences of state violence beyond the boundaries of social sciences and sociology in particular. This suggests that we can have an interdisciplinary conversation on womxn struggles or any other issues.

As Simmonds (1999) argues, as a black African womxn her existence is not only inscribed in social science disciplines such as anthropology, but also in colonial narratives, literature, photography, painting, among others (1999). Fiction is an embodiment of real-life experiences. El Sadaawi also notes that "facts and fiction are inseparable like the body and mind…I write fiction to tell the truth" (2010: 2). Similarly, the effort to understand and unpack experiences of these Black womxn demanded that I move away from sociology/social sciences, and borrow from other disciplines. Womxn's experiences located within this contradiction are therefore disruptive and do not recognise (artificial) disciplinary boundaries romanticised by the academy. Human lives and their experiences are real and cannot be confined within boundaries. This is already indicative of the disruptive nature of this chapter. Resistance therefore becomes a survival strategy for them.

Secondly, the chapter draws from womxn writers and deliberately silences men as a political stance and a point of reflection from my own personal experiences of encountering men in Buffalo City (see *Chapter 2*) and the personal stories that the womxn I spoke to shared passionately. When I started writing this chapter, I had in mind stories of South African womxn

who had been killed by men either as their intimate partners or in other violent attacks. Names of Fezekile (Khwezi) Khuzwayo, Karabo Mokoena, Lekita Moore, Dolly Tshabalala, Aviwe JamJam, Reeva Steenkamp, Thembisile Yende, among others, were already noted as a reflection of the extent to which South African democracy has crumbled in the face of womxn, showing a direct link to the continuity of the institutionalised systemic violence of the apartheid state. Three weeks later after starting the chapter, it seems like I have been overtaken by events by a decade. The South African landscape of violence has shifted dramatically – we are a femicide nation!

The University of Cape Town (UCT) student Uyinene Mrwetyana has been raped, killed and burnt by a state employee at the South African post-office when she went to collect her parcel. Jesse Hess, a University of the Western Cape (UWC) student, was attacked and killed along with her grandfather at their home in Cape Town. In East London, Leighandre Jegels, a boxing champion has been shot-dead by her ex-boyfriend whom she had a protection order against, and her mother is at the hospital recovering from injuries from the attack. In Kwa-Zulu Natal, Janika Mallo has been kidnapped and killed along with her three siblings by their father who is apparently refusing to be divorced by their mother. In Gauteng, Tsakane Township, it has been more than a hundred days since baby Amahle Thabethe was kidnapped by a stranger-man she was assisting with directions. The list is endless! Social media is abuzz with friends and families appealing to the public to assist them with finding their loved ones. Those without access to social media are also undergoing different types of trauma searching for or burying womxn and young children kidnapped, raped and killed by a neighbour, family friend or someone close.

While we are battling to come to terms with these violent acts of men, other women and men on social media are bullying anyone who dares to call out men on their war on womxns' bodies because #NotAllMen are perpetrators. Furthermore, from all conversations that I have had with womxn who shared their personal stories, it is clear that whether at global, regional, national or local levels, womxn struggles are perpetrated by men in general as they struggle to assert their power in defence of their violent, yet fragile masculinities. I therefore deliberately silence men by denying them a space to mansplain the everyday violence inflicted on womxn directly or indirectly.

Excluding voices of men from this chapter is not a reflection of my ignorance on 'progressive' work of academic men (some of whom are expressing dangerously problematic views on social

media) who have contributed to this subject. It is a political decision, perhaps emanating from a point of anger. But as Felly Nkweto Simmonds (1999) says in her essay: 'My body, myself: how does a Black woman do Sociology?' perhaps I am also struggling with doing sociology that violates my own existence as a Black womxn in South Africa amidst explicit femicide. This is to say that including voices of rape apologists who will do anything to protect themselves as a group, when I am simultaneously experiencing backlash on social media and everyday face-to-face conversations, becomes both a political and academic burden in writing on femicide and gender-based violence. It is therefore not an accident that the reader will not find references on scholarship authored by men despite their 'progressive' politics and ground-breaking work on womxns' struggles.

The chapter is divided into four parts. The first part documents personal stories from six different womxn. I begin by narrating these stories to give the reader a background to the inter-generational struggles of womxn that I will be unpacking throughout the chapter. In these five stories, I narrate stories that demonstrate how the two fronts of war have been fought on womxns' bodies in South Africa, Buffalo City in particular. The stories draw from the narratives of the young and old in politics, the employed (in the state) and the unemployed, womxn in positions of power at the municipal level, community level and young womxn who continue to struggle for a living in their everyday encounter with the state. The second part delves into multi-layered spaces where womxn experience different forms of violence everyday. I identify and theorise *four battlefields* (the body, the family/home, the community and the state) as entangled battlefields where violent encounters are experienced by womxn in Buffalo City. I argue that these battlefields further complicate questions of citizenship and belonging raised in *Chapter 4*. Through participation in these battlefields, womxn in Buffalo City are excluded from post-1994 citizenship and their belonging in these communities or families is further disrupted. The forms of resistance that we see exerted by these womxn can be understood as an everyday struggle for inclusive citizenship and belonging in South Africa through deconstructions, reconstructions and everyday disruptions of patriarchal power.

The third part explores different forms of resistance in which womxn can thrive towards inclusive citizenship and belonging. The struggle for disruption will demand a compromised bridging of the inter-generational gap between the young and old, the traditional and the radical to achieve some level of solidarity. I suggest that resistance should be multi-dimensional and attack at all angles. This is not to suggest that womxn should continue to carry the burden of ending their own oppression. However, forms of resistance should be more assertive and

disruptive, whatever form they take. This would demand a compromise in acceptance of different forms of resistance that may rather be viewed as diverging from 'collective' norms that hold society together.

7.2. Narratives from Womxns' Stories

These stories documented here are selected from another twenty-two stories that I documented between 2014 and 2017. Some of the details were updated in 2019. The stories are not selected because they are better or more special than others; they were selected because of specific themes that I have chosen to address in this particular chapter. The reader will note that this chapter diverges from the pattern that other chapters have followed where I begin chapters by discussing the theoretical and conceptual tools I am using as a point of departure. I have chosen to omit that part here and adopted a narrative methodology to lay bare some of the realities of everyday womxn struggles within the state. Grace Musila (2015: 5) notes that narratives can be used "as a tool for mediating truth and knowledge." These narratives, although offering a window to some historical reality, also shed light on certain truths and knowledge into these realities (ibid.). I hope to use these unique stories that are not uncommon to build theoretical and conceptual tools that are useful in understanding struggles of womxn within a neoliberal capitalist state. Most of the issues that are addressed in these stories have already been addressed in broader literature. However, by drawing from the stories as part of theoretical and conceptual points of departure, I hope to allow the voices of these womxn to rise and begin a conversation with other existing work, thereby convincing the reader that there is no amount of theorisation that can supersede everyday lived experience.

Two important works make it possible to rethink questions of representation of womxn's experiences in this thesis. I am inspired by the work of Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1987) and Zoë Wicomb's *David's Story* (2000) – I unpack their arguments later in the chapter. These two novels demonstrate that telling stories of violence and trauma is not always a linear process. Those re-telling the stories make a re-collection of fragmentations and piece them together so that the stories make sense to the reader or listener. In an interview, Wicomb (2002) reveals that the novel (*David's Story*) itself questions the practice of writing someone else's story and foregrounds the practical and ethical problems inherent in this very exercise. As Shane Graham (cited in Moffet 2006) notes, *David's Story* reveals "…the superficiality of linear telling as a mode of conveying psychological damage" (2008: 131). I am therefore not making any assumptions that the five stories presented here were narrated to me in their linear form.

However, I do not wish to participate in re-dismembering of womxns' bodies as I attempt to re-member their stories. [52]

I begin by narrating two stories from older womxn occupying high positions in politics and in the government of BCMM. The third story is from a middle-aged womxn who holds a senior administrative position in one of the departments in BCM municipality. The fourth story was presented to me in the form of a letter (extract from her diary) by a young womxn who is active in community politics but does not occupy any notable leadership position. The last story is a conversation with two young unemployed girls who have been involved in politics at a branch level and are part of a group commonly known as amayangayanga[53] within the circles of the ANC. As the reader will see in the analysis that follows, although stories have been drawn from different age groups, the struggles encountered have certain points of convergence and at the center of them all stands the giant neoliberal capitalist state asserting itself through structural heteronormative patriarchy. I am aware of the complexity of the word 'womxn' as neither womxns' identities nor experiences are homogenous. However, my use of the term 'womxn' is an all-encompassing definition derived from the Xhosa term 'umuntu obhinqileyo'[54] - referring to womxn as a group despite their race, gender, sexuality, and other preferential identities.

Mam' uThozama*

Mam' uThozama was born in East London and attended school at different local schools until her life was disrupted by the political upheaval in Duncan Village. Her first encounter with political activism was in 1976 during the student revolts. She was initiated into politics by her older brothers and other people she considered brothers in the community. It is at this point where she began to be politically active; she was required to hide comrades, transport letters and sometimes act as a messenger between different groups. In 1981 Mam' uThozama left school because of political instability and started working at one of the factories in East London. In the same year, she was encouraged to join a trade union. In 1983 there was a strike in her factory and she was dismissed because of her political activism. She then joined the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) where she became a foot soldier in mobilising.

[52] The framing and articulation of this position has benefited from a deep conversation and reflections with Dr. Nthabiseng Motsemme who helped me to frame my own ideas within broader feminist and womanist conversations.
[53] Young people – commonly youth under the age of 25/30 years.
[54] People who wrap around their waist when dressing up.

While all this was happening, there was already an initiative to introduce the United Democratic Front (UDF) in East London that was already active in Cape Town. Mam' uThozama then joined a youth organisation that was affiliated to the UDF. Due to some of the specific issues that were happening in East London, affiliates of the UDF felt that their struggles were different from those of the people of Cape Town where black Africans were a minority. Mam' uThozama then became part of the womxn who initiated a womxns' structure that was also affiliated to the UDF. All these activities led to a series of detentions for Mam' uThozama; she was in and out of prison. She was detained with other womxn under Section 50 where people could be detained for 14 days without trial. They would be released and be detained again. Her last detention was in 1986 under the state of emergency where she was detained for much longer. She was released in 1987 under a highly restrictive house arrest that she and others eventually defied in 1990.

In 2011, Mam' uThozama was deployed by the ANC government at the municipal level. She also served as an executive member of the South African Communist Party (SACP). In 2016 she was promoted to serve at a higher political structure – a position that she held during the course of this interview.

Mam' uThozama's experience of the apartheid era was marred with different aspects of risks, precariousness and violence. She was aware of the fact that she joined politics willingly, yet she was also aware of the dangers associated with participation in politics. For her, the life of politics meant that one could be raped at any given time, could be killed or detained, and could be forced to witness some of the horrible violent scenes like comrades being killed. This was because at any given moment one was supposed to be a messenger taking letters or messages from one group to another, hiding comrades at one's home despite parents not approving and always making oneself available for any 'call of duty.' Mam' uThozama's love life was messed up by the fact that her partner and she were both in politics. It was a norm that their detention periods alternated. Whenever the one was in prison, the other would be out.

Mam' uThozama strongly believes that the validation and enabling of patriarchal domination within the state is a problem that is created and nurtured by womxn themselves by undermining each other. She believes that this was through the way that womxn have been conditioned to think and the fact that women have not seen other womxn in leadership positions – they do not believe that other womxn are actually coming into power to lead. As a result, men do not recognise womxn and as soon as they realise that other womxn do not believe in them too,

matters become worse and they continue to undermine them. Mam' uThozama argues that according to the current social norms, womxn "do not have a space in leadership." There is still a culture that womxn 'belong to the kitchen' and cannot participate in political spaces. She argues that the problem is created by womxn themselves because "as womxn we have the power to build as well as to destroy." She notes; "if you want to build a leader take a womxn; if you want to succeed, take a womxn, but we lack respect because we undermine ourselves and each other." She concludes that the power to emancipate womxn is within womxn. Mam' uThozama desperately wanted Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma to win the presidential candidacy because, though she believed that South Africa will never be ready for a womxn president, it was about time the country has one.

Mam' uThozama takes a walk down memory lane and argues that if one gets to the roots of politics, one will know that womxn do not have the space in the world of politics or leadership spaces. She notes that I [Hlengiwe – the researcher] come from a generation where we believe that womxn must equally perform the same duties as men whilst she [Mam' uThozama] is from the generation that says it is the girl that is supposed to clean the house, switch on the lights, cook, etc. She believes that boys are always free and that mind-set will take some time to disappear. Mam' uThozama further notes that there is also a problem in the field of politics as there are no initiatives to groom young womxn for leadership positions. She argues that womxn are naturally born intelligent but are raised and socialised to respect men, which suggests that men should always be in positions of authority. She states: "Our opportunity of being human beings was killed by the cultural socialisation that we should always respect men. We are not regarded as human beings, but we are seen as womxn first before being human beings and this has led to all forms of suffering and dehumanisation."

She also notes the role of religion in suppressing womxn and undermining their rights. She argues that it is difficult for womxn to advance their careers because they find themselves 'trapped in the kitchen' while men continue behaving as boys in the name of religion and its language of submission. She wonders how one is expected to submit to someone who cannot even take care of his household because according to his socialisation, "it is ok to get paid and go and drink all the money." Mam' uThozama also highlighted some challenges of being a womxn in the state and politics in particular. Threats of rape, sexual harassment and kidnapping of one's family dominate the tendering processes. If one is a womxn, one has to be scared for their life if they are to respect the process and abide by the ethics of service delivery. She

concludes by noting that the biggest battle to be fought is the one of the oppressions of the mind (*Idabi okumele sililwe lidabi lasenqondweni*).

One of the greatest struggles in Mam' uThozama's life is in her political career. She struggles with the bureaucratic nature of the state. One would assume that since she holds one of the senior positions in governance of the municipality, she would know and understand where power lies. However, as I argued in *Chapter 6*, it would seem like she is also struggling with the *elusive puzzle* of the state where power cannot really be located. She took me through some of the decision-making challenges that are entrenched in the discourses of corruption and patronage culture of the state. Unpacking the difficulties surrounding tender processes, Mam 'uThozama details how she is made to feel like a young girl who is being offered some sexual favours to buy her compliance. When all this fails, she enters a different arena of struggle where the lives of her children and other loved ones are threatened. In knowing the dangers associated with refusing to tow political lines, coupled with the vulnerability that is brought by the belief that one does not have a husband and the fear of risking your children's lives, Mam' uThozama is left with no choice but to bend the rules and unwillingly sign off papers that she is not supposed to be signing (adapted from the life history of Mam' uThozama, 04/05/2017).

Mam' uYoliswa*

Mam' uYoliswa was born in Duncan Village and grew up in a one-roomed house that she shared with her family and extended family members. After completing her matric, she undertook a diploma in teaching. She returned home and started to look for a job. She started her leadership role as a street committee member, moved to the position of an area committee member, and finally to the branch level. She was a preferred candidate at the branch level because most of the people she worked with were old and illiterate; she was able to document meeting minutes and give back a report. Despite being trained as a teacher, she worked at the factory while gathering some money to further her studies. During that time Mam' uYoliswa continued to serve in community SANCO structures.

In 2006 Mam' uYoliswa was elected as a councillor for the first time and she encountered a challenge of revolts in 2008 from a group of people who did not want her to lead as a womxn, but in 2011 she was re-elected as a councillor again. Like other young girls of her age who grew up during apartheid, her life was constantly challenged by different forms of insecurity. She cites challenges of being arrested and harassed by the apartheid state police who would be

looking for their male comrades or their brothers. She comes from a family of activists and police harassment was not something uncommon.

Furthermore, as a young comrade mam' uYoliswa has also experienced challenges from her own comrades. She was supposed to make herself available for men because she was not involved in any intimate relationship. Mam' uYoliswa has witnessed some traumatic scenes of violence where her father was taken by police and never returned until his body was found dumped somewhere. She had to be a parent at a young age because despite the fact that she was the youngest child, her brothers looked up to her for food and everything when their mother was in detention. One day her brothers brought his friends home for a caucus meeting. The friends later gang-raped her, but they refused to take responsibility and her brother threatened her not to tell the neighbours.

During the time of this interview in 2014, Mam' uYoliswa was a ward councillor and she returned for another term in 2016. As a councillor, she also has to deal with three sites of struggle. She had to deal with issues in her own home where as a married womxn she was expected to take care of her family in all aspects. She notes that sometimes she comes home tired and exhausted wishing to be taken care of, but she is still the one expected to take care of the family. She states: "When my husband is having a headache, I have to look for painkillers for him, but when I am having a headache, I look for painkillers for myself." She also has to deal with some of the rebellious community members who refuse to accept that womxn can lead; they keep on staging protests against her. She notes that these experiences cause a lot of trauma, not only to her, but to her children too who have to constantly worry about her safety. Mam' uYoliswa feels that the responsibilities that she has for her family are the same responsibilities that are expected of her by the community. She argues that womxn are best equipped with the skills to deal with communities. She draws from some of her experiences of dealing with communities where people will come to share personal and sensitive issues with her. She believes that it is only easy to do that to a womxn as men will not even know how to address such issues.

Mam' uYoliswa believes that whilst there have been some significant changes at the council, there is still some form of resistance or intolerance towards womxn comrades. She believes that men comrades at the council have no choice but to respect the participation of womxn as they are constantly encouraged to work towards 50/50 i.e. a fair gender representation. However, in everyday engagements one can see that there are still high levels of resistance

manifested through "bullying, dismissal of contributions from womxn and reluctance to vote for issues raised by womxn." Mam' uYoliswa believes that there is still a lot of work to be done to change the mind-set of men. What is interesting for her is that men do not believe in their leadership skills but when there are challenges that involve risks like attending to protesting communities, they will always push for a womxn to go and represent them. Mam' uYoliswa was critical of the CR17 camp and "hoped and prayed that they make Lindiwe Sisulu at least deputy President of the country while preparing her for presidency" because she believes that "womxn can lead the country better" (adapted from the life history of Mam' uYoliswa, 13/08/2014; 30/09/2017).

Mandisa*

When I met Mandisa in 2017, she was an acting manager in one of the departments in BCMM. She had been acting since 2015 and her position was now being advertised. She holds a diploma and a BTech in Public Administration and she has covered a lot of self-development and career development short courses. Mandisa works for a very small department; she is the youngest and most qualified staff member and the last person to join the department. She joined Buffalo City in 1999 and during that time she was working as a personal assistant in a political office. Her boss was purged due to political instability and she was then moved to this department where I met her.

Mandisa feels that her biggest challenge is resistance from the people that she is leading who are refusing to see her as their manager "simple [simply] because I am a womxn and I am young." She constantly feels undermined at the workplace and every time when she contributes an idea in a meeting, there is always someone who feels like adding on to what she is saying. She notes that for the first time in her career she feels that she always has to prove herself and she is always second-guessing her decisions because most of her colleagues are former councillors who are now administrators and feel that they know everything. However, Mandisa believes that she has the qualifications and the most suitable skills to do her job because she is working with communities. She also understands the importance of professionalism and respect, a value which her colleagues do not believe works because they have been on the other side – as part of communities themselves.

Reflecting on how she deals with conflict at work, Mandisa draws from her painful past and troubled childhood. Every struggle is a constant reminder of what she has gone through in life, "but the same way I survived, I have hope that I will survive." Her mother was married to her

father but later divorced and her mother married another man and took her along. In this new household, Mandisa did not only become what she referred to as "a deputy mother" by taking care of her siblings, she also performed some of the duties that her sick mother was unable to perform like washing for his stepfather and even servicing his sexual needs. There was an understanding in the house that Mandisa's mother will not lose her marriage to anything, and that meant Mandisa had "to do anything possible to keep my father happy."

Experiences of rape, physical violence and other forms of harassment forced Mandisa out of her home at an early age. She feared for her life and her health in particular after two forced abortions. Her stepfather also started "doing other womxn" outside of the home during times of forced abortions when Mandisa could not service her father's needs. Mandisa's sense of resilience and introvert character comes from years of being silenced and learning to deal with things alone as a child. She finally escaped to live with her aunt who has helped her to heal over the years. In her spare time when she is not studying, Mandisa is running empowerment programmes for other abused womxn and she always uses her story to encourage them. She contends that the workplace can be a space for secondary victimisation where someone is often forced to relive long buried trauma (adapted from the life history of Mandisa, 10/03/2017).

Nokuzola*

I first met Nokuzola in 2014 when I was doing fieldwork for my MA project and we have been very close since then. She assisted me with a lot of interviews but I had never asked to interview her because I felt that we had grown to be very close. In 2017 when I was about to wrap-up my fieldwork for this project, Nokuzola asked if I could document her story too. When I asked if there was anything that she wanted to share with me, she told me that she believes that she has a story to tell. "I am not proud of it but I believe that if I can share it with you and you share with others it can make an impact on other people's lives." She then handed me an envelope with a letter which had a story that she had documented for me a few weeks ago. The story was adapted from her diary that she kept over the years.

Nokuzola was born in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape. She lost her mother when she was only five and her father who was working away from home, married another. Nokuzola and her brother were abused by their stepmother until they were taken away by social workers after teachers reported the matter. They were taken to live with their aunt where life was also difficult because of poverty. She states: "We later moved to live with my dad who had to negotiate with my stepmother so that we can start afresh." Nokuzola was then abused by her father again who

repeatedly raped her and every time she told her stepmother she would be accused of lying and wanting to divide the family. Nokuzola finally confided in her older sister who confirmed that she knew what their father was doing to Nokuzola because he also did the same thing [rape] to her.

Nokuzola left school when she was thirteen years old to stay with her friends. She later found a boyfriend who impregnated her. She was staying in the family house of the boyfriend but they had their own shack in the backyard. Nokuzola narrates that she would leave their child with his father and go partying with her friends the whole night as she was still young to be a 'responsible' parent or wife. The family would complain when she went partying but hardly said a word when the boyfriend was abusing her and beating her up in front of them. One day coming from a night party, Nokuzola's boyfriend tried to beat her up as usual and she broke a bottle on his head and ran away. When she heard that he was seriously injured, Nokuzola attempted to commit suicide but was stopped by her friend. She then left for the city [East London] and arrived in Duncan Village in 2008.

Life in Duncan Village has not been easy for Nokuzola but she has learnt how to survive. She carved her space through participation in community meetings and protests until she was given a shack. She also started participating in volunteer programmes until she got recognised for community opportunities like short-term job contracts. She notes that she has taught herself how to survive through the struggles she encountered.

In years of finding means to survive in the township, Nokuzola narrates how she refuses to be used by men for their own benefits when she will not get anything in return. If someone asks her for a sexual favour, the person must make her time "worth it." People have judged her in the community and she does not care "…because their judgemental views will not put food on the table or buy clothes for my kids." For Nokuzola, politics is a dirty game and through her participation both in the ANC and SACP structures, she has learnt that as a womxn one always has to be on top of their game. "It is always men in positions of power who will take advantage of your [economic] situation and they think they can pay you back by a small favour." For Nokuzola, a part time job contract that is anything less than 6-12 months is not worth her time. "If you are a married man and want to take advantage of me you must know that you make it worth my time and effort or you make sure I do not have access to structures that can destroy you – like your bosses, family, and all those things." She was abused as a child and the shame of rape will never leave her psyche. She is not educated because men destroyed her future.

In her adulthood men still continue to believe that she can "slave for them just for free." Nokuzola believes that men in general live to oppress women. "If it is not sexual harassment, it is emotion and psychological abuse, and physical abuse. If it is not that then they are using their power to silence and dominate womxn at the workplace as they do to all of us every day. Because of that I have made it a point that every man who comes to me with a mentality of wanting to abuse me I make him pay. He has already shown me that he doesn't have self-respect; he doesn't respect me by asking that I sleep with him first before he can give me a job opportunity, and by doing that, he doesn't respect his wife too – so he might as well pay for his sins. I stop them by blackmailing them before they move to the next womxn because they will do it anyway and it looks like that is what they live to do." (Adapted from a letter by Nokuzola – accessed on 21/10/2017).

Xolile* and Nwabisa*

Xolile and Nwabisa were 22 and 21 years respectively when I met them in 2017. I met them on the 17th of December 2017 at the breakfast table of one of the hotels where delegates from the Eastern Cape were housed. They had come to Johannesburg as part of the team of the "friends of the delegates" or 'entertainment' team that I referred to in the prologue of this chapter. I was drawn into their interesting conversation about the events of the last night at the breakfast table, but I did not have time because I had to rush back to Nasrec for day two of the conference. I then asked if I could sit with them at the dinner table in the evening so that we could chat further. They were both trying to recover from the last night's hangover and they promised to meet me on the same evening.

Xolile and Nwabisa have been friends since grade 9 and I am meeting them here together because they still share opportunities as they arise. Being "friends of the delegates" at this conference is another demonstration of their friendship; once Xolile heard about it she made sure that she recruits her friend Nwabisa. Nwabisa is a grade 10 dropout because she fell pregnant and had an abortion in the fifth month when she felt that despite having past the first trimester, she was not ready to be a mother as she is from a struggling family. Xolile stayed at school and completed her matric but did not do well and could not rewrite because she did not want to repeat at the same school - her parents could not afford to take her to a private college. Xolile and Nwabisa have been active in local politics as branch volunteers recruited by the secretary general of their ward. Through these volunteering programmes, they also have access to free trips like this one to cities they have never been to.

Xolile and Nwabisa consider themselves as some of the "young, hot and happening" girls in the community. While this is a second time for Xolile, it is the first time for Nwabisa to be selected to become "friends of the delegates" team since they became active in local politics. When I first met them at the breakfast table, they were reflecting on their last night experiences as part of the 'entertainment' team. For Nwabisa, the last night was so great so much that she is looking forward to the next and to even extend her stay if the comrade who picked her is interested. However, for Xolile, it was a terrible night where she felt that the comrade who picked her wasted her night and the entire trip to Johannesburg was a mess she never expected. "The guy is so lazy, no sense of romance or fun! I would have made up something out of it, but also the dick is so small and it dies and rises randomly like someone with some serious problems" (Xolile). Clearly, Xolile's last night was a nightmare and she was not looking forward to the coming night. She actually asked if I was going to take her to a place where we could drink the whole night to de-stress even though she didn't have money.

However, Nwabisa believes that since they were now in Johannesburg, and since they were clear when they left East London that they are not here to waste time, it was time to live up to their commitment. I then sit through their plotting while I am trying to think with them in terms of what can be done. However, this conversation has to begin with an understanding of their expectations when they left home as 'friends of delegates.' It is at this point where I learnt that they have come all the way to be part of the 'entertainment' for the heterosexual male delegates. They were recruited by a mature womxn from their local branch who understands the dynamics and can 'take instructions' from the male comrades. She first approached Xolile and asked her if she was interested in a free trip to Johannesburg where she will enjoy herself. Since it was not her first time, Xolile had no difficulty - understanding what the trip entailed, i.e. being available for male delegates she agreed and then suggested that Nwabisa might also be interested. "It is clear from the onset what they are talking about. You are being sold out – something like sex trafficking – but they make it sound so fancy especially for us girls from poor backgrounds" (Xolile). "However, before you even agree you need to think carefully about what you are going to benefit from the whole arrangement. It is already clear that you are being trafficked for sex kind-of and once you have established that, you need to calculate your gains" (Nwabisa). Interestingly, Xolile and Nwabisa were both aware of what being 'friends of delegates' entailed and before they agreed to participate, they had to calculate how they were going to maximise their gains. However, this is a difficult and complex task as one will not be knowing what awaits them wherever they are going. "You can only work with what

is there when you get to the place and not everything can work, so you have to be calculative and to think very fast" (Nwabisa).

At the dinner table, Xolile and Nwabisa had already calculated how they were going to benefit from this "trafficking" that they found themselves in but also consciously participated in. Xolile had already established that hers was a waste of time because the guy did not give her the pleasure she'd expected physically. She had come all the way to maximise the opportunity because for both Xolile and Nwabisa, men cannot continue to use womxn for their pleasures while womxn benefit nothing other than "a lousy trip to Johannesburg." Now that Xolile was in Johannesburg and the guy had not delivered, she had to find a way of making him pay for 'wasting her time.' Xolile and Nwabisa then decided that since Xolile's hook-up is a well-respected member of the provincial structure and has a high status, they were going to blackmail him into paying for Xolile's time. They then agreed that Xolile will wait for him to text about tonight and then tell him that he must never text her again. In addition to that, he had to pay at least R15 000 to be negotiated down to R10 000 for wasting Xolile's time. Xolile said she was going to shame him on Instagram and other social media platforms if he failed to comply. From what I have known, the guy was successfully blackmailed as he pleaded with Xolile not to be exposed. I did not follow up if the money was eventually paid in full, but on following up to confirm the version of the story used, there was still an outstanding amount.

On the other hand, although Nwabisa had a great night and was treated well, she also contended that she was not bussed for 12 hours to waste her time in the name of 'entertaining' someone. She noted that she had other things to do because she needed to survive. "Sometimes when we are doing this politics thing our parents do not really understand what we are doing and why are we spending our time there. But because poverty is real and there are no jobs, sometimes you have to keep your head up to make sure that there is nothing suspicious – in case you get to be judged or your parents snap out of the whole thing" (Nwabisa). This being said, Nwabisa was also adamant that she came here to 'work' and not just to be 'entertainment' for a married man. Once she had established that the guy who picked her was a married man, she then came up with a strategy to hold him accountable for 'using her.' "I know the person who organised this whole thing when she hears that we did what we did she will not be happy about that. It will look like we are opportunists. But tell me, what is more opportunistic between me and these men? Do you really believe that we can come all the way leaving our hustles just to entertain married men who would want nothing to do with us after this conference?" (Nwabisa).

Nwabisa believed that although they 'sort of volunteered' to be here, these men were supposed to be held accountable. "I know we volunteered to be here – if I may say. I don't know if that is even fair. I mean these are powerful people in our communities who call shots. There are no jobs and our families are hungry. A girl needs toiletries, a nice weave, nails, and all those things – and here is an opportunity. Is that not work? I am here now; I might as well put myself into good use" (Nwabisa). Nwabisa then concluded that since this man is married, she is going to tell him that he has to pay her R15 000, non-negotiable – even if he pays her in instalments to buy her silence. She was in a way having a guilty conscience for doing this because her night was great. However, she strongly believed that she was being exploited and she should be paid for her labour. I also did not follow up if the money was finally paid as I did not want to intrude on her privacy. However, the last time I heard, the man had negotiated to pay in four instalments. Both Xolile and Nwabisa agreed that this was a form of exploitation to any womxn and that they were being taken advantage of. They both agreed that all womxn who are bussed in as a form of entertainment must be paid a fair package (adapted from conversations with Xolile and Nwabisa, Johannesburg, 17/12/2017).

7.3. 'The Two Fronts of War Have Been Fought on our Bodies'

Reflecting on the stories of these six womxn, the reader gets a sense of how womxn's struggles in general have taken the same path, however packaged differently for different generations. At the center of all these struggles, legacies of colonialism and apartheid, patriarchy, neoliberal capitalism and ultimately the struggle for survival have been at the core of all the generational struggles. The statement echoed in the prologue of this chapter stays alive throughout the lives of the six womxn whose experiences are narrated here. Indeed, the two fronts of war have been (and continue to be) fought on womxns' bodies. The older generation – as the first two stories have shown, have fought what was supposed to be a 'liberation struggle' i.e. the struggle over apartheid rule for *inkululeko*. However, at the wake of 'democracy,' they find their lives entrenched within the same struggles, but this time packaged differently.[55] The young womxn whose stories are narrated here find themselves in similar struggles as those of their parents and grandparents as they struggle to make ends meet, whether at the workplace or in the everyday hustling.

[55] The framing of this conversation benefited from many conversations with my colleague Mercy Mupavayenda who provided some insights on the struggles and gave the "packaged differently" phrase.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, understanding the experiences of Black womxn in South Africa demanded that I step outside of the social sciences discipline to include literary texts[56] and work from other disciplines. In unpacking narratives of experiences of womxn and how they navigate everyday life in Buffalo City, I draw from a triangulation of the works of Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1987), Zoe Wicomb *David's Story* (2007), Miriam Tlali's *Footprints in the Quag* (1989) and Sindiwe Magona's *Living, Loving, and Lying Awake at Night* (1991). The stories documented in Tlali and Magona's novels are reminiscent of many experiences of womxn during the anti-apartheid struggles and the oppression of womxn in general. While migrant labour forced men out of the home, it simultaneously excused some men from their responsibilities of taking care of their families thereby leaving their wives and mothers with the burden of caring for the family and children. In one of her short stories, '*Leaving,'* Magona shows how the burden of caring for the family was shared or (forcefully) passed from one womxn to another. Tired of taking care of the children while the husband left to the mines and never cared, a womxn in Sindiwe Magona's story decided to escape from their home to fend for her children knowing that their grandmother (her mother-in-law) will be forced to look after them.

> The tiredness of her mind and body and heart came together as one…It robbed her of sleep…it kept pulling her back to itself and away from sleep and forgetfulness…Manala [the mother-in-law] who had never forgiven her for being a womxn in whom her son found the honey of the deep of night…would take care of the children…After all, they are her son's children…she will have to look after them (Magona 1991: 7-8).

Although the above quote is from an experience of a man who left home to work at the mines, apartheid rule was key in shaping these migration patterns documented by Magona where men would leave home for eleven months and only be back to spend a month with their families. Through this practice, the apartheid laws structured households in ways that put the burden of running and maintaining households on the shoulders of womxn, yet men remained the heads of the households. While womxn carried the burden of running households, they however suffered domestic abuse from their husbands at the watch of their families/in-laws.

In *Mm'a – Lithoto*, Tlali (1989) shows how domestic abuse would be normalised at the watch of the in-laws sharing the same home. Tired of being battered by her husband, one day the character Paballo packed her clothes and left their home. After wondering with her small baby

[56] The analysis of some of the literary texts has benefited from invaluable insights from my African Literature colleagues, Adebayo Sakiru and Dr. Felix Mutunga.

and her teenage niece, Mahali, she eventually settled to go to her brother's house who did not allow them to sleepover and sent them back the same night (Tlali 1989). Similar tales have been told on experiences of womxn in Buffalo City. Many of them grew up in households where they or their mothers were responsible for providing for their families when husbands and fathers were away from home, either in detention or working somewhere in Cape Town or Johannesburg. As one of the local historians narrates:

> Andikhumbuli utata esenzela into sisakhula. Into endiyaziyo yikuba umama ubesenzele yonk'into njengokutya, impahla yokungxiba kunye nemali yeskolweni. UbenguNokhitshi kodwa ebekwazi ukusenzela yonk'into esiyifunayo. Bendisazi ukuba utata ukhona, kodwa ndiyabe ndiyaphosisa xa ndisithi uke wasenzela into. Into endiyikhumbulayo ngaye yikuba wayebetha umama, hayi kabini okanye kathathu kodwa ubembetha kaninzi. Umakhulu ubesibakhona ebukele njengesqhelo. Wayemane ekhumbuza umama xa utata engekhoyo ukuba uzofika ambethe! Kawucinge! Ngeloxesha umama ubelikhoboka lomntu wonke (Life history, Duncan Village, 17/07/2017).[57]

The stories of Tlali and Magona and those of womxn of Buffalo City do not only show how men delegated their responsibilities to womxn, but also how families were complicit in the physical and emotional abuse of womxn. While these were experiences of womxn during apartheid, the story of Nokuzola documented earlier shows how these experiences did not come to an end with the dawn of 'democracy.' The struggle continues, yet packaged in different discourses as Nokuzola's story shows how the justification has shifted from apartheid brutality to high rates of unemployment.

Written from an American context of slavery, Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1987) speaks to the difficulties of reliving traumatic memories. The structure of the book itself is a reflection of a re-collection of fragmented memory, that a story of traumatic events cannot be linear. Based on a real-life story of a slave womxn who killed her daughter while escaping slavery, the ghost, Beloved, does not only speak to the difficulty of relieving traumatic memory, but also how survivors of violence are constantly taken back to the original site of trauma in re-membering.

[57] I do not remember what dad did for us when we were growing up. I knew that we looked up to mom for everything from food to clothes to little things like pocket money. She was a domestic worker, but she provided everything. I knew my dad was there, but I will be lying if I can say that he ever did anything for us. My only memory of him is when he was beating my mom, not twice, not three times, many times. And my grandmother was there watching as usual. She would only remind my mom when dad was not around that he is coming and he will beat her up! Imagine! That time she [mother] was slaving for everyone (Interview, Duncan Village, 17/07/2017).

The lingering ghost of *Beloved* – Seth's daughter - attests to ways in which the past exists in the present and how the very existence of the past in the present obscures the imagination of the future (Morrison 1987). For many womxn of Buffalo City that I spoke to, their experiences of violence from apartheid still haunt their present realities as they are constantly sent back to the site of trauma through their everyday encounters with state violence. As mam' uThozama puts it "…it feels like a reminder." "You are taken back to the apartheid days and even wonder how the future of your children will look like" (Life history of mam' uThozama 04/05/2017). Her everyday experiences at the council are no different from her experiences of fighting comrades and exposing herself to different kinds of violence during the apartheid days.

Zoë Wicomb's (2000) *David's Story* is located in South Africa's Cape Town towards the end of the apartheid era. Among other histories, the story plays out some events leading to the 'democratic' transition where David Dirske and his MK comrades are being demobilised as the ANC and the NP government are negotiating the transition. *David's Story* is a multi-layered tale that is relevant in thinking through experiences of the womxn of Buffalo City in many ways. Although located in a Coloured community with an aim of unpacking the experiences of Coloured people, I find resonances with some of the experiences of black African womxn both in apartheid and post-1994 in many ways. Firstly, as noted above, the fragmentation of *David's Story* speaks to some methodological and ethical issues of representation of other people's experiences. The fragmentations of the story not only speak to this difficulty, but most importantly to some of the things that David wanted to distance himself from, or rather things that he thought were not to be spoken about. As the narrator puts it in the preface, "This is and not David's story" (Wicomb 2000: 1) to suggest that as much as it is David's story, it is also not his story because he wants to tell the story of Dulcie he is not comfortable with telling. While this is partly a story about David, it is also a story that can be related to many apartheid and post-1994 experiences of womxn both in the movement and at home. Most importantly, it is a story which, like *Beloved*, shows how the past continues to haunt the present while obscuring the future.

Through the character of an elusive Delcie and Sally (David's wife), Wicomb draws our attention to the role played by womxn in the struggle and how the democratic dispensation excludes womxn from participation as full citizens (see *Chapter 4*). The character of Sally reminds us of the private space (the home) into which many womxn were pushed post-1994. When negotiations started after the release of Nelson Mandela, David started negotiations of marriage with his frontline comrade Sally. "Sally had not realised the extent of his influence:

she was released from her underground work after protracted debriefing and that was it. The so-called part-time job in the community centre became real, full-time, and community issues were to be her domain" (Wicomb 2000: 14).

The experience of Sally is shared by many womxn that I spoke to who participated in anti-apartheid struggles in Duncan Village. When the struggle was over, their value diminished and they were relegated to the home or to community service while men distributed leadership positions among themselves. As one womxn puts it, "once they heard that Mandela was coming out of prison, their [men] struggle was over. But that is when our real struggle started. They started positioning themselves even in big community projects with big monies" (Life history, Qonce, 12/07/2017). Another womxn spoke about how positions were not even negotiated as was the case during apartheid. Womxn were literally shoved back into the kitchen and forced to take lousy positions at community level. "We used to discuss who will take what or go where. Now that we were talking about democracy, we were shoved back to the kitchen. We were sent to take up community positions and excluded from the real leadership" (Interview, eQonce, 14/08/2017).

David's Story is also important in understanding the betrayal of the promise of *inkululeko* compromised through democracy (see *Chapter 5*), especially for womxn. While most men arguably benefited from the post-1994 dispensation, experiences of womxn in all spheres of life, as I show below, are still shaped by patriarchal power and violent masculinities. Nothing puts the statement on "two fronts of war fought on womxn's bodies" in context like two scenes in Wicomb's *David's Story*. There are many who were betrayed by the struggle like David finding his name and that of Delcie on the hit list. However, the other two scenes are unspeakable for womxns' experiences post-1994. Trying to recollect fragments of the memory of Dulcie, David narrates:

> Dulcie told him of an incident in the desert of Botswana, as a young recruit, when rations were low and everyone was sick of bread and sheep's fat. She suggested taking honey from a bees' nest. David can't remember why the others pooh-poohed the idea, mocked her, wondered if she were man enough to do it by herself…Her hands, eyes, mouth were stung…but she carried on, had to, since it was a matter of honour, and managed to fill a basket with dripping honeycombs…She swelled up…For several days she writhed in agony, unable to take anything except water. When she recovered sufficiently to try a honeycomb, she found that the others had eaten every scrap of it, had left her nothing (Wicomb 2000: 82-83).

Many womxn who sacrificed their lives fighting along their male comrades in the struggle – risking arrests while trafficking arms, transporting letters and food, hiding comrades, and even on the front line like those who were part of MK – fought for *inkululeko* they never tasted. The scene of Dulcie where she recovers only to find that the honeycomb she suffered for had been finished resembles that of womxn who fought along their comrades in Duncan Village; they never benefited from the fruits of their labour. The everyday struggles they encounter and those of their children have completely stripped womxn of their citizenship in post-1994 South Africa and belonging to their communities and families. The scourge of femicide and other sexual harassment experiences are better explained through the following excerpt:

> I ought to explain that there is another page, one without words…There are dismembered shapes of a body: an asexual torso, like a dressmaker's dummy; arms bent the wrong way at the elbows; legs; swollen feet; hands like claws. There is a head, an upside-down smiling head, which admittedly does not resemble her, except for the outline of bushy hair. I have no doubt that this is Dulcie who lies mutilated on the page (Wicomb 2000: 205).

The dismembering of womxn's bodies has intensified especially post-1994. As I have shown earlier in the chapter, womxn's bodies continue to be crime scenes for different forms of violence. Post-1994, like Delcie, most womxn lie mutilated, whether literally or figuratively. In their everyday encounter with different forms of violence, womxn are constantly dismembered by being killed by their partners, being trafficked to conferences as part of 'entertainment,' or threatened to be raped during sticky tender deal negotiations. Their everyday encounter with different forms of violence renders them non-citizens and not belonging to their communities. Like Delcie missing the honeycomb that she suffered for, womxn have not reaped the benefits of democracy as they are constantly in battles for survival. The second front of war (post-1994) continues to be fought on their bodies.

7.4. Intersections of Violence and Entangled Battlefields

In the prologue of this chapter and the previous section I referred to and discussed "two fronts of war that were (and continued to be) fought on womxns' bodies." I take these two fronts as a point of departure as they are words taken directly from one of the local historians and seek to complicate them by identifying four *battlefields* which I theorise as sites of struggle for womxn. The four sites of struggle (*battlefields*) that I identify and will be exploring in the rest of the chapter are: the (actual physical) body; the home/family; the community; and the state. What is common from a reading of the stories of womxn narrated above is that these fronts of war have different *battlefields*/sites of struggle and in most cases they are experienced

concurrently, overlap and are entangled. One will find that while a womxn is battling issues of sexual harassment on their own physical bodies, they are also fighting patriarchal domination or GBV at home, in the community and at their work places. While not all womxn have experienced these wars at all the four sites of struggle, there is something common with these four *battlefields* and their causes. At the center of all four battlefields/sites of struggle and the two fronts of war, there is patriarchy and neoliberal capitalism that continue to undermine the dignity of womxn through certain cultural and religious practices. Most of these practices stem from the legacies of colonialism and apartheid.

As I have argued throughout this thesis, the state is an *elusive puzzle* in which those who have engaged in a project of locating the state will continue to chase. Where the state encounters citizens at its local level, practices of corruption, patronage politics, and clientelism demystify, disrupt and unmask the abstract image of an elusive state. However, experiences of womxn expose the convergence of the violent patriarchal state, violent masculinities, and neoliberal capitalism, and these redefine everyday state practices as *battlefields* of struggle where womxn wage another layer of struggle for survival. Similarly, the experiences of womxn documented in this chapter present additional layers of struggle waged in different forms of resistance that seek to tackle patriarchal domination and neoliberal capitalism concurrently. The following part explores the four *battlefields*/sites of struggle for womxn in Buffalo City.

7.4.1. The Body Battlefield

In everyday struggles faced by womxn, the (physical) body stands out as the main site of struggle or a *battlefield* where different fronts of war manifest. Reading through the stories of womxn of Buffalo City, each womxn has experienced some form of physical violence. The form of violence can be experienced through physical, sexual, emotional or psychological trauma. Although not all womxn's stories documented above have disclosed their experiences of gender-based violence or physical abuse, statistics have shown that South Africa is a femicide nation, a war-zone for womxn's bodies. The statistics have shown that the rate of femicide is five times higher than the global average where one in five womxn experiences physical violence and one in three in lower income communities[58] like Duncan Village. It is

[58] https://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/how-many-women-killed-south-africa-femicide/; Accessed: 16/11/2019.

no surprise that thousands of womxn took to the streets on the 1st of August in 2018 to demand that the government do something about GBV and femicide in South Africa.

Most importantly, femicide and GBV cut across racial lines and communities of low and high income as well as different economic sectors. Special gender commissions have been established at universities to deal with the specific cases experienced by young womxn at the universities.[59] Furthermore, the high-level cases of rape like the Jacob Zuma rape case highlights the entrenchment of GBV, rape and rape culture in higher structures of power and the judiciary (see Mostei 2007; Gqola 2015 and Thlabi 2017). It therefore comes as no surprise that womxn's bodies are *battlefields* of violence in their experiences of navigating everyday life in South Africa.

There is an intimate relationship between capitalism and physical violence that becomes a battle fought on womxn's bodies. The story of Nokuzola and her encounter with physical violence is one of those testimonies on the convergence of neoliberal capitalism, patriarchy and physical violence. She has shown how her partner started getting violent after losing his job and speaks about lack of support from the family towards them (her boyfriend and herself). Nokuzola narrates that her boyfriend was very kind and loving to her until he lost his jobs. She narrates the physical violence that she experienced through the frustrations experienced by her boyfriend and notes that every beating started with a conversation around groceries, bread, or going for job-hunting. Understood from this perspective, the story of Nokuzola is one that locates womxn's bodies as a *battlefield* of violence where struggles over inability to provide for the family are fought. Hit by the effects of neoliberal capitalism that led to his retrenchment, Nokuzola's boyfriend has a war to wage. However, he cannot take this war to the employer who retrenched him or the state that continues to fail to create jobs. We see Nokuzola's body becoming a *battlefield* where her boyfriend's frustrations are relieved.

However, Gqola (2015) warns us against the romanticisation of violence and using poverty to explain actions of violent men. She argues that this takes away the responsibility from rapists, abusers, and attackers; it results in them not being held accountable for their violent actions (2015). This further makes us fail to account for men in stable employment who are also well-off and men in positions of power who also participate in femicide, GBV, and rape culture at their work places (Moffat 2006). This is not to dispute the effects of capitalism on marginalised

[59] https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-01-19-commission-for-gender-equality-to-sa-universities-employ-women-or-face-sanctions/;Accessed: 16/11/2019.

citizens. Capitalism's effects are documented elsewhere (see Naidoo 2007; Samson 2015). However, it is a fact that capitalism rather hits harder on womxn than men. As El Sadaawi (2010) reminds, industrialisation and capitalism place a double load on womxn's responsibilities while business continues as usual. She notes that "womxn continue to bear the double or even triple burden constituted by their new roles at home towards the husband, children and sometimes relatives" (El Sadaawi 2010: 65-66). These new responsibilities are similar to those encountered earlier in the chapter where one of Magona's (1991) characters shows how the development of the mining industry has put a double burden on her, a burden she passes to another womxn (her mother-in-law). Similar sentiments are shared by mam' uThozama and mam' uYoliswa on how despite their stressful jobs as politicians, they still have to come back and take care of the home. This means that justifying physical violence using unemployment allows capitalism to continue having multi-effects on womxn, thereby waging its relentless war on womxns' bodies.

7.4.2. The Family/Home Battlefield

The family is one of the most important institutions in society responsible for primary socialisation i.e. passing of norms and values to the next generation. It should therefore be trusted for protecting and nurturing the younger generation to ensure healthy growth. However, for most women, the family/home is a site of violence – a *battlefield* where womxn are exposed to fronts of war resulting from clashes between capitalism and patriarchy. Family becomes a breeding ground for violence where patriarchal norms and values are instilled and enforced through certain narratives that continue to undermine and oppress womxn. It is within families where decisions on whether womxn should be educated or not are made. It is within families where decisions are made about a girl-child dropping out of school to take care of her siblings because the family does not have money. Families further entrench patriarchy by allowing men to be perpetual children while girls are forced to grow up and take responsibilities of womanhood at a young age as narrated in the stories above where womxn had to drop out of school.

For most of the stories narrated above, womxn have had their first encounter with one form of violence or another within the family. The family largely failed to protect womxn and young girls. Mam' uThozama narrated how her first encounter with police brutality was attached to family experiences where her brothers forced her to carry letters from a group of comrades to another. Although she cites these experiences as her entry point and how they strengthened her

own politics, she is equally aware that she was used as a messenger because she was a girl and it was believed that she would be safer than her brothers. This is another problematic factor rooted in the beliefs and assumptions about the fungibility of womxns' bodies. These assumptions are usually based on problematic patriarchal ideas that assume that womxn can use their bodies to manipulate situations and evade trouble. On the other side, the assumption creates certain meanings about men's bodies and the importance of their presence at the frontline of struggles – they cannot die early because they are much needed, so they cannot take 'useless' risks such as being a messenger.

In *Nervous Conditions*, Tsitsi Dangarembga (1988) through the protagonist Tambu, shows some of these violent family dynamics. When Tambu's family runs out of resources to send children to school, Tambu – the girl-child, is sacrificed over Nhamo the brother despite her performance. Mother would tell her, "when there are sacrifices to be made, womxn have to make them" (1988: 2). When another opportunity finally arises for one child to take up a position at a mission school, again, Nhamo becomes the first preference leaving Tambu fending for herself, selling maize mealies to raise money for her studies. While the boy child has to go to school, the girl-child must be groomed to be a competent housewife as Father would remind Tambu, "Can you cook books and feed them to your husband?" (1988: 2).

In *God Dies by the Nile*, Nawal El Sadaawi (1985) shows how poverty is used as a threat to justify sexual harassment and rape for young girls. When Nefissa refuses to go and work in the Mayor's house where young girls were being abused, the messenger turns to persuade her father Kafrawi, threatening him "…there are hundreds of girls who would jump at the chance to work in the Mayor's house. But he chose your daughter Kafrawi, because he believed you are a good, honest man worthy of his confidence" (1985: 21). After these words, Kafrawi does not even question if he could send at least another child or a boy. He immediately sees her daughter Nefissa as his ultimate ticket out of poverty. The family therefore guarantees safety for boys and men while continuing to be another *battlefield* for young girls and womxn.

In the story of mam' uYoliswa, her father passed on and she had to drop out of school to look after her siblings. Most importantly, she had two older brothers and younger sisters, but she was sacrificed despite the presence of older siblings. This highlights the violent nature of the family towards womxn where they are forced to grow up and take bigger responsibilities while boys are allowed to enjoy their childhood experiences and grow up. The stories of Mandisa and Nokuzola both highlight the role of the family/home in initiating experiences of sexual

violence and inscribing unforgettable pain in womxn's bodies. These two narratives of rape equally highlight the complicity of the family in silencing rape survivors and continuing to traumatise them by forcing them to continue living in the same home with the perpetrator while promoting patriarchal domination (Tamale 2004). In such cases, the perpetrator is not the only person causing pain, but also the betrayal and lack of protection from the family. Furthermore, womxn are forced to go through emotional and psychological trauma as they continue to be silenced, forcing them to deal with the pain on their own while protecting the perpetrator. These experiences of violence encountered at home are largely the first encounter with violence and shape ways in which abused or violated womxn negotiate and navigate their everyday struggles in society. Most importantly, they shape ways in which womxn navigate their identities, forms of belonging, and questions of citizenship and how they negotiate their everyday relations in a neoliberal capitalist state.

7.4.3. Community Battlefields

Similar to families, communities are a secondary source of socialisation where collective norms and values of a particular society are passed from one generation to another. In most African societies, there is no separation between family and community because of the belief that children are raised by a community. In *Chapter 4,* I showed the importance of shared community values during apartheid in Duncan Village in terms of how 'community' members collectively protected activists and shielded them from police brutality. However, from reading the narratives of twenty-two life histories of womxn, it would seem that the collective efforts of protecting activists were more relevant for men than womxn. This is not surprising given that most African societies restrict girls from being on the streets after 6 pm. This is done in the name of 'protecting' them (from their fellow comrades) yet their curfews are associated with gendered household chores that are biased against womxn/girls.

Similarly, in the 'politics of Omo' discussed at length in *Chapter 4*, the whole idea of feeding people Omo was to prevent men from drinking and exposing themselves to different forms of danger. As is commonly held in most African communities, the drinking of alcohol automatically excludes womxn, young girls in particular, from the equation because of the norms and values that frown upon girls who consume alcohol. Consequently, the collective efforts of protecting the community through the politics of Omo were actually meant to protect boys and men, not girls and womxn. It therefore follows that like family, community is a safe space that pre-occupies itself with ensuring the safety of men and not of womxn. For womxn,

'community' is another *battlefield* where patriarchal values that undermine the progress of womxn are instilled and enforced and kept in motion through narratives of safety while the same people (men) who are supposed to protect them are the very people who pose greater danger to their survival.

Drawing from the stories narrated above, the 'community' emerges as one of the active *battlefields* for the war that has been and continue to be fought by womxn during the anti-apartheid struggle and post-1994. Stories of older womxn confirm the statement of two fronts of war that were and continued to be fought on womxn's. During anti-apartheid struggles, womxn like mam' uThozama and mam' uYoliswa were expected to be messengers which meant that letters had to be sneaked at night while at the same time they were expected to be indoors because of the real or assumed threats of danger outside. Yet, during the day they were expected to be fully informed about events and participate accordingly.

Post-1994, the same womxn are denied opportunities to lead in their communities (Wicomb 2000). Where they eventually make it, they are opposed by members of their communities who refuse to recognise them as leaders in their own right. It is within their communities that womxn like mam' uYoliswa have experienced violence in the form of protests that traumatised her children and herself. For any womxn to lead at the local state level (let alone national level), she has to inspire confidence within her community by proving that she qualifies. However, it is also at 'community' level where women are opposed, challenged and rejected, making it difficult to win the war on the community *battlefield* so that they can move to the local state level or higher.

In *Gender Trauma in Africa*, Sylvia Tamale (2004) draws our attention to space as a resource in itself. She argues that "the gendered male public space is key to power, privilege, opportunities and wealth." (2004: 53). Yet, womxn's access to these resources is extremely limited and controlled by the same men. As argued in *Chapter 5*, experiences of patronage and clientelism cannot be understood outside the power play of these dynamics that favour men over womxn in redistribution of state resources. For younger womxn like Nokuzola, Xolile and Nwabiswa, the *community battlefield* becomes a complicated space where battles of unemployment, poverty and housing are waged directly on their physical bodies, disguised in narratives of corruption, clientelism and patronage. Since they have not yet qualified to be community leaders, theirs become an everyday struggle for survival as they navigate the terrain of the brutal effects of the neoliberal state. Some older womxn and other economically

advantaged womxn of their age label them as 'whores' who exchange their bodies for housing and job opportunities. Some even bash them for being used by politicians and local state officials for their sexual satisfaction.

However, from their perspectives – as narrated in the stories above, theirs is another form of making sure that they have opportunities to participate in the economy. I argue that this is another form of resistance grounded on the refusal to be excluded by the neoliberal state informed by creative forms of resistance that disrupt the sacrosanct norms and values of a patriarchal society. I argue that community as a *battlefield* exposes the cracks of the state, rendering its neoliberal practices illegitimate by opening a space for experimenting with alternative ways of access. At the community level, ordinary citizens, local government officials and politicians develop different ways of navigating questions of access. Young womxn use the *community battlefield* to disrupt both patriarchy and principles of the neoliberal state in radical ways, yet remain trapped in a patriarchal order that determines and shape the direction of the struggle.

7.4.4. The (Local) State Battlefield

In the epilogue of this chapter, I have shown that there are still limited prospects for womxn to take up senior leadership positions in governance. The constitution of the parliamentary cabinet in the past few months by President Cyril Ramaphosa is a testimony to the lack of political will in promoting womxn to senior leadership positions. The lip-service of democratic institutions and the use of womxn to represent numbers without empowering them is widely documented in South Africa (see Gouws and Hassim 2011) and beyond (see Tamale 2004). Although the current government boasts about the increased presence of womxn in senior positions, the controversies that surrounded the swearing in of ministers have shown that as long as men are still in power, womxn can only be elevated to certain positions. Most South Africans were hopeful and even started some rumours around the possibility of a womxn deputy president when Deputy President David Mabuza opted to postpone his swearing in ceremony to serve in parliament. However, President Ramaphosa showed the country that he is more invested in 'unity' politics[60] – i.e. politically managing factional divisions within the ANC than promoting womxn to a senior position of a deputy president.

[60] See *Chapter 1* for a discussion on the emergence of the idea of 'unity' politics within the African National Congress.

The fact that several womxn's names were thrown around (including Lindiwe Sisulu, Naledi Pandor and Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma) as possible presidential candidates testifies that some womxn in South Africa are ready for a womxn president. However, as the political culture of the ANC would predict, putting a womxn in a deputy president position would mean that South Africa is five to ten years away from having a womxn president for the first time (disregarding those who have served as interim or acting). The final decision taken by President Ramaphosa to continue with the swearing in of Deputy President Mabuza is a clear message that South Africans will have to wait ten more years to begin dreaming about a womxn president – a dream that seemed too close during the build-up to the Nasrec conference in 2017.

It is unfortunate that while the local state is supposed to be the primary provider of basic needs, protector and guarantor of basic rights, and provider of security for all citizens, it is also a primary source of violence for marginalised citizens, womxn in particular. Equally, all the three *battlefields* identified above converge on or with the facilitation (or lack of) of the state. The state has failed to protect womxn from different forms of physical violence including GBV, sexual harassment and rape among others. On many occasions, both during apartheid and post-1994, the state has inflicted direct physical violence on its citizens. Experiences of violence experienced by old womxn as narrated in the above stories were inflicted by the state through its apartheid institutionalised violence. Post-1994, the state continues to unleash violence through the state machinery of the police during service delivery related protests. Moreover, the state has unleashed or facilitated emotional, psychological, and social forms of violence through deprivation of social and basic services where citizens seeking help from the state have to endure long queues waiting to be assisted. At a community level, struggles over poverty, unemployment and lack of decent housing are facilitated by the lack of state action. Womxn remain at the center of these struggles even in positions of power where they are supposed to be respected and empowered.

The first three stories presented above are drawn from the narratives of womxns' direct encounters with the state. In all the three stories and others not presented here, the state remains another dominant *battlefield* for womxns' struggles. Mam' uThozama is one of the people who grew up living under poor apartheid conditions. Post-1994, she had hoped that the new dispensation would at least provide a better life for all the people of Duncan Village. Despite massive funding allocated to the Duncan Village Development project, the people of Duncan Village still live under abject poverty (see Bank 2011; Ndhlovu 2015). It is just a small fraction of people like her who have made it through politics who are able to provide for their families.

However, this does not mean that her struggles are over. Like many other womxn, mam' uThozama had hoped that by fighting and winning in the *community battlefield*, she would be promoted to serve at the local state level and hoped to make change. However, her encounter with the local state as a *battlefield* emerges in this context where she tries to push for equal redistribution of services and equal access to opportunities such as government tenders. In her narrative above, we encounter one of mam' uThozama's many battles in the field of the state as she tries to challenge an illegal and unfair tender process.

The most disturbing thing in thinking about rape as another form of violence is that it is entrenched in the very powers of the state that is meant to protect the powerless. The most disturbing part is when these incidents of violence happen and those who are present or known to the perpetrator do nothing about the incidents. For instance, mam' uThozama was threatened to be raped in the 'state' by someone known to her fellow colleagues and no one bothered to protect her. As she narrates,

> He saw that I was not budging but could not understand why I was being so "hot-headed' as a womxn. He said all this in front of the people that I regard as, and call comrades that you don't want to bring trouble to yourself. You know you can be raped as an old womxn just because you think you are being smart? Why would you put the lives of your children in danger knowing that they are girls? You people you talk about rape every day, you pretend to fight it, yet you invite it by useless things as simple as a signature. I expected at least one of them would call him out, or at least to say something so that I can feel protected. But no, comrades kept quiet and that is where I saw that I was on my own in this battle (Life history of Mam' uThozama, 04/05/2017).

The life history excerpt shows the intersection of the forms of violence and entanglement of *battlefields*. Moreover, lack of accountability from those who are responsible – those in positions of power like the person who was chairing the meeting. I argue that here mam' uThozama's body becomes a *battlefield* of violence waged on the collusion of corruption and patronage as a form of resistance to neoliberal capitalism and bureaucracy (see *Chapter 6*) where she undergoes an emotional and psychological trauma emanating from the physical threats of rape upon her body and those of her loved ones. As I have argued in the beginning of this chapter, womxns' bodies are *battlefields* where wars waged on clashes between patriarchy and neoliberal capitalism in the form of corruption and clientelism in this case, collide and find expression in different forms of violence. The state that is supposed to be the protector and guarantor of human rights and safety for womxn becomes another *battlefield* or a bystander leaving womxn with no option but to reinvent alternative means of survival.

In her experiences of working for BCMM, most of Mandisa's battles that she has fought in her adult life are located within the state. As narrated above, she has faced different forms of resistance and challenges from the people who have refused to recognise her as a young womxn leader. The forms of harassment she encountered have exposed her to emotional and psychological forms of violence that landed her at a hospital. Once again, the 'state' failed to protect her. Instead, she received a lot of pressure from her bosses demanding that she recovers quickly and gets back to work or she must file a resignation or apply for a change of position so that other people can take over. The deterioration of her health was understood (deliberately or unconsciously) by many as her not coping with a higher leadership position because she is a womxn, leading to her colleague suggesting that she steps down and allows a male candidate to act in her position. Interestingly, the older womxn were her main critics and at the center of the challenges faced by Mandisa. For Mandisa, the very same womxn who have been exposed to family, community, the body, and state *battlefield*s are the same womxn who were inflicting violence on her in the state. This speaks to ways in which patriarchy continues to structure and entrench everyday experiences of womxn.

7.5. Towards Inclusive Citizenship and Communities

In my discussion of entangled battlefields of violence, I have outlined how certain norms and values that encourage different forms of violence on womxn are enforced and normalised at the home and community levels. Ironically, through care labour, it is mainly womxn who are responsible for passing these norms from one generation to the next. Following the arguments made thus far and those presented in *Chapter 4*, it is clear that womxn are not yet full citizens of this 'democratic' nation and they do not yet belong to any communities or families as they remain excluded from full participation.

Writing on lesbian rape in South Africa, Zanele Muholi (2004) argues that while South Africa is celebrating freedom and political democracy, there are those who remain excluded from experiencing this 'freedom.' She argues that womxn "are still outsiders who are yet to find meaning in this celebration" (Muholi 2004: 117). This means that womxn of all identities who make up the majority of the population are not even included in different communities and cannot exercise their full citizenship participation. Drawing from the experiences of womxn in Uganda, Sylvia Tamale reminds us that "backlash against womxn's issues is a backlash against democracy and progressive change" (Tamale 2006: 36). The multi-layered experiences of womxn discussed thus far are an indication that the state, communities and families need to be

democratised, transformed and disrupted in order to be accommodative of womxn and other marginalised bodies.

There is considerable evidence that African societies are inherently patriarchal. Tamale (2004) notes that although the public sphere was always separated along patriarchal lines, it was "precipitated, consolidated and reinforced by colonial practices" (and apartheid in the case of South Africa) through division of labour that pushed womxn to the private sphere (Tamale 2004: 52). She notes that in order to fight womxn oppression, we need to "carefully analyse and understand the capitalist social structures that go hand-in-hand with all types of fundamentalisms and their totalising discourses as they threaten to roll back all gains and silence us into total patriarchal submission" (Tamale 2006: 40). Some feminist scholars have also noted how discourses of transformation especially at government level seek to entrench womxn instead of emancipating them (Tamale 2006; Gqola 2015). I argue that the struggle for inclusive citizenship participation and inclusive communities will have to transcend generational differences.

7.5.1. Negotiating Intergenerational and Cultural Challenges

The stories narrated above have shown that the problem of normalising patriarchy does not only lie with men. There are womxn who are also complicit in normalising and excusing patriarchy. Furthermore, state institutions that are meant to protect the powerless (as we have seen in the stories above and in recent waves of anti-femicide protests in South Africa) are either unwilling or incapable of addressing issues of patriarchal domination and violent masculinities (Muholi 2004; Gqola 2015). This means that the war against femicide and other forms of violence has to penetrate all structures of society from the family to the judiciary, to the highest decision-making body in the land. In order to achieve this, I suggest that we need to reach a compromised position between inter-generational differences as well as forms of disruption that are 'not common' or accepted by others. Basically, we need to reach a position of '*compromised solidarity'* – a position that will accommodate different forms of disruption.

In her book *Nervous Conditions*, Tsitsi Dangarembga opens with a controversial line from a moral perspective: "I was not sorry when my brother died. Nor am I apologising for my callousness, as you may define it, my lack of feeling" (Dangarembga 1988: 1). These are the words of a young girl that speaks to deep-seated patriarchy, cultural domination, the role of religion and culture in oppressing womxn. While these opening words may sound wrong from a moral perspective, they speak to the realities of our patriarchal societies that patriarchy has

to ‘die’ first before we experience ‘real’ freedom. It is only after the death of her brother Nhamo that Tambu is only afforded an opportunity to be educated (Dangarembga 1988).

The role of the character ‘Mother’ in Dangarembga is one of those striking characters for me in the novel in terms of how the patriarchal norms have been normalised in her life so much that she tells her daughter Tambu with so much diligence that “Let her try. Let her see for herself that some things cannot be done” (Dangarembga 1988:17). For an uneducated womxn at the bottom of the social hierarchy, one wonders where she got so much wisdom. However, Alice Walker’s *In Search of our Mothers Gardens: Womanist Promise* (2004) draws our attention to the well of wisdom from our mothers and grandmothers that come from generations of experience. A close reading of her work confirms some of the sentiments shared by womxn whose stories I have documented here. They have all echoed the fact that patriarchal values are passed and protected by womxn themselves. In fighting patriarchal domination, we therefore need to begin to think about bridging the inter-generational gaps in understanding different forms of resistance. However, the recent ‘nude’ protests across university campuses in South Africa (see Dlakavu 2017; Ndlovu 2017; Xaba 2017) suggest that at least there are some of the ‘radical’ forms of protest that are already shared between the young and older womxn.

Drawing from the experiences of the Niger Delta, Turner and Brownhill (2016) have shown how old womxn have used naked protest to force big multinational oil companies to take responsibility for the damage done in their communities by the companies. For older womxn in the Niger Delta, the naked protest is a sign of a serious curse in that seeing the naked body of an older womxn, especially the elder and married, means that “this is where life comes from? I hereby revoke your life.” (2016: 71). Similarly, the womxn of Soweto researched by Mpho Mathebula (PhD thesis forthcoming), have used naked protests to fight against evictions. Most importantly, naked protests have been used by womxn across many African countries (see Rwakabukoza 2015 for cases from Uganda). This means that despite the generational gap, there is already an idea of some shared radical forms of protests/resistance between the young and old. Perhaps the gap that remains sticky is the one that exists across womxn of all age groups – what is deemed to be ‘acceptable’ and ‘unacceptable,’ the ‘moral’ and ‘immoral’ practices. I argue that this is the most challenging part that needs a lot of work in terms of achieving ‘*compromised solidarity.’*

7.5.2. (Un)Doing Patriarchy for Survival? The ANC Conference and 'Friends of the Delegates'

In this section I explore radical forms of resistance that have been adopted by younger womxn to challenge and disrupt the sacrosanct norms of patriarchy. The use of the term 'radical' is informed by ways in which these alternative forms of resistance have been received by society at large. It is a fact that womxn have been challenging patriarchal dominance ever since history can remember. Although the forms of resistance have been deliberate in challenging patriarchy, they have remained within the framework of what is 'acceptable' – issues that the elders of a community can sit down and discuss. However, in the wake of the twenty-first century, womxn have been engaging in forms of resistance that have disrupted the sacrosanct norms of society – things that the elderly will be embarrassed to discuss. Most of these unacceptable forms of resistance are closely linked to womxn's bodies like sex work, nude protests, and having an extra marital affair as a form of resistance.

The history of nude protests dates back to the 19th century. However, the use of nude protests have been accepted, or at least understood to be relevant for extreme cases that are deemed to have prompted nudity as an extreme form of protest. However, in the 21st century, younger womxn have used their bodies in everyday forms of resistance. The problem here is the policing and objectification of womxns' bodies. Although society is slowly accepting that things are changing, the grip on policing womxn's bodies remains strong as both men and womxn are reluctant to liberate bodies. Here I explore how younger womxn use their sexual beings in challenging patriarchy – what I also theorise as challenging and resisting neoliberal capitalism and patriarchal domination.

In her work on sex work and feminism, Ntokozo Yingwana (2018) draws our attention to the stigmatisation and exclusion of sex workers in feminist organisations. She calls for nuanced approaches that transcend the dichotomy of the victim/agent and invites us to acknowledge the complexities of sex workers' lives in order to understand how their struggles are to a larger extent shared with those of other feminists. Borrowing from Yingwana's theorisation of sex workers, I would like to think of the forms of resistance demonstrated by younger womxn that I documented here as one of those forms that do not only invite tolerance, but also an understanding of the complexities of the lives of young girls who have to make-shift as 'friends of delegates' at ANC conferences. I argue that strategies deployed by Xolelwa and Nwabisa at the conference should not be understood from a victim/agent dichotomy. They should instead be read as another form of imagining different ways of surviving given that patriarchy

continues to control most of the resources and opportunities. This is to highlight ways in which everyday lives of womxn are trapped in a patriarchal order despite centuries of resistance and challenge.

Furthermore, the parallels between strategies deployed by Nokuzola at the community and those deployed by Xolelwa and Nwabisa at the conference should not be read in isolation. I argue that what is deployed by Xolelwa and Nwabisa at the conference is one of those strategies deployed at a once off event while not unrelated to those deployed by Nokuzola in the everyday. This shows that this is a well-crafted strategy that is used by many womxn who are in similar positions in navigating the clash between patriarchal domination and neoliberal capitalism in the everyday of Duncan Village. In order to understand the deployment of these strategies as a form of resistance, we need to understand the everyday workings of capitalism and its structures in undermining womxn's agency and their means of survival (Tamale 2006).

In her essay, *Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Colour*, Kimberley Crenshaw (1990) notes the power of numbers in mobilising for resistance. She writes that "womxn have recognised that the political demand of millions speaks more powerfully than the pleas of a few isolated voices" (1990: 1241). In her work on violence, Hannah Arendt argues that the difference between power and violence is that power stands on numbers while violence can work in isolation (1970). This is to say that when more womxn stand up to speak against GBV and violence they are more likely to be heard than when they speak in isolated voices. Writing in the context of #FeesMustFall protests in South Africa, I noted how the university authorities and government structures have politicised numbers to justify or dismiss the legitimacy of students' demands (Ndlovu 2017a). Similarly, thousands of womxn taking to the streets across the country recently to express their rage over the rape and murder of Uyinene and normalisation of femicide in the country have forced the government to renew talks on ways of addressing GBV, rape and femicide. However, despite the numbers that have organised against GBV and femicide, business continues as usual in political and work spaces as many continue to benefit from and protect patriarchal power.

From the discussion on communities as *battlefields*, it is clear that in as much as shared community values lead to the oppression of womxn, political spaces also constitute a larger space of violent encounters. As I argue in *Chapter 5*, the control of state resources by men in positions of power exposes many womxn to different forms of harassment and abuse. Tamale argues that in the context of underdeveloped economies, patronage politics has played a key

role in subordinating womxn (and men) where they have to depend on "the resource-controlling state as a vital back-up for advancing their political careers" (Tamale 2000: 11-12). The stories of Nokuzola, Xolelwa and Nwabisa narrated above fall no further than this understanding of power-abuse. Although young womxn continue to use different strategies to engage patriarchy, it is unfortunate that they still have to do so within the constraints of patriarchal domination as power and resources remain in the hands of men.

Writing on political representation in Zambia, Botswana and Namibia, Gisela Geisler (2006) notes how post-independence ruling parties co-opted the existing structures of womxn's movements across the continent – and the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) is not an exception. She notes how "versions of state-feminism co-opted older, less educated middle-class African womxn willing to propagate highly conservative ideas and to engage in patriarchal bargains" (Geisler 2006: 71). Reflecting from 'The Colour of Violence' conference from the American context, Andrea Smith quoted one of the speakers, Loretta Ross, saying that "womxn of colour are very good about organising around their pain but are not good at organising around their privilege" (Smith 2001: 69). The problems of representation that we are facing within the South African context are those of co-option of womxn structures where womxn would rather protect their privileges than disrupt the status quo that allows patriarchal dominations and violent masculinities to flourish. The story of Mandisa narrated above does not fall far from this narrative. The womxn who are bullying her are womxn who have ascended to their positions through towing patriarchal lines of power. As one womxn from the community structure puts it,

> …the reason why I am still here is because I am too slow. For all these years serving as a street committee member I should have moved up to the municipality. But because here you must know your ticket to your position – men here do not want those womxn who say no! When you say no to them abusing young children or disrespecting young womxn, then you must forget about moving on the ladder. So all those womxn that you see up there [she adds names of some of the people at Mandisa's department] are those womxn who have organised young girls for conferences, who have supported comrades on hearings on cases related to power abuse and exploitation of young girls, and have always been seeking validation from them (Life history, Duncan Village, 16/10/2017).

From reading the excerpt above we learn that the active participation of womxn in aiding patriarchal domination is not only shaped by the reluctance to organise against their privilege. The state also plays a role in appropriating feminism for the benefit of strengthening patriarchal domination. Sometimes, playing the patriarchal game or 'selling out' other womxn remains the

only ticket that womxn hold for participation in the economy. While the evidence presented throughout the thesis suggests a disruption of ways of re-imagining communities and the state, the role of patriarchy seems to be difficult to disrupt. It remains intact in such a way that even different forms of resistance are still constrained and contained by structural patriarchy. This is a stumbling piece of the whole puzzle that calls for the re-imagination of ways of dealing with patriarchy.

7.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I presented narratives from the life histories and stories of everyday lived experiences of womxn in Buffalo City. I have argued that the everyday experiences of violent encounters in different spaces continue to exclude womxn from inclusive citizenship participation and from belonging to the (re)constituted communities and families. Through unpacking some sentiments from one of the local historians who argued that "The two fronts of war have been fought and continue to be fought on womxn's bodies", I have developed and theorised '*four battlefields'* (the body, the family, community and the state) where womxn encounter everyday forms of violence. I have argued that while the work discussed throughout the thesis has been disruptive, patriarchy remains intact in such a way that different forms of resistance remain trapped within patriarchal structures. This opens a space for further research of exploring ways in which the daring patriarchy can be tackled. The following chapter presents conclusions, theoretical and conceptual contributions of the thesis.

Chapter 8

Conclusions: In Search for an Inclusive State, Citizenship, and Communities

8.1. Introduction

In this chapter I present a summary of key findings of the study and a theoretical understanding of the state as articulated by residents of Buffalo City and Duncan Village. The chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section I present a summary of key findings as discussed in the chapters presented in this thesis. In the second section I present a summary of methodological, theoretical and conceptual contributions to the study of state/society relations. The third section presents some limitations of the study and some recommendations for future research.

8.2. Summary of Thesis Argument and Findings

This thesis draws from an eighteen months ethnographic mapping of the Duncan Village Township and Buffalo City – the third largest metropolitan municipality in South Africa. The study triangulated thirty life histories of local historians, fifty-two interviews/conversations, seven focus group discussions, archival work and participant observations. The study also harnessed the extended case method, intersectional feminism(s), fragmented narratives and sociology of rumour as the main methodologies that informed data collection, data analysis and the final writing process. The triangulation of these methodologies allowed for a coherent analysis of the study that enabled the mapping to move back and forth into the histories and present realities of Duncan Village Township and Buffalo City.

This thesis explores state/society relations with an aim to unpack ways in which the interplay between the state and communities constitutes and reconstitutes the state and the community. The thesis is premised upon the argument that the state is a multi-layered and multifaceted space that requires a multi-layered and a multi-dimensional analysis. Taking a relational analysis approach, which explores both intra-state and intra-community relations allows an understanding of how the *elusive state* is produced and how communities are fractured through the everyday encounters between the state and communities at the margins.

The study explores relations among the residents of Duncan Village in their everyday interactions to understand how the historical, the present and the future are embodied, imagined and reimagined in their everyday interactions. A close reading of these intra-community relations suggests that everyday contestations for access over state resources and opportunities, and claims of belonging to the township fracture local communities in ways that disrupt notions of citizenship, communities, and claims of belonging. Those who claim to belong to the township more than others mobilise and deploy the identity of *inzalelwane* to position themselves strategically to access state resources and opportunities. On the other hand, *inzalelwane* also construct the identity of *abantu bokufika* to marginalise and exclude those that they claim to be new arrivals and not belonging to the township, therefore, not eligible to access state resources and opportunities.

The study found that constructed identities of inclusion (*inzalelwane*) and exclusion (*abantu bokufika*) are not enough for enabling access and to navigate the everyday needs for survival. There is a need for a construction of 'other' identities that are used to form alliances for different strategical positioning in facilitating everyday life needs. The construction of the identities of *amaGhana, amaGrigamba*, and *abantu baseGauteng* presents another layer of citizenship that produces a hybrid identity of layered citizenship. The mobilisation and deployment of these identities of inclusion and exclusion, and those of 'othering' have illuminated the concept of a *layered citizenship* that suggests that for communities at the margins, national citizenship is a secondary or irrelevant concern when fighting for access. In fact, nationalism poses a greater threat for local nationals as contestations over access continue. These contestations further disrupt the notion of a community as something that is static/fixed. The active process of constituting and reconstituting communities renders the concept of community as fluid, contested and porous rather than fixed/static (*Chapter 4*).

Furthermore, the thesis explores intra-state relations to understand ways in which local state officials relate to the idea of the state and communities that they are delivering services to. The analysis of the relationship suggests that the idea of the state is contested. The argument pursued is that the state is an *elusive puzzle* that keeps shifting as individuals and groups attempt to access it and hold it accountable for its responsibilities. Additionally, local state officials reject the idea of being state agents as they exercise their agency when engaging communities. This blurs the (assumed) boundaries between the state and society/communities as local officials identify themselves as members of different communities before becoming state

officials. The *elusive puzzle* is demystified and the state is reconfigured through the workings of local officials who 'bend' rules and/or make urgent calls to their colleagues so that they can fast-track service delivery in their constituencies (*Chapter 6*).

The interface between the local state officials and communities is also explored to understand the unmaking and remaking of the state and communities. The thesis argues that there is a disjuncture in the understanding of what was fought for during anti-apartheid struggles and the democratic dispensation. In the thesis, it becomes clear that a close reading of the narratives of the local historians in relation to the democratic transition suggests that during the anti-apartheid struggles, the people of Duncan Village never fought for democracy. They fought for *inkululeko* (freedom) that was expected to transform the socio-political and economic lives of the poor. For many local historians, democracy was imposed through the negotiated settlement of the transition. Democracy therefore has become another *battlefield*; a site where the struggles towards the realisation of *inkululeko* continue. A close reading of the narratives of corruption, patronage politics and clientelism suggests that understanding corruption at the margins of society demands a de-clustering of the concept of corruption. This is to argue that elite corruption should be separated and analysed differently from corruption at the margins of society.

Evidence from Buffalo City has shown that elite corruption is a form of resistance against the compromises of democracy. The negotiated settlement of democracy in 1994 entrenched the economic power in the hands of the previously privileged elites while excluding the emerging black middle class from the economy. The state has therefore become a site of accumulation and class formation where those who feel excluded from the economy use it for private/personal accumulation. Corruption at the margins of society in Duncan Village is also understood as a form of resistance against the compromises of democracy and deployed as an alternative means of survival. In a neoliberal capitalist society where there are not enough resources and jobs for everyone, those who are politically connected use their networks as an alternative means of access. Similarly, local politicians use their networks to build and maintain political power, and for consolidating political factions aligned to the broader ANC political movement (*Chapter 5*).

Through unpacking personal stories of womxn from Buffalo City, the thesis exposes the enduring nature of patriarchy in that even different forms of resistance employed by womxn remain confined within patriarchal boundaries. In exploring the role of patriarchy, I have shown

how patriarchy continues to structure societal relations across families, communities and the state. Navigating patriarchy becomes an everyday form of existence even for those womxn who hold senior political or administrative positions (*Chapter 7*).

8.3. Contributions

In this section I outline some of the contributions made by the thesis to existing studies, theories, concepts and methodologies. This is not to claim that my work is completely new or should be understood as such. Instead, I highlight some of the gaps and contributions from the work that I have engaged throughout this study.

8.3.1. Methodological Contributions

This thesis contributes to the intersectional feminist(s) methodology by questioning the balance between textual violence and questions of re-membering and dis-membering in narratives of womxn's life stories. As demonstrated in the thesis, feminist scholars have encouraged us to employ research methods that are able to engage the stories of trauma and survival that are not triggering, invasive and limited (Motsemme 2004; 2004b; Kiguwa 2019). In re-writing and analysing experiences of the marginalised communities, I have exercised reflexivity and sensitivity in allowing local historians to narrate their stories and contribute in the re-writing of their histories in ways that are meaningful for their everyday lived experiences. In rewriting stories of violence and trauma, I invited womxn who shared their personal stories to participate in the re-construction of a version that better represents their stories without appropriating and re-writing them in ways that I want and also without exposing them to dangers of being identified in my writing that might lead to further victimisation. This is meant to mediate the dangers of further dis-membering womxn's bodies/lives and participating in textual violence.

Finally, the thesis contributes to the ethics of research with a particular focus on consent. By participating in collective re-writing of the narration of womxn's stories, I have argued that in some African communities consent is a complicated issue that does not only involve individual agency; when individuals give their consent, especially womxn, they are sometimes unconsciously consenting for the whole community or family. I argue that consent in research is not a once off event where participants sign off their stories to be used for research report writing and theorisation. Instead, consent is an ongoing negotiation process that demands that we engage our participants throughout the process up to the final product.

8.3.2. Theoretical Contributions

This thesis contributes to the theory of the state by exploring the interactions and dynamics between the state, community and patriarchy in four different ways. Firstly, employing a relational analysis to the study of state/society relations, I have rejected conceptions of community and the state as separate entities. There is considerable scholarly work that has focused on disrupting the notion of the state as an abstract idea. Some of these studies focus on the cultural aspects of state formation i.e. the production of new subject identities through categorisation, regulation and routinisation of everyday life (Stepputat 2001: 285). The main concern has been to explore the extent to which state/society relations are characterised by domination and consent (Cloward and Piven 1974; Scott 1990; Wacquant 2008; Bourdieu 2000; Auyero 2012).

Other studies have explored the state/society relations as a contestation. However, these approaches have emphasized the question of agency and change in processes of state formation, developed through localised and historical contexts of the politics of place (Stepputat 2001: 286; Appadurai 200; Ferguson and Gupta 2002). The studies that have focused on state/society relations from a grassroots perspective focus more on everyday state formation through the concept of urban citizenship (Desai and Sanyal 2012; Holston 2012; 2008; Chatterjee 2008; Roy 2007; 2009; Appadurai 2001). These studies have emphasized either the making or unmaking of the state and communities. However, they have rarely focused on the dynamics of the relationship between the state and communities. By resisting to explore intra-state relations and intra-community relations as separate/distinct practices, this thesis emphasises the importance of exploring the relationship from both ends; simultaneously and in relation to each other. This analysis shows how the interplay between the two unmakes and remakes both the state and the community.

Secondly, the thesis contributes to the concepts of the state and community by stretching and complicating both concepts as processes that are fluid, porous, and contested rather than working with them as fixed/static. By adopting a multi-layered analysis of the state, I show how on one hand, this relationship produces an *elusive puzzle* such that individuals and groups who have 'gone' to look for the state keep on chasing a moving goal-post that changes its shape and form as it seeks to assert its legitimacy. However, when the local officials interact with communities, the *elusive puzzle* is unmasked, and the state is reconfigured through some of the

practices employed by local politicians and administrators that ensure that their communities receive basic services without having to deal with the bureaucracy directly. Similarly, the intersection, collaborations and clashes among these communities show how contestation over state resources, and how people mobilise for access, fracture the Duncan Village community as a collective. This reveals the concept of community or community boundaries to be porous, overlapping and intersecting. I have developed the concepts '*convenient communities,*' '*instrumental communities*,' and '*political communities'* to give an understanding of ways in which communities are reconstituted in the everyday negotiation of the networks of accessing state resources (Chapter 4 & 5).

Thirdly, the thesis has emphasised the importance of capturing state/society dynamics through an analysis of both the episodic/spectacular and the mundane/every day. An analysis of both practices allows for an understanding of state/society relations as characterised by contestation rather than domination and consent. There is considerable scholarly work that has focused on understanding state/society relations in South Africa as characterised by contestation. However, as argued in the thesis, these studies have privileged episodic moments such as protest actions or spectacular processes such as colonialism and apartheid, while paying less attention to the day-to-day engagements between the state officials and communities. This thesis argues that the tendency to isolate and privilege episodic moments assumes that the relationship only matters when it has broken down, and particularly when it manifests itself as episodes of protest on the streets (Joseph and Nugent 1994: 4). By paying attention to the meanings of the spectacular events such as apartheid, colonialism and protests, and the everyday interactions between local state officials and Duncan Village communities, the thesis contributes to ways of re-imagining the meanings of democracy, rather than assuming it marks the discontinuities of state practices from the apartheid to post-1994 social order.

The everyday interaction between local politicians and communities is characterised by 'reciprocal' networks of patronage and clientelism that allow an exchange of public goods and services for continued political support and consolidation of political factions. I have theorised these networks of access as '*selective service delivery'* and '*strategic service delivery'* instead of lack of service delivery. This acknowledges the strategies and skills employed by local politicians tasked with delivering services, while acknowledging the experiences and the role of those who participate in these alternative networks of access (*Chapter 6*).

Finally, while the understanding of concepts of the state and community, and the dynamic relationship between the local state officials and communities explored in this thesis has destabilised these concepts, the concept of patriarchy seems to have remained intact. The multilayered analysis to the study of state/society relations has exposed the enduring nature of patriarchy. In understanding the role of patriarchy in society, I have identified four *battlefields* where womxn confront patriarchal domination and everyday oppression: the physical *body battlefield*, the *home/family battlefield*, the *community battlefield* and the *(local) state battlefield*. Identifying *battlefields* is important for collective action because in the case of womxn struggles, it means that we are able to understand the structures from which our oppression occurs and use the same spaces to organise for resistance (*Chapter 7*).

8.4. Limitations of the Study and Further Research

This thesis has taken a case study approach and adopted a narrative analysis in understanding state/society relations. It grappled with questions of citizenship, belonging and constitution of communities. It also grappled with narratives of corruption, patronage politics and belonging in making sense of ways in which the state as an *elusive puzzle* is demystified and reconfigured as local state officials and communities encounter each other. The conclusions that have been reached were drawn largely from understandings and meaning-makings of the everyday experiences in the encounters between the local state officials and the Duncan Village communities. This means that these experiences and the meanings constructed have been shaped by particular histories and present realities of global, national and local contexts. These are further mediated by the shared local cultures, norms and values in everyday meaning-making and therefore shape everyday lived experiences.

Further studies will benefit from comparative studies from other townships in South Africa and other contexts within the African continent and beyond. Exploring the question of the state is an ambitious project especially given the diversity of historical contexts and present realities meshed with specific socioeconomic and political situations. Questions of citizenship, belonging and (re)constitution of local communities raised in this thesis have been shaped by particular histories of colonialism and apartheid and continue to be (re)shaped by global and national economic contexts. When these land on the specific histories of Duncan Village and the particularity of the geographical distribution of the township, they remain relevant for

Duncan Village even though they have a potential of illuminating broader similar questions beyond Duncan Village.

Furthermore, conclusions that have been reached regarding ideas of the state and communities are drawn from the narratives of local state officials and local residents. The state constitutes a broader community beyond the nexus of state officials and local communities. Further research will benefit from bringing other voices from other stakeholders such as trade unions, NGOs, business people etc. This recommendation comes after the realisation that the experiences of Duncan Village are shaped by the particularity of the socioeconomic status of the residents which makes access to public goods key to their everyday survival. Their ideas and images of the state and understandings of communities are shaped by their everyday experiences and their everyday needs that are expected to be met by the state. Different views from different socioeconomic backgrounds will add value into the understanding of the state and state/society relations.

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Appendices

Research Permission Letter

BUFFALO CITY METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY



MEMORANDUM

Date: **01 AUGUST 2016**

From: **HEAD:INFORMATION KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT, RESEARCH AND POLICY**

To: **MS HLENGIWE P NDHLOVU**

Our ref:	Please ask for **MR J.FINE (043) 705 9742**	Your ref:

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN BCMM: MS NDHLOVU

It is hereby acknowledged that **Ms Ndhlovu,** a student at **the University of Witwatersrand** completing a **PhD in Sociology** has met the prerequisites for conducting research at Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) for partial fulfillment of her degree. She has provided us with all the necessary documentation as per the BCMM Policy on External Students conducting research at the institution. With reference to the letter to the Acting City Manager received on 18 July 2016, permission was requested to conduct research at BCMM for her Research Report, entitled **"The Shifting Dynamics of State-Society Relations in South Africa: A Case Study of Duncan Village, East London: 1980-Present"** This request was acknowledged by the Office of the Acting City Manager, and forwarded to the Information & Knowledge Management, Research & Policy Unit for further assistance. Ms. Ndhlovu was

asked to provide the Unit with the necessary documentation, which she subsequently did.

The relevant Officials to assist in the research were identified and duly informed about the research, and the fact that Ms. Ndhlovu has met all the prerequisites. Their contact details have also been provided to Ms. Ndhlovu and she was informed to contact them directly for assistance.

We wish you good luck in your studies.

DR T F NORUSHE

HEAD: INFORMATION, KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT, RESEARCH AND POLICY

Ethics Clearance

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Ndhlovu

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H17/02/21**
PROJECT TITLE	The shifting dynamics of state-society relations in South Africa: A case study of Duncan Village, East London: 1980 - present
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Miss H Ndhlovu
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Social Sciences/
DATE CONSIDERED	17 February 2017
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	5 June 2020

DATE 6 June 2017 **CHAIRPERSON** J-Knight
(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Dr P Naidoo

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

Signature

06 / 06 / 2017
Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES