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Infrastructure of citizenship and subjecthood. Traditional authorities vs National Government: a case study of Tlokweng village, North West, South Africa

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"This dissertation is submitted to the Facility of Science, to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Science."

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is of my own and unassisted work. It is submitted to Faculty of Science at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg for the completion of the Master's degree program. I declare that the thesis does not contain material which has been accepted, or submitted, for any other degree or diploma at a university or other institution of higher learning.

Student signature Date:

Supervisor Date:

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Abstract

The former "homeland" areas of South Africa continue to be spaces in which underdevelopment is still severe. The post-apartheid South African state has recognized that citizenship requires more than simply legal rights being restored but also substantive interventions to actively improve the quality of life of individuals. This has taken the form of housing and basic service delivery as instruments towards poverty eradication. The primary delivery vehicle for these is through infrastructural interventions by the local government, through the Independent Development Plans (IDP's) and its guidelines the municipal system Act, no.32 of 2000. In many rural parts of the country, and especially the former homeland areas, service delivery remains critically slow and responsibility for delivery is often confused between local municipalities and traditional authorities by traditional subjects. Whereas, the goals of post-apartheid legislation may be substantive citizenship. The reality is that many rural people live as what Mamdani (1996) would refer to as subjects with very little realistic access even to the minimum legal rights of citizenship. Nevertheless, identification and belonging to a traditional authority remains very strong among many communities in rural South Africa (Mamdani,1996).

This research project investigates the social and political subjectivities in Tlokweng, a rural village in the North West Province, at the intersection between traditional authority and local government. It uses the materiality of infrastructure as a lens through which to explore the ways in which these subjectivities are both claimed and resisted, and contributes to a literature on the intersection of infrastructures and citizenship in the global South.

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My Environment
My Life
My Responsibility
SILWERKRANS
TLOKWENG

Introduction

This paper will demonstrate how the provision of infrastructure in rural areas, in particular the rural North West in a traditional village called Tlokweng. The focus is on the quality and quantity of provision of infrastructure within this traditional community, to understand how rural people are able to maneuver themselves and articulate their sense of belonging. Here I draw of literature that considers citizenship as a particular and substantive form of political subjectivity, one which is universally assumed but not always universally realised (Mamdani, 1996; Holsten and Appadurai, 1996)). One of the ways in which citizenship is realised, especially in the post-apartheid context, is through the provision of infrastructure - usually in the form of basic services (Ballard et al 2006). In the literature review I engage a broader literature on infrastructures, but for the most part in this document I use the concept of infrastructure to refer to the physical objects and technologies through which individuals are connected into broader networks of political subjectivity: such as transport, telecommunications, electricity, water provision etc. This is a definition that I borrow from Larkin (2013). In this case study it was important to understand the role of such physical infrastructures in the everyday lives of rual people, and how infrastructure provision has become heavily asserted in rural livelihoods - especially in a post-apartheid context. The provision and investment of infrastructures is not directly controlled by the rural traditional authorities, but at the same time these authorities are seen as guardians of the rural way of life. In this way, members of the local rural communities are both citizens of the state through the provision of infrastructures (among other things), and subjects of traditional rural ways of life and local authorities. The quality and quantity of social and economic infrastructures and rural services can make a difference in the viability of rural livelihoods.

This thesis sets out to demonstrate that access to infrastructure is one (among others) crucial base of the enactment of citizenship right, without regard to the location where one may reside. The case studies exhibit what happens when infrastructures become a scarce comodity rather than a universal right, and what forms of socio-political articulation should the community Tlokweng familiarize themselves with. The paper further reflects on the concepts of citizenship and subjecthood in traditional authority areas in a post-apartheid South Africa in which rural-traditional communities find themselves navigating between a subject identity and a citizen bearing individual.

Mamdani (1996) famously made the distinction between citizenship and subjecthood to describe the nature of rule in the colonial and postcolonial South Africa. Citizenship is a form of political subjectivity defined by the rights that a person enjoys in relation to the formal institutions of the modern state. On the other hand, subjecthood is a political subjectivity defined by one's obligations to traditional forms of authority and rule. In Mamdani's conceptualization of subjecthood serves to exclude subjects from a cosmopolitan modern global economy, with little protection of basic rights. It can be argued that traditional authority areas in South Africa constrain the political subjectivity of people so that they engage with authority as subjects rather than as citizens (Mamdani, 1997). The paper will also highlight on the aspect of this relationship of subject-hood and citizenship. This project will present an assessment of the relationship between traditional authorities and local municipality, in particular the provision of infrastructure to rural traditional communities. South Africa has an unequal economic class system, which has seen a large portion of South African blacks unable to access adequate infrastructure. In the post-apartheid context, service delivery of infrastructure has been linked to citizenship as this context as a selected few had preview to these assets. The concept of substantive citizenship as developed by Mamdani is greatly explored in relation to the experiences and perceptions of political subjectivity among

the Tlokweng community. It begins from the hypothesis that citizenship cannot be defined only by the legal rights enshrined in the constitution, but must be enacted through policies and programmes which directly impact the everyday lives of people in order to constitute them as citizens. As such, the thesis looks at access to infrastructures especially basic services among the community, but whereas the conventional critique that is offered by Mamdani. The effects of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa are continually being left in the everyday lives of poor black people who reside in inhabitable places. Access to socio–economic opportunities is instrumental in understanding notions of citizenship (Chipkin, 2007). The measuring tape of citizenship has then been associated with services and the accessibility of services. Liberal scholars have argued, good quality infrastructure and adequate services are associated with the urban planning system, then constitute what is termed a "full citizenship status" (Breen, 1998). Notions of subjecthood and citizenship within South Africa's historical past have been around issues pertaining to rights and quality of life. These have come to play a part in distinguishing which the type of an individual one is. In a post-apartheid context, citizenship requires the removal of race as the bases of implementing its constitutional mandate to its people.

In a different tone Ivor Chipkin (2007) in his book *Do South Africans Exist?* Argues that South Africans have not yet attained their citizenship status and henceforth are referred to as "authentic national subjects". This is until every South African has acquired their universal human rights are met. This effectively putting an end to inequality (Chipkin, 2007).

The theoretical framework for the study is detailed in the literature review. The knowledge gap in answering the research questions are intrigued are highlighted by this chapter. The chapter interrogates between the old apartheid/new democracy and

traditional/modern cultures, custom, multiple identities of belonging and citizenship are constructed through infrastructural provision. Apartheid South Africa was characterized by Bantustans (homelands) through the Bantustans Act of 1951. Through indirect rule, the Act offered provisions for tribal authorities (chiefs) to create their own rule of law, identities and values systems (Khunou, 2009). In a post-Apartheid context the traditional leadership and governance framework Act (No. 41 of 2003) gives recognition of traditional Leaders and their respective territories, as they are seen as important aspects of the governance structure. The way of life for individuals has been constructed and reconstructed in accordance to the socio-political environment in which they occupy. Even after years of attaining democracy, poverty and unequal distribution of services for the masses are forms of oppression in rural areas. Leadership in this sector play an important aspect as "change drivers" by both chiefs and local municipalities.

The governance structures between traditional authorities and local municipalities through forms of rural infrastructure provision in rural areas, particularly in the Moses Kotane Municipality, Tlokweng village, South Africa. In a post-apartheid South Africa, the local municipality and traditional authorities both have roles and responsibilities towards the populace in which they respectively govern. Rural areas still experience remarkable high rates of poverty, compared to urban metropolitan areas. In that the poverty within the rural areas is "hidden" and at times forgotten. The notion that poverty not only affects the rural areas but the socio-economic structure of any state. Delivery of infrastructure is an integral part of government's and traditional authority's function to oversee the needs of the community are being met. The dawn of democracy has brought attention to two concepts citizenship and subjecthood. These have been highly contested concepts over the years as new political climates have emerged. This is particularly unique in highlighting these two concepts. Many provinces across South Africa have parallel governing systems wherein the Traditional leaders Act of 1997 tribal authorities to be more accountable and receptive towards their community. Democracy

speaks to notions of citizenship and equal rights. This has constructed new sense of identities as well as belonging for many traditional communities (Cook, Bohlin, and Gips, 2011). However, in a context of post-apartheid democracy community members have to learn how to navigate between the different their subjectivities as a citizen of democratic state and as a traditional rural subject.

I identified the road into Tlokweng as the first point of reference when noting infrastructure. The road is significant introduces the themes of rural and urban areas in the form of landscape firstly and secondly culture change. Many poor rural communities across South Africa are isolated by distance, poor quality roads and inadequate transport options. This brings the question of what does rural mean and entail? infrastructure will be the focal point of reference in interrogating the different subjectivities that are birthed by the different stakeholders of infrastructural provision. The road is a vital mechanism in which the improvement of living conditions are realized. The challenge that arises is when local community members have different outlooks and perceptions towards infrastructural developments and who must they hold accountable. This will lead to understanding the policies and mechanisms that go in determining the allocation and provision of infrastructure in rural areas.

Problem statement

Colonialism has greatly enforced difference in identity and belonging. Traditional authorities have throughout history played an important part in the social, political and economic platform since the start of colonial rule. Traditional authorities played an integral role as they were the intermediaries between the colonial master's and the traditional community (Khunou, 2009). The role and influence of traditional leaders have transitioned along into new the democratic South Africa. Bantustans (former homeland areas) established by the Apartheid government highlighted levels of

exclusion of the black populace from residing in urban white areas. This political act was used as an instrument that restricted the black populace to their respective ethnic homeland. In a context of post-colonial and especially post-apartheid South Africa, many communities have been historically oppressed and excluded through colonialism and apartheid. Their identity and sense of belonging has been constructed either by self-identification or by external authority as not being aligned with their national democratic citizenship. This has created a scenario where people have multiple identities and articulate themselves in different forms of belonging. Where the traditional authorities have been given equal status with the state. This has led to parallel governance structures within the democratic constitution of South Africa.

Post-apartheid South Africa is currently experiencing infrastructural shortages due to spatial layout of inherited by the Apartheid system. This has led to a rural infrastructural backlog which has led resulting from years of underdevelopment and little investment infiltrated. The snowball effect has been the dilapidation and destruction due to lack of provision of infrastructure being addressed (Hemson, Meyer and Maphunye, 2004). Academic debates have been on the importance between location and services that remain a critical concern in South African rural areas. The delivery of social, educational, commercial and recreational amenities remains absent in rural areas across South Africa. The quality and quantity of social, economic infrastructure and services make a significant contribution to the advancement of the rural poor. South Africa faces challenges in dealing with the fragmentations of an apartheid urban planning. This accounting for the unequal distribution in quality of services that are still prevalent still present. Infrastructure is known to play an important role in the everyday function of a city or town. It enables people to engage and interact with spaces around them. Rural development remains a prominent strategic task plan for government, as rural areas were and still are continue to be area which are not prioritized to development initiatives (Crankshaw,2008).

Infrastructure development has become a mechanism in which brings connectedness of services to people. Service delivery through tarred roads, telecommunication, and access to education and essential health services remain to play an important intrinsic role, in the sense of ownership for any community. This study does take account of South Africa's colonial and apartheid past. The socio-political sphere of South Africa has seen more traditional authorities taking up responsibilities, which are seen as the states duty to perform. In terms of providing infrastructure and other services which serve the local traditional communities' wellbeing (Gill, 2008). In a post- apartheid South Africa enquiries around the progress in provision of infrastructural developments that are were promised by the South African government and also by the traditional council to the called "forgotten" rural areas are being interrogated.

The question that arises is how do traditional authority's communities navigate between their sense of belonging and citizenship between traditional authority and local municipality through infrastructural delivery?

Aim

To investigate how the modes and mechanisms of access to basic infrastructures influences the relationship between local community members, traditional authorities and local municipal authorities.

Objectives

- To map and catalogue existing infrastructures in the area, using prticipatory GIS and Google Earth techniques. Ground truthing will be facilitated through transect walks around the area eg: community clinic, tarred roads, community hall.
- To understand the role of the various local authorities in the provision of basic infrastructures to local communities. THis will be achieved through a range of key informant interviews.

- To critically interrogate the relationship between traditional authority and local government, again using key informant interviews as well as some archival triangulation.
- To understand the views and perceptions of local community towards both traditional authority and local municipality, and the expectations of responsibility towards service delivery in the community.

Structure of the thesis

In closing, I would like to provided a road-map that will assist the reader in navigating my argument through the chapters of the thesis. The research project itself is driven by the perceived urgency to provide the much needed service delivery of infrastructure across South Africa, but particularly in rural areas. This took into account South Africa's political history of colonialism that paved into an apartheid system and towards the present governance structure of democracy. Traditional leaders played an increased role as being custodians of the homelands and still continue to be stewards of their ethnic populace. The former homelands or rural areas played an instrumental role in being reserves for black labour for urban cities. However, they remain to date to be pierced with high levels of poverty and inequality.

The introduction of a democratic state bought about assurance to many of future filled with hope in development and quality of life for all members of the Republic. This is still remains a case and point of contention amongst South Africans. The partnership between the state (local government) and traditional authority was meant to enhance a better working relationship for the betterment for all South Africa through equal provision of services. This was aided through the introduction of the Municipal Act of 2000, which sort out to offer a direct link of local government and the populace. The rural areas however still remain areas of inadequate infrastructure provision, with lack of

appropriate schooling institutions, functioning healthcare facilities, reliable water and electricity supply and well-maintained roads.

The research will furthermore engage with some of the issues through a literature review. To investigate South Africa's, the political histories that has created political actors and still continue to recreate actors in the current disposition. The following chapters will look at how the road in Tlokweng became an important aspect to the study. It became a symbolic representation of the area by both having experienced both an apartheid and democratic governance systems. The merge of the two systems opened up discussions over water provision in the area, social grants that assist many of the rural poor and lastly explore a disability home that has become inclusionary but as well far removed from the states mandate. This collection of information attained through academic materials and state gazettes. Mostly to the research it was made unique by the voices of the participants of Tlokweng.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Mahmood Mandani (1996) made a key intervention into post-colonial theory when he used the twin concepts of citizenship and subjecthood to describe what he referred to as the bifurcated form of rule in post-colonial society: (the dualistic form of rule, in which certain groups are treated as citizens and others are treated as subjects). The difference between the two perceptions is solely based on rights and equality. Where one individual has privilege to rights is regarded as being a citizen and one individual without rights is titled a subject. Citizens are often seen as having the original sovereignty and superiority (Mamdani, 1996). Colonialism greatly enforced difference in identity and belonging. Colonialism and the history of oppression of the black populace across the world, created an environment of transformation in the way of life and reconstructed the social order (Mamdani, 1996).

A subject is seen as a person who willfully accepts external influence and perceives hierarchy as a necessary order to the functioning of the social system. The subject is therefore without any formal role on a national scale (Ramsay, 2006) and (Breen, 1998). Continuing with Mamdani's arguments, he claims that subjects (Africans) by them not attaining their rights endorsed upon on them can only look up to their masters (chief's) for direction. Through this unequal position, subjects are more vulnerable to be treated poorly by their masters and people of higher positions of authority. In the post-apartheid South Africa this notion is however not that simple. However, looking at the post democratic South Africa times, is that a "subject" entails the split of identities to be constructed. It is important to recognize that the changes in political governments radically altered the way in which people viewed themselves (Ramsay, 2006). The transition into democracy changed the political identity from subject to citizen. South Africa has a diverse cultural history. The many different tribes have inherited as well as reconstructed rules and regulations to which govern them in today's modernity. This

brings into the forefront the intentional aspect of citizenship. As there are viewed as active participants, who take part in governance structures and public life. The alignment understanding that belonging to a populace and a member of the state in turn.

Traditional Authorities in South Africa: Traditional Authorities versus the State in a post-democratic South Africa context

The institution of traditional authorities has over time existed in South Africa. The role of traditional leaders transitioned along with the apartheid government. The Black Authorities Act of 1951 gave traditional leaders the powers to control the land at regional, tribal and territorial levels. Through series of events traditional authorities have survived colonialism, apartheid and presently democracy. Parallel governing systems are deeply entrenched within African states and have created tensions within many states political systems (Mamdani, 1996). Traditional authorities have throughout history played an important part in the social, political and economic platform since the start of colonialism. Traditional authorities provided political, economic and cultural guidance for local communities. This relationship became an important part in the overall social order (Dusing, 2002). Colonial powerhouses used the method of indirect rule, to have control over the land and people without being present for the everyday inner workings of communities. Traditional authorities were mandated to carry out orders administered by their colonial masters, in return gave traditional leaders social and economic resources. The roles and responsibilities of traditional leaders were to promote the aims and objectives of the colonial administration. This has filtered down over to political events such as apartheid in South Africa (Kyed and Buur, 2006). South Africa's apartheid history is characterized by Bantustans and capital accumulation through mining, predominately white owned. Harold Wolpe (1972) argued that apartheid legitimized the system of cheap migrant labour, and further instilling the segregation policies between the urban rich and rural poor to additionally enable a perfect system of cheap labour

and exploitation. This led to an advantageous pattern distribution of resources in terms of modes of production as black cheap labour came from the "rural" areas (Wolpe, 1972).

The influence of traditional authority over the spheres of life constructed difference in subjectivity. The present struggle that traditional authorities face is learning to survive in the new order of a post-apartheid/modern society. Traditional leadership has been regarded as an old African form of governance, and largely seen as an inherited influence by the west (Lutabingwa, Sabela, and Mbatha, 2006). Countries such as Ghana, South Africa, Mozambique, Uganda, Zambia, Namibia, Cameroon, Niger and Northern Somalia have been front runners in incorporating traditional authorities into their political system.In a post-apartheid South African context what has transitioned along with the political events of the time is that individual rights and traditional responsibilities co-exist. The chief is regarded as the most important figure in the central tribal government. Some scholars have argued on the benefits of traditional authorities, in the sense that they bring much needed stability in rural communities and must remain as the primary level of governance (Lutabingwa, Sabela, and Mbatha, 2006).

They assist in being key role players in advancing the communities needs and drivers of development The essence of rural development cannot be divorced away when talking about traditional authorities, as this forms part of their responsibility. Traditional leader's participation is crucial in terms of development, as they are sole guardians of the land and its resources. Mawere and Mayekiso (2014) suggests that through the new democratic state the lack of state power, and the resurgence of chieftaincy and its importance has fallen into the forefront of many African states political systems. Traditional leaders have been viewed as custodians of customs, roles and practices. In post-apartheid context it has been argued that traditional authorities do not have little or little influence or understanding of the current political system in which they govern within the new post democratic political era.

The South African government post-democratic 1994 acknowledged the importance of traditional leaders to the rural community populace across the country. This was in efforts for a rural strategy to connect with the traditional community. The legislation has adopted the mandate that 40% of members must be elected and one third of members must be female. This brings into context that the "*Kgosi"* (Chief) however does not govern alone, but with the assistance of the Traditional Council. Tlokweng village is home to more than 35,982 people. The Tlokweng Traditional Council is made up of 11 community members, five elected and six appointed by the *Kgosi* (Cook, Bohlin, and Gips, 2011). Together they take care of the needs of the nation and attend matters that are of importance on behalf of the traditional community. They hold public meetings called "*Dikgotla"* the aim of these meetings are held so community members to voice out their concerns and to connect with the community concerns and further developments that are too come. The tribal authority operates as the rule and law within their boundaries and is responsible for the economic and social matters (Mnwana, 2014). The role of the traditional council is responsible for the well-being of the community and associated with being in touch with the immediate and needs and struggles of the community. The traditional council members have a responsibility to check the internal functioning of households within the different "*Lekgotla's"* (clan's). This is to ensure that matters of the different clans are addressed and eliminate the social illness of a community.

Infrastructure and citizenship: Infrastructure and service delivery in post-apartheid rural areas

South Africa specifically, has experienced significant changes in policy and redevelopments. This has been witnessed by large influx of migration of people into the urban city. This saw an expansion in the state's economic and political system. The current challenge that faces the post newly elected government is infrastructural shortage that has been inherited from the apartheid regime, this ranging from

congested and under-serviced townships within the urban margins. The residential and business districts in major city centers were highly controlled and places of restriction. An element of exclusion based on race and social standing gave way to the functioning of South Africa's cities. This furthermore elaborates on the different spatial planning of urban areas which intrinsically created borders, and also social and economic classes during the period of apartheid become more distinguished. The boundaries told a story of the different cultures, identities and ethnicity which reside within those physical spaces. The physical environment is very important to understand as the physical, fundamentally shape the interactions that happen in that space. In understanding that sharing of the road, shops, nearby forms of entertainment and people/communities identities are closely linked formed within the physical environment. Especially within the apartheid that restricted many other factors of the populace (Bank and Southall,1996).

The promise made after the 1994 democratic election, the incoming government that it will embark on initiatives that look at black economic empowerment strategies, social benefit schemes, equal distribution of land and the creation of employment. This was aimed at boasting development in areas that were previously deprived from any activity. This brought the intense debate over equality versus equity to provide the much needed infrastructure to the majority of the poor populace. This is further intensified the lack of maintenance and services being properly distributed in the poor and periphery areas neglected. Larkin (2012) speaks to the notion that infrastructure is no matter what not invisible and very much by its nature tangible, as in concept of infrastructure is one that is able to create movement of matters (Larkin, 2012). The introduction of the 1994 Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP) housing policy was one example of policy that government sought to reform and redistributes more in the housing sector and improved standards of quality of life.

The state plays an important part as executors of the people's mandates. Service delivery in terms of education, hospitals and infrastructure are fundamental to the maintenance of this concept of citizenship (Marshall, 1950). Contemporary political writers highlight that as much as citizens have rights, individuals have responsibility over those rights. The responsibility falls on individuals to acquire knowledge and skills to elect accountable and respectable leadership that acceptable their mandate. The post-apartheid South Africa has inherited unequal distribution in resources and more so uneven spatial patterns. This saw the core areas as the main center of economic development/activity and the periphery (homeland areas) on the outskirts of development opportunities (Makhura and Wasike, 2003). South Africa is rapidly growing and evolving, however a large number of the South Africa's population is living in poverty and are being left behind even the midst of increasing economic growth. The constitution sets out the main objectives of the local government system is providing a democratic and accountable government, ensuring the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner (Selepe,2009). Mann (2008) reasons that infrastructural power is two-way structured machinery and most important, is that the civil society are active participants with the state (Mann, 2008). This is further highlighted by the concept of an "ideal citizenship" through individuals making the state more accountable, this also adding to a more equal society.

The provision of infrastructure plays a fundamental role in everyday lives of individuals and communities in South Africa, despite the income, race and locality groups. Infrastructure in this context is physical built structures such as clinics, roads, malls, power lights, and basic sanitation. As physical structure determine the speed, shape and overall nature of the networks to which to flow in. Infrastructure has been closely linked to notions of citizenship. The debate amongst contemporary scholars has been that infrastructure has the power to restrict and allow access. Botero and Saad-Sulonen

(2010) suggest that they are different forms of understanding citizenship, one being through what is called the *communitarian thought.* This classifies citizenship as a relationship that is conceived in the sense of identity. This identity is asserted only through relations and sense of belonging (Botero and Saad-Sulonen, 2010). Infrastructure has become an important feature in understanding notions of citizenship and subjecthood Larkin, (2013), defines infrastructures as matter that facilitates movement of other matter (Larkin, 2013).

Infrastructure has an indirect power to be inclusionary and exclusionary when highlighting notions of accessibility. Martin and Rogers (1995) claim that not only does the state supply public infrastructure in the form of good quality telecommunication, transport and energy but also in the form of law and order (Martin and Rogers, 1995). Previous homeland areas are still places which are characterized by poverty, underdevelopment of infrastructure. Socio-economic policies have been in the forefront of rebuilding and developing the country, since the end of the colonialism, apartheid and subsequently the new elected African National Congress (ANC) government in 1994. The relationship between the state and the economy then becomes vital for growth to occur. Infrastructure has become the beacon in which people have been able to articulate their sense of belonging as well assert their rights of ownership from majority of the excluded participants that were not "included" in all rights of being a citizens. Even through the process of restoration of post democratic government programs and policies, annihilation is produced in the process for the poor and those seen as non-actors in the city are ostracized to the periphery of cities (Stengers, 2008).

Infrastructural development projects have increased in the post-apartheid South Africa, paying particular focus to the North -West province, being one of those recipients. However, with all the infrastructural development occurring in the province, geographies

of inequality also reveal themselves. Despite recent years of developments within the North West province some parts of the province remain remote and inaccessible from urban and well serviced areas which hold crucial services. The North West province is characterized by rural and informal housing, which are dispersed and with inadequate infrastructure. The notion has been over the debate of geographies of inequality questions around who are the beneficiaries of all these developmental projects. This holds that some stakeholders unintentionally get left out in the process. Infrastructure has indirect power to be an inclusionary and exclusionary when highlighting notions of accessibility. Martin, and Rogers (1995) claim that not only does the state supply public infrastructure in the form of good quality telecommunication, transport, access to water but also in the form of good governance (Martin and Rogers, 1995). Former homeland areas are still places which are characterized by poverty, underdevelopment of infrastructure. Socio-economic policies have been in the forefront of rebuilding and developing the country. The relationship between the state and the economy then becomes vital for growth to occur. Infrastructure has become the beacon in which people have been able to articulate their sense of belonging as well assert their rights of ownership (Makhura and Wasike, 2003).

One way in which development has been speared-headed in the province has been through, The North West Province Planning Commission (2012) focused and created ***the vision for 2030*** which strives to deliver human settlements which have access to social amenities, economic infrastructure, and job opportunity. This document sets out the plans, the roles and responsibility of the province, state and traditional authority towards the populace, and the responsibility of service delivery being shared between local municipalities and district municipalities. The provincial plan vision 2030 highlights:

"By 2030 these communities should be able to access high-quality basic services that enable them to be well nourished, healthy and increasingly skilled. This vision includes better integration of the country's rural areas, achieved through successful land reform,

infrastructure development, job creation and poverty alleviation. Key to the development of the rural environment must be the desire to keep rural areas rural."

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1: Conceptual Approach

As a reminder, the research aim was to investigate how access to infrastructure influences the local community's relationship with the traditional and local municipality authority, in the North West province. The study relied on empirical evidence that was facilitated by ground truth work on the field. The study required an introduction to the living conditions, of the individuals living and operating of their living space. This was to understand people experiences of subjectivity. The method in which this was achieved was through a qualitative methods approach, through various interviews and focus groups of community members. I set out to conduct an ethnographic study. This is viewed as a more "descriptive research" that entails a method which paints a picture of a theme, through the use of words.

The significance of an ethnographic study method captures spaces where diverse social and cultural communities able to move, engage, encounter with one another. This will assist to capture real time truths of the tensions and influences of the lack of infrastructure in the village. The ethnography study was of the infrastructural projects that are aligned on the linear road in Tlokweng. This was to comprehend the relations of all the infrastructural projects alongside the road and how they connect and influence the space and its community members residing in the area. An ethnographic method was used to understand another way of capturing stories from a different narrative. The importance of using an ethnographic method for this study is the work of describing a culture Crabtree, Miller and Swenson,1995) The different rhythm patterns amongst the community members and their interaction with the services that they require. This method of observation I was able to identify the similarities and constancy in practice and traditions of the people in the area. The road offers endless possibilities and gives a theoretical exploration of the current situation and conditions of the community. Whilst the travels around the area, the road not only magnified it is self as a "public good" that

is tangible (Dalakoglou and Harvey, 2012). However, it was to integrate the promises made, the connectivity, growth and development but also the isolation the area holds within the spectrum. The ethnographical study raised the broad-spectrum of issues and concerns of the community.

As I (the researcher) started the process with some prior knowledge, having had been a research assistant within the North West Province in 2016. This allowed me to learn the practices in undertaking qualitative research, based on factors such as observation, and information from the mass media and from the literature engaged with. In entering the study area of Tlokweng, the road in its form is paved however slightly deteriorated on the sides due to the strain of years of transportation use. This also noted that rural roads did not profit greatly from urban revitalization efforts by the state during the start of democracy. Hence it has become a great challenge for many commuters outside the realm of allocated development projects.

As I made a right turn into the main road lies a kilometer of "nothingness or rather emptiness" but bare grass during the span of the journey. The road then starts to point out economic business activities therefore boosting services that are in close proximity to the community. As a researcher from a one of the most urban province/city of Gauteng (Johannesburg) that is traffic-clogged roads, to one linear road that is slow paced and relatively unhurried atmosphere. The relaxed atmosphere in traffic and human movement breeds a different rhythm analysis from the urban settings. In the geographical setting whilst driving inside the community, noting a space of governance (the traditional office), neglected side roads and buildings came into view and a new project launched that being a community library.

The research project takes on a purely qualitative approach. The project sought contribution from main actors in this research, those being the local traditional members, the traditional office (Chief) and council members, traditional community

members, and the local municipality councilors in charge of the ward 23. This facilitated my ability to interpret the significant impact experienced by infrastructure projects in the local community of the Moses Kotane district Municipality. The advantage of this approach is the close opportunity for participants to tell their stories (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). Through this method the participants are able to describe their views of reality and this enables the researcher to better understand the participants' actions.

3.2: Entering the field

Every research is unique, if they are able to provide the necessary information. However it is prudent and important to receive the significant information needed for the study research. The North West Province is rich in history, as being one of the former homeland areas. The one way in which I was able to access the community was through language. I was able to relate with community members rather easier as it made them receptive to me in the community through a common identity. My relative young personality and age assisted me in being allowed in the area and not as a threat. The elders were able to guide and bring longstanding knowledge of Tlokweng. Through this experience, language proved to be an important aspect as it reflected commonality. A common language unites people as a form of social identification. The different tones in language was one in which I had to program my state of being when dealing with different groups of participants. The participants of Tlokweng viewed themselves as different in some respect, as they find themselves in within a customary and state institution. The overall traditions and cultural practices of being in the traditional council office were observed. The protocol of dress code was important to adhere to being in the presence of older generation elders. I wore long dresses and skirts and covered up (no bare shoulders) to show respect to the elders of the community during interview session. However, interviewing younger generation community members the atmosphere was relaxed, open and most preferred the interview conducted in English.

During my time spent in Tlokweng, I conducted interviews and focus groups at the recently launched community library that opened in August 2016. This is ordained by the (interim) chief and previous chiefs to keep the tradition in history. The newly equipped library is complete with a computer center, reading area for adults and children sections. This was firstly to observe the amount of community engagement with the library. Most users of the library observed, were nearby school learners for homework purposes immediately after school. The next batches of users were young adults using computers for internet to apply for jobs and higher learning institutions. However, less presence of older community members was noticed. Secondly, I used the library to intentionally analyze the views and perceptions of community members have with the interaction with a state property.

Newly Built Community Library: Figure A





Main entrance of the library: Figure B



(Figure C)

Upon my stay in Tlokweng as a young black woman who is a Motswana. Coming from a middle class background and raised within an urban setting. The initial impression coming into the research site which was one that held decades of generational customs and traditions that are encompassed by chieftaincy rules and protocols. The slower paced inner working of the community. Identifying the different key positions individuals hold within the village and its networks.

The anxiety and emotions in going into the traditional village played a significant role in entering the area and understanding the protocols to be observed, starting from dress code, the manner of communications and observations that I was not previewed to. This was firstly an encounter with a secondary scale of authority that I have not faced. The traditional authority offices hosts a court house that deals with domestic issues of individuals and can approach the court which overhears cases every Tuesday. This was one of the restrictions that were given by the chief, and I was unable to assess the far-reaching level of authority the chief has towards her subjects. The second observation that I witnessed at the traditional office was most of the populace were there for stamping of documents, ranging from authenticating identity documents and proof of residences. This generated that importance of the traditional office as it functions as both at times a "police station and administrator" and the duties of the office itself.

I was in the Batlokwa traditional community for a period of 4 weeks. I carried out series of observations of the area, through transect walks in the public spaces such as local shopping areas, clinic, main road and traditional council house etc. This was to identify the different rhythms and patterns of the community. My initial transect walk alongside the road was by myself and engaging with residents as they make their way home and last minute dinner items from the local stores nearby. This enabled me to make connections with community members to make contributions to the research over the duration of my stay in Tlokweng.

I documented the various emotions and views that are in the community, through interactions with the various stake holders within the traditional setting. Pictures were taken to document my observations permission granted. I shadowed two local community members undertaking day to day activities in the community. An older generation participant, born and bred and holds a position on the traditional council. Second participant was a younger slightly modern- traditional member born and bred, and considered a youth leader in the community. This was to gather the manner in which the different generational experiences and the emotions of life in Tlokweng. This was aided in a form of a log book documentary of the journeys undertaken and challenges which the participants faced on a daily basis. This was undertaken in this arrangement to understand the different ways of life between different generational gaps and how they interact with infrastructural spaces in the community.

I was able to fully interact with the environment and learn first-hand from the participants. I interviewed the interim chief *Kgosigadi* Elizabeth Motsatsi, members of the traditional council, community members and local municipality officials. As a researcher it was paramount to identify people and know them personally. Where they go and what means they have go for their families. This was to understand them as they are, and to familiarize myself with the daily challenges they are confronted with alongside their real-life environments. The research paper uses case studies, as it is more than just capturing a research topic on a particular knowledge gap. This approach has the ability to examine the most multifaceted situations and different socio-economic environments. Furthermore, I was able to project map the physical infrastructural developments/projects and identify changes within the traditional village. The research project is based in the Moses Kotane district municipality, North West. The research was however, specific to the Batlokwa traditional community. The study area is predominately a Setswana speaking traditional community, under the interim rule of *Kgosigadi* Elizabeth Motsatsi, whilst her eldest son resides in Australia due to work

commitments. Through traditional custom of chieftaincy is it hereditary. The throne of the chief cannot be transferred to younger siblings expect the first born to protect the royal linage but as well as against family disputes. The “throne” has not been claimed as yet. The purpose of the research project was to investigate the views and perceptions of traditional community members on their understanding of the traditional authority and local government’s roles and responsibilities towards serving the needs of the community in which their held accountable for. This project primarily sought out to document lived out experiences rather than quantify the quality of life, as this topic is one that is complex and requires the outmost sensitivity.

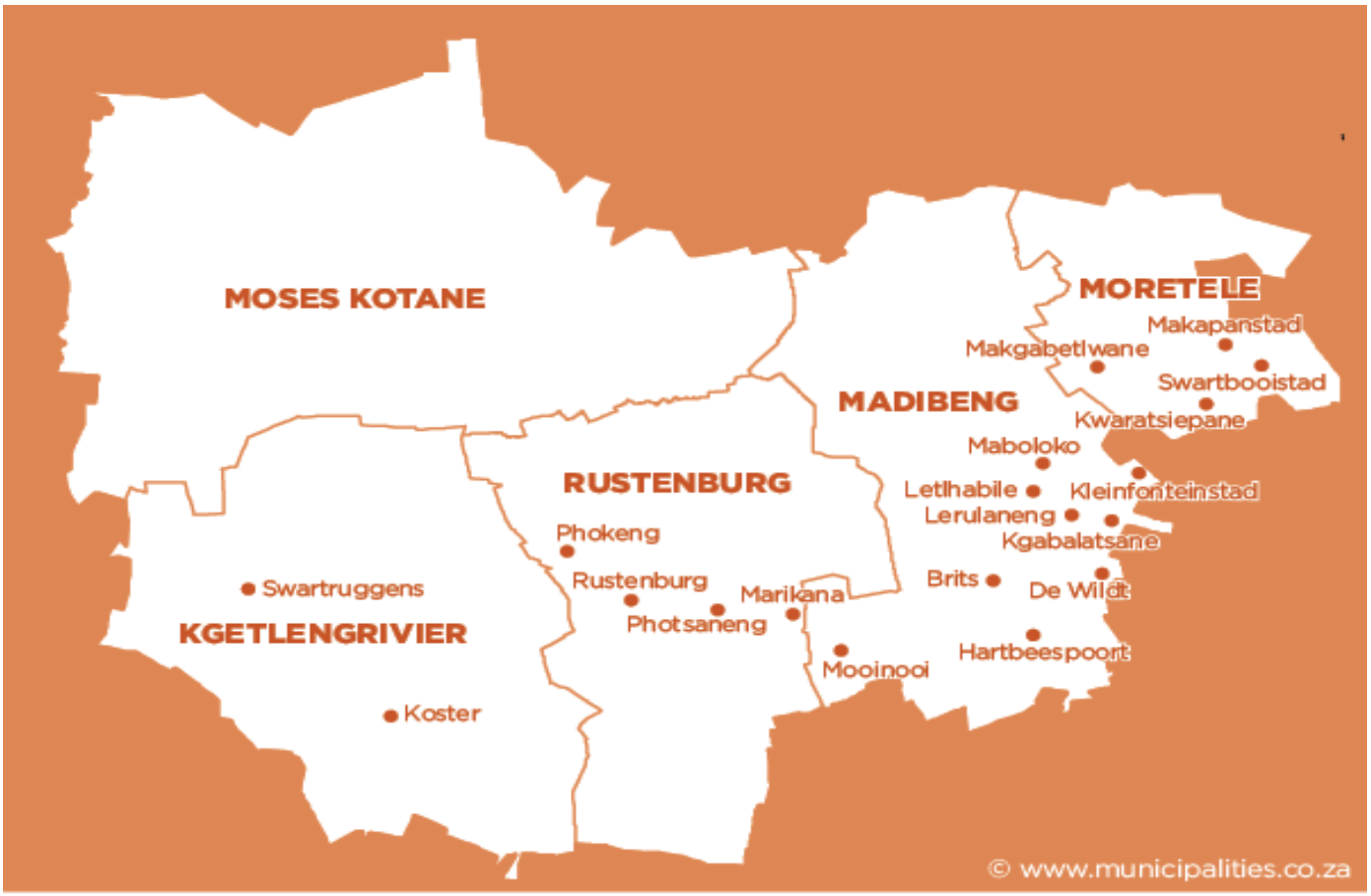
The theme is to able to understand the public spaces as it’s the most significant feature of the site, as it serves as an entry point for external and internal networks community members in the area. The everyday going-in within the public space, allows community members to interact with both their traditional and national democratic sense of subjectivity, through the different provisions by different stakeholders of authority. The interviews were recorded digitally and transcripts and field notes were systematically coded for analysis based on a set of deductively derived thematic themes. The project was guided by researcher observations and field-work. Series of site observations were undertaken in analyzing the inter networks of the case study location. This will be done through the use of photographs of the area. Sharing and retelling stories is key in research technique that allows for the actual voices of the participants in photographs. The photographs captured the immediate stories and environment.



Figure D: Entrance into the traditional Office. Office of the Interim Kgosigadi Motsatsi

3.3: Study area

This brings focus to the research area. This study will closely examine the traditional village called Tlokweng within the Moses Kotane Municipality. Tlokweng is a village located directly adjacent to the capital of Rustenburg and close to the border of Botswana with South Africa. The population was 35,982 at the 2011 census. The tribe originates from Botswana and they refer to themselves as the Batlokwa ba ga Bogatsu community. The tribe was under the rule of Kgosi (Chief) Mokalake Bennet Motsatsi, until his passing in 2012. The individuals came across from Botswana to seek permanent and sometimes temporary settlement in Tlokweng over the years. This was for the reason of its close proximity to the capital city where most jobs are situated. According to the Census of 2011 Tlokweng, 11% of the 35,982 households have no access to piped water. (Statistics South Africa) The major infrastructural development projects which are present in Tlokweng are clinics, schools (three primary school and two high schools) the traditional office, community hall (dilapidated) and sport's ground facility (dilapidated) and the Tlokweng Community library that opened in 2016.



Map of Moses Kotane: municipalities of South Africa, 2017

(https://www.localgovernment.co.za)

The Moses Kotane Local Municipality is a Category B municipality located within the Bojanala District in the North West Province. The type of economy is owed to its location within the mining belt and major tourism of the North West Province such as Pilanesberg nature reserve and Sun City resort. The population is estimated at 243 648 and covers over 5,719 km2. The main source of income in this region is mainly agriculture, tourism, and small informal businesses such as spaza's shops, chicken broilers. *(https://www.localgovernment.co.za)*

In 2010, a R629-million was allocated to water projects to ensure that residents of Moses Kotane have access to quality water.The Moses Kotane municipality has over the years received increased revenue to improve and provide much needed infrastructure to the area. The breakdown was used as R11, 04-million would be on roads, R8,3-million on sanitation, R9,07-million on public buildings and R9,036 million on sport and recreation facilities. Furthermore in the 2015/2016 budget by the Mayor, R150 786 million was sourced from municipal infrastructure grant and own municipal revenue was spent on infrastructure and community services projects, inclusive of internal roads and storm water, sanitation, water, community halls, high mast lights and electricity demand management projects. The amount of resources allocated into the tribal communities should in turn make it a social and economic thriving tribal authority. However that seems to be thorn of contention on the ground (Moses Kotane Local Municipality reviewed IDP report, 2016)

Objective and Methods Table

Objectives	Data	Tools	Outcomes
• **To investigate the relationship between traditional authority and local government.**	-Distinguish the roles and responsibility of traditional leaders? -roles and responsibility of local government? - Examine the role of local government in traditional council	-In-depth Interviews and focus groups with both stakeholders. -Desktop study (analysing documents and material of culture)	- Identify structures of traditional authority/council. & understand the mandate executed by the state.

• **Map available infrastructure in the local community through GIS, facilitated by ground truths through transects walks around the area eg: community clinic, tarred roads, community hall.**	-Identify points of infrastructure -How do traditional community members relate to different spaces of infrastructure	-Direct Observation (transect walks in the area) - Mapping (GIS) eg: community clinic, tarred roads, community hall.	Establish attitudes that exist between different infrastructural spaces experienced by community members.
• **To interrogate power dynamics/ relations between traditional authorities and local community towards service delivery in the community.**	-Investigate how the local community members view traditional authority. - To what extent do they understand the traditional authority roles and responsibilities? -Identify tensions	-observe everyday practices. **-** Personal accounts from local community members. Information gathered will assist in understanding the challenges/dynamics that exist in a traditional community.	Interrogate new forms of delivery, as well as enhance community and government structures that can enable better service delivery which promote socio-economic advancement.

3.4: Systematic Approach

The study heavily relied on engagement with different stakeholders from distributor (local government) and benefactors (community members). This section will detail the different key methods I chose to carry out a comprehensive research study. I complimented this objective with literature that outlines both parties' mandates and how it has been executed. The research project was led and further enhanced by supporting literature, such as North West Integrated Development Plan (IDP). Applicable scholarly books and journals, government legislative structures such as the constitution of the Republic of South Africa and academic books, internet based news articles, were used to provide more information on the themes acquired in the field. I continuously engaged with vast literature throughout the research period.

This is to access whether the partnership is advantageous or collapsing as years go pass. In achieving the objectives research project I used multiple combinations of research tools ranging from observations including mapping of the area, interviews and focus groups. The first row in the table was set to achieve the first objective of the research project and it is to investigate the relationship between traditional authority and local government. This was to establish the different roles and responsibility of the traditional authority and the local government. This was with the purpose of understanding how both authorities execute their mandates towards the community.

To achieve this I used face-to-face interviews. I interviewed 20 people separately, which consisted of (4) traditional leaders in the council, (13) local community members, (2) local municipality officials with the inclusion of the interim chief. I interrogated the dynamics of the local community, traditional authorities and local government officials. The interviews were a mixture older and younger generations. This highlighted the difference in perceptions and views of the community. These were long duration in-depth interviews (approximately an hour and 15mins) each, with traditional council with

the use of a recording device. They were used to gather personal historic accounts from individuals, to accurately match details found in literature. I used interviews to understand the perceptions of the different stakeholders in governance from traditional and municipal offices in terms of the responsibility they each hold. Furthermore, I used interviews to identify the strain and where there are indistinct lines in the different governance structures in the community.

The second aim was to map available infrastructure in the local community through Geography System Information (GIS) facilitated by ground truths through transects walks around the area eg: community clinic, tarred roads, community hall. The purpose at this juncture was to identify points of infrastructure found in the area. As well as closely examine how traditional community members relate to different spaces of infrastructure. This was achieved firstly through undertaking observations. It was guided by the ground theory of Henri Lefebvre "*Rhythm analysis: space, time and everyday life" (2004)* that contributed to the development of the temporal understanding of place and space, and how they are used together. It is further claimed by Lefebvre that time and space are two different concepts but can never be separated, indicating that the two concepts manifest themselves as different yet inseparable (Lefebvre, 2004). The method of rhythm analysis highlights the different connections and structures that can be made from observations carried out in the study area. This further establishes how people's life are shaped by the dominate order of the day, and how many conform to the dominate order on a daily basis. The cultural experiences and social understandings of time have come to be conceived. Henri Lefebvre has proved and set the method of thinking of time, space and place in people's everyday life. In the platform of rhythm analysis it brings the fusion of investigating how rhythms have come to shape human experiences in time, space and infused within everyday life and space.

The observations assisted in distinguishing the different points of access to infrastructure the local traditional community engages with. I was able to document the interactions and activities of both local community members and traditional authorities in different spaces. As well as observe the internal and external networks of the local community. This was to gather information on the urban –rural migration that impact many households. Interviews were conducted and ranged from semi-structured to in-depth interviews with traditional community members. This was undertaken with the sense to discover the attitudes and perspectives of traditional members towards the quality and quantity of infrastructure provided for them. Focus groups were conducted with local community members with the aid of open-ended interview questions, the focus groups were in small groups to better understand the attitudes they hold towards traditional authorities.

The third aim was to interrogate power dynamics/ relations between traditional authorities and local community towards service delivery in the community. This was to analyze the governing structure of the traditional council and their position within the local community and the matters pertaining to the case study area. The interviewed greatly assisted in understanding the transition of traditional authorities and their community members into a post-democratic state. I used focus groups because of the valuable approach to explore the public discourse and the much sought after out narratives of the participants. First hand experiences revealed the daily truth and struggles of the community. A series of interviews were undertaken to highlight the views of community members. I conducted two rounds of focus groups. There were 5 people in each focus group discussion, with most of them being women ranging from young and old. The male perspective was limited during this process, as most felt uncomfortable when positioned in a group setting rather than an individual dialogue. I selected the local community library to allow all stakeholders to participate. The space

chosen proved to advantageous as it is central to the participants. They were semi-structured questions and not capped to further encourage participation of other matters overlooked. This was to give a platform to the community members to share in their views. This method was chosen to get first hand input of the traditional community as well as receive inputs on matters that affect them in their community to the limitations that are brought by insufficient resource of infrastructure. The inputs gathered from these focus groups were from a small number sample however the matters, challenges and opportunities raised identified affect majority of community members due to daily engagements amongst themselves in the community.

3.5: Documentation

The research project was led and further enhanced by supporting literature, such as North West Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and applicable scholarly articles government legislative structures such as the constitution of the Republic of South Africa and academic books, internet based news articles, were used to provide more information on the themes acquired in the field. I continuously engaged with vast literature throughout the research period.

3.6: Ethical Considerations

Most importance to this research project to reinforce, prior contact was made with the *Kgosigadi* (Chief) Motsatsi to conduct research in her village and her community members. Verbal consent permission was given before my arrival to Tlokweng. The chief further assisted in providing the contact details of traditional council members under her guidance and key community leaders in the village.

I adhered to the research ethics provided by the University of the Witwatersrand ethics committee. The participants were invited to participate in, this was done by informing all

the participants about the purpose of the research project. I, as the researcher informed the participants that taking part in the research study was voluntary and that there was no monetary value exchange in taking part in this research project. The selection of participants was done through referrals after each interview to recommend any one else in the committee who may who may want to share their views on the topic. I outlined the details of the nature of the interviews and that they were to remain confidential. Confidentiality is an important aspect in the conducting any social qualitative research. Furthermore, this is preserved by the principle of anonymity to be upheld during the data collection process .A signed consent form was requested before the progression of the interview and focus group process. The participants were assured that I will only use their material for the purposes of my master's research.

3.7: CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY:

The projects set to unify numerous departments of rural development and public works. This highlights the linkages or lack thereof infrastructure provision within rural areas. The outcomes may prove to be productive in achieving the 2020 national Integrated Development Plan. This to bring forth an improved strive for further public participation and recognize the expressions and perceptions of community members and what they perceive appropriate to better enhance the circumstances in which they find themselves in. This project speaks to a broader agenda that individuals in rural-peripheral areas need to be included in large infrastructural developments to bring them closer and integrated into quality service provision plans.

Chapter 4: Road access and Connectivity



(Google Earth Image, 2017)



(Google Earth Image,2017)

The google earth image above shows the density of the village of Tlokweng. The village is divided into different sections and in accordance to the clan names. The image highlights the spatial narrative of the rural area. Large parts of the area is openly dispersed to a degree that residents can do backyard farming. The linear road depicted identifies settlements and businesses that are along the road. The river splits across the whole village. During my observations in the area, the river had dried up. This noting options for any water resources are rather scarce in the area for farming or recreational use. The image shows the pathways of the issues and everyday experiences that this paper was uncover of the community of Tlokweng.

I entered the province of the North West towards the rural-traditional study of Tlokweng, a young woman from urban Gauteng. The emotions going in is one of pride of being a Tswana person to going into a space that I have personally birthed and grown , on the other hand it spells of dis-heartenment. 25 years post-apartheid the space provides many complex issues of that, have been argued in literature. The rural areas have been isolated in the apartheid era due to the former "homelands" legislation. This was firstly done through separation of ethnicity as a "Batswana" and secondly as a former homeland area Bophuthatswana and in the rate of services and physical infrastructure. The road in Tlokweng is particularly significant, built by the old apartheid regime under the Bophuthatswana era under the leadership of Lucas Mangope as Prime Minister. The merge of the old/new and young/mature identities of community members combined together into a post democratic South Africa. The smaller inner roads into the village have deteriorated built by the local municipality over the years. This could be symbolic of the reality in state of the community that has endured through the transition of the different political phases. One way to understand this phenomenon into transition has been through the establishment of policies that guide new policies that are inclusive and progressive to the betterment of all South Africans. This was through the introduction of supporting policies and Acts that facilitated this transition. The municipal Act (Act no 117 of 1998) sets out to review the needs of the community. This is also gives the allowance of public participation to provide their needs. This ensures that all capacity to achieve all the necessary objectives outlined in the Act is met with the services in light of it. This is provided by this legislation that each local municipality in South Africa should have access to service as it is governed by this Act. It is therefore people's participation in their own development that will determine their own destiny.

This chapter will map the way of destinies of the community of Tlokweng, in forming their own identity within a modern setting. This chapter will illustrate and focus on many of the road linked observations, the experiences and mechanisms that are inherent to the Tlokweng community. The road speaks to the broader issues of connectivity, isolation, progress as well at times a space of displacement. The everyday day of individuals navigating the channel of the road itself, can be viewed a consequence of exclusion from the "outside world", from a condition where mobility is facilitated with freedom to work, to travel and explore other experiences. This gives way of a promise of movement to go back and forth, but also a narrative into the world of globalization. This is also holds possibilities of "imaginaries" of the future possibilities that are not limited by the borders it's surrounded by. Dalakoglou and Harvey (2012) in their paper *roads and anthropology* argue that roads hold many forms of insights from interacting with political and cultural infrastructural development that participants interact with on everyday life. Furthermore, tells of a story of the power of a road that carries modernity and that encompasses a democratic state and society. In the same breath, the significance of the road build's to a powerful sense of flexibility. Most importantly, academics have argued that roads in themselves are sites of contemporary engagements with the state to a certain degree. Individuals are able to access point A to B through to Z the provision thereof of the road infrastructure. However, it can stimulate emotions of uncertainty to ever fully tangibly grasp the relation with the state in its full capacity. Whilst still holding the ability the hopes, future and on the other spectrum it carries emotions of isolation and dejection (Dalakoglou and Harvey ,2012).



The following chapter paints a picture through the work of Ash Amin in his article *collective culture and urban public spaces* (2008),where he argues the notion that public spaces do not serve the same functional purposes as they did a decades ago (Amin,2008). This owed to time and space changing. the road into Tlokweng, that plays an important road and vitality that and it's unpacked through different rhythms in activity and culture through the post-colonial/ apartheid and now democratic era that Amin's argument puts forward. Parkinson (2012) adds to the debate, that public spaces fundamentally shape people and vice versa. In the same light, he makes reference to the notion that these public's spaces are limited in terms of their openness (Parkinson, 2012)

4.1) Entrance into The "Space"

Driving into the regional road into Tlokweng, surrounded by bare land spanning approximately 2kilometers before being met by first sight of economic activity: a few brick structures and several buildings the epicenter of a small business and shopping node. In undergoing this trip and through literature read, rural areas are often characterized by sparse settlements in which services are far and limited. The patterns of access to services improve the quality of life and sustain economic activities and overall growth of the area However, Tlokweng appears to be down the list of priorities for the local municipality to address the infrastructural developments of the area. Infrastructure creates a sense of modernity that brings to the forefront of societies.

The road extends over 5 kilometers, covering roughly the length of the village, from the small business node in the west to the provincial primary school in the east, beyond which the road continues for another ten or so kilometers to the nearest village called Vrede. When I use the terms village, in reality Tlokweng is a sparsely distributed area of houses and homesteads, some small farms plots, mostly concentrated along the length of the road. The road is tarred however, years of the road being used a passing route to other towns has led to severe deterioration; when it has been attended to by the municipality, and they have usually just patched potholes. Houses and formal businesses such a Caltex petrol station, a cement shop, semi-formal local spaza and a post office can be visibly seen along the road – indications of some economic activity, but even these do not service the local need for infrastructure. The main employment comes from these businesses, as job opportunities are limited in the village.

The road brings income to many of the community in the area, with small and informal businesses along the road include food trucks, an array of vegetable stalls, some in smaller sizes and repair shops of cars and tractors provide some income. Whilst

competing with the more formal business on the road, however this feeds into diversifying of incomes to many households. The study area brings forth a different notion that rural areas have been categorized by only open spaced agricultural fields and them being the only sustaining economic activity in the area (Martin and Rogers, 1995). Thus, believing that people engage with streets on a daily basis and they recognize their sounds, smells and overall atmosphere around them. There is a call by urban theorists to better reclaim the city, its streets into spaces and places which are culturally and historically rich in knowledge. However, the main form of income that the road brings in the inward and outward migration of the community's young and able bodied people, who travel sometimes as far as Johannesburg to secure employment opportunities. Lucas (2004) has argued that a remittance from family members working in urban areas provides the majority of income to households in former homeland areas.

The road is fundamental in this study. It is significant in its own right as the organizing principle of the social and economic life of the community, but it also provides intersections to other key issues that frame this community. The road sets out map out the different physical infrastructure; on the other hand it provided the different processes in which community members engage with the lack thereof. The coping mechanisms and what has become their "normal" in democratic governance setting. Upon arrival through this road one that is paved however, broken alongside the sides and faded road signs showing the lack of maintenance by municipality. Arriving in Tlokweng, the road leading to the traditional council on a Wednesday morning, the road boosted many activities during the early hours of the morning. Workers can be seen commuting to work, parents on the road accompanying their children to school. "*aba-gogo"* (grannies) on their way to sell goods outside the neighboring schools and several cows and goats can be seen on the side of the road seemly to their grazing place. The hustle and bustle of the road further creates an atmosphere of openness for interaction to occur in one locale. The appreciation gathered that the space (road) transforms into

one which accommodates every participant within that time-space structure. Roads have become spaces which are transformative, and not only serve they proposed function. They fundamentally shape the spatial structure of cities. They also function as platforms for social engagement and interaction even though their purpose is to provide transportation channels for travel (Lynch, 1960). Primarily streets are public places, which have been unnoticed and rather seen for their presented function. People engage with streets on a daily basis and they recognize their sounds, smells and overall atmosphere of them.

This brings the stark contrast of the rhythms and environment coming from urban Johannesburg. As urban dwellers commuters have to navigate through bottlenecked traffic and barricaded roads. The overall environment found in Tlokweng is one that is not fast paced like one would experience in major hub cities. The lack in activity from the bustling economic activity found in the urban cities, the fast paced populace on the streets of but a community that it's intertwined in the culture and common values within the community.

The road also hosts taxis and *"Amogelang* 'busses bodies full of commuters, which are the main public transport modes that are visible on the road and upon interactions with community members it revealed that they predominately use the bus due to its affordability. The traffic pattern changes in the afternoon when most commuters on the road are student transport and the learners making their way home. Warmer climates allow smaller children to play in the in-roads of the village. The rhythm pattern moving to quieter levels in the late afternoon to receive the evening work commuters back home.

In having close observation of the area ,venturing out of the main road it proved difficult to difficult to maneuver around the village at times when it rains as roads become too muddy with heaps of water obstructing safe travel. Inner roads leading to the traditional

council, community library and schools are in bad condition filled with potholes, sandy and mostly gravel. Most settlements in Tlokweng, as they are sub-sections within the village and are accessible only through gravel roads. This was also a point to note, that taxis and busses drop off points are by the main road and hardly go into the heart of the village. Commuters have to walk to the main road to catch a taxi to their desired destinations.

The provincial road that runs across Tlokweng provides opportunities for community members to be able to access the nearest towns such as Vrede, Mogwase, Madikwe, and Rustenburg and even further to the capital city Mafikeng in search for work and any major household items that are not available in Tlokweng. The linear road further leads to the Botswana border post and in the opposite direction to the city of Rustenburg which is 50 Kilometers from the study site. When I asked the participants their preferred mode of transport, significant to the rhythm observation into the area that public transport was predominately used. The two main methods of transportation is by bus and taxi (Bus R50 and Taxi R70 return trip) .In having several discussions with community members, they claimed their dissatisfaction due to transport being expensive in an area that has high unemployment rates and poverty levels that form part of many households budget. This is claimed again by Parkinson (2012) further claims that public spaces have become more restricted, as places that were once easy access have become more difficult to get to. This owed by times changing in the modern time that has added by inflated socio-economic factors. (Parkinson, 2012)

"If you can look at the things have in my house from my furniture, groceries I had to make many trips to Rustenburg even to Mafikeng to buy them. When I go to buy groceries end of the month on a Saturday, I have to take the 7 AM bus to return with the 15:00 PM because there at least there is room to fit my shopping bags and cheaper.

It is even more of a problem when one of my children is sick then I'm in trouble cause there is no car in this household" **Malebogo Sebogwa- (37) Tlokweng Resident**

"*I only make it to town once a month and I have budget for it. I take the bus because it is far cheaper, and have to get everything like groceries, electricity and clothes because it's a far distance to town. As much you can get the everyday items from the local shops in the area .There is no entertainment in the village, so I go sometimes just to go for lunch with friends because I stay away from the taverns and they are many in Tlokweng, causing many of the youth here to continuously be unemployed "***Thato Letshole (24) Tlokweng Local resident**

"*The small roads in our village have potholes and some are not even tarred, the road leading to the traditional council (chief's office) is filled with potholes. How can you be proud to see that, there's no maintenance plan that's even tried to fix the situation".* - **Thabisile Mokwena (43) Tlokweng local resident**

The interactions with the participants reveal that the road symbolizes more than just entering and exist points for community members but it carries opportunities that may not be available in the small town. The themes following will look to interrogate this point further that have brought up by this road one that represents access to possibility and one of abandonment. This is fuelled by much of the physical environment. The physical fundamentally shapes the interaction that happen in that space and people's views and perception are closely linked to the physical environment. Akinwale (2010) reasons that the progression of any society begins with the availability of infrastructure and their identities are internally changed and developed by their surroundings. This brings the expectations of citizens towards the democratic state, in fulfilling their constitution mandate to her people(Akinwale ,2010) This is interrogated in this paper, in

understanding the very distinction between urban and rural, the modern and traditional realities. Through this road I gathered that modernity has not solidified towards the area and in of itself.

This brings the notion of an ideal community within this type of traditional setting that makes them significant. Though the ideals of a traditional community of this intrinsic and different traditional community. This is understood through the essence of community stems out from multiple individuals, which are bound by forces of commonality, sharing, belonging, connection, and attachment. Iris Young notes that community as an "understandable dream ", German sociologist and philosopher Ferdinand Tönnies refers to terms such *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft,* (civil society) "a body of individuals". This expresses the notion of togetherness and a unified front. (Lee, 2009) which draw notions of social connections and security that has come to makeup a community. Iris Young notes that the ideal of community identifies that subjects understand one another, as much they understand themselves. The sense of belonging and wholeness is driven within the ideals of community. The strength of an ideal community is in its "we" that serves a specific function. The "we" symbolises the commonality and likeness. The sense of community seeks unity and mutual identification in groups, which best suit decision making as they are made easier. Iris Marion Young (1990) makes a claim that the ideal of community validates and values homogeneity. (Young, 1990). Young described the ideal of community as an 'understandable dream'. She and many philosophers argue that the idea of community is rather non-progressive, because it denies difference within and between subjects in such as the community of Tlokweng.

4. <u>2) How do we understand all this?</u>

In understanding this on a broader context with literature, the study area is what can be classified as a passing town and well in the periphery of the city centre. Academics

have observed an urban sprawl as more of a concentric circle growth that is spread throughout due to having a central business district within the city. The notion has been that goods and services are centralized to the middle of city region as business activities requires good infrastructure to perform. Infrastructure in this context can be detailed as physical materials that allow for the possibility for exchanges of goods, designs, power to enable the road to modernity. All this is argued that infrastructure creates a change or way forward progress. This is much needed infrastructure developments are needed in many underprivileged societies across South Africa .This brings an element of urban planning that pronounces to have a sustainable city that it must be enhanced by a functioning road system that connects cities to the different goods and services. On a broader context in setting this is termed as the ribbon development, Verbeek, Boussauw and Pisman (2014) explain this phenomenon as a particular form of urban sprawl which is informed by a linear line growth. This in turn attracts new residential developments, new business operating near to the road which causes the growth of an unplanned area. The roadside development furthers economic and sometimes as social investments. The rhythms within the space influence equally increase the rhythms of consumption.

On the other hand a challenge is encountered as more services need to be provided and maintained into this new location. Debates around the phenomena of ribbon development is that developers keep this type of urban sprawl existing, as the economic activities continue to thrive along the road, community members draw closer to the services which are located in close to the road. The road in Tlokweng is a primary function of delivery goods between major centers but also brings with it quality of life for people residing alongside the road. They are preview to decent infrastructure and services such as water and electricity that is needed in area.

Recognition of rural roads prove to be critical as they facilitate access to district hubs , polling stations and points of delivery for democratic services .Rural roads bring the

already marginalized into the center of decision-making and activity. Community participation builds on citizenship, as involvement in local decision making promotes accountability and transparency, which ultimately improves on the provision of services and much needed infrastructure in the village (Jacoby, 2000).

Paying particular focus to the South African context, the central and periphery spatial patterns has been an area of contestation of infrastructural development in South Africa. Due to historical unequal spatial plans ,serviceable infrastructure being highly concentrated towards the center and further declining towards the periphery in this case rural areas. Poor-rural communities across South Africa have fought and still continue to fight for progressive developments projects. This is through basic provision of infrastructure such as clinics, schools, water, electricity and most importantly housing to the rural poor communities of South Africa. The new democratic state mandate was to engage and develop more pro-poor policies, and spending was to be for the benefit of poor communities that have been previously excluded in the past apartheid era. The key component of transportation system is important to the mobility for the large populace who are unable to access the public transportation (Makhura and Wasike, 2003). This sparks an argument that states the location to services plays a paramount aspect in reducing poverty levels. Improved access to basic services for the poor is critical to establish and maintain if insufficient infrastructure poses as a hindrance on the quality of life for community members as water, electricity, health institutions and schools etc. that affects their everyday workings of any given society. This also brings the notion of participation is paramount to the bigger scenes of creating development. This understanding that it reduces the minimal misinterpretation of the unique needs of different underprivileged communities.

The importance of functioning and reliable roads in rural areas, better enhances the physical, social and political relationship between the community and the state. It is then important to recognize that rural roads further bring no other replacements of communication with the outside world. If they do fail, then social and economic connections despair further marginalizing the poor. Furthermore, if rural roads are not well-maintained then access is reduced, as this prohibits the very poor and marginalized from accessing basic health care, participating in the economy and daily commute becomes limited. This in turn, continues a cycle of oppression in which the very rural and poor in a place of lack of development for years to come. Larkin (2013) reasons that road infrastructure and its associated features breed freedom, as progress thus stimulate a sense of gain Larkin (2013). He further argues in the same breath about "promise" and "failure" that co-exist in one space. This draws on the notion of exclusion and inclusion that can exist within a community life.

4.3 Understanding a rural community

In having spent time in Tlokweng and understanding the community dynamics. I was able to through the drive and experience and culture of the area. This led to exploring what are the fundamentals of a community. German sociologist and philosopher Ferdinand Tönnies refers to the term as a" body of individuals". This expresses the notion of togetherness and a unified front. Iris Young (1990) explains that a community functions as an aspiration and an ideal. This is due to key aspects of a mutual consensus and mutual understanding as ways of having an "ideal" community. Young, notes that the ideal of a community identifies that subjects understand one another, as much they understand themselves. The very sense of belonging and wholeness is driven within the standards of a community. The strength of an ideal community is in its "we" that serves a specific function. The "we" symbolizes the commonality and likeness. The sense of

community seeks unity and mutual identification in groups, which best suit decision making as they are made easier due to communality (Young, 1990) *"Common ways of life do not imply common belief "*. The notion of an ideal community has been criticized by Iris young as having exclusionary tendencies as much as inclusionary all in a simultaneous cycle. This all starts at the politics of consensus and mutual recognition in which it excludes as many people as it includes. Young appeals that social differentiation is impossible without exclusion in communities, which are driven by uniformity formed by culture. However, on the other hand marginalization cannot be divorced from the community, that the some factors provide an overall element of exclusion. In an example, a case groups of people are marginalized according to tradition, custom and gender. In the rural tradition and especially in a traditional setting where single women are excluded from land ownership. In paying close relation to the element of marginalization in having exclusionary practices. The everyday knowledge is that traditional women within communities and general in society are known to be less influential, not bread winners and so making them vulnerable to marginalization within societies. This limits the social and political potential of women to fully participate in life activities. The very ideas that single women can be granted land is viewed as taboo in most African cultures. The forethought being that single women do not respect or preserve the culture that men should be the providers of a household. In the same breath the construct of the ideal community is essential to how people systematize and experience social inequalities (Claassens, 2014).

In my time spent in Tlokweng, in the early morning I would head to the traditional office to make the chief aware of my presence back into her domain. Upon approaching the road leading to the traditional authority office, noticing a group of individuals gathered to closer inspection. It proved to be the pin point location of a protest underway by community members. Disgruntled community members took

to the road to question the speediness of electricity and lack its lack of infrastructure (poles) being installed in one section of Tlokweng and were dissatisfied about the lack of response from the Chief and municipal official from (the ruling party) to address their matter. This led to the locking of the traditional office for the day, too much of the dismay to the younger local residents who use the traditional office to certify their documents, in the quest to secure employment opportunities. What can be attained through this case study, protests of infrastructure or lack thereof was used a tool to assert their right to quality provision of electricity and furthermore they claim in ensuring they citizenship (Meyers and Muyhane, 2007). Thus, echoing the very heart of democracy and how it lies in the process of public participation, for society to voice out their opinions and very direction that the state must be administered to fulfill the very function of its constitution. Marginalization proceeds to confine groups of people in a place in which they are within peripheral standing and outer limits of a society. The location of protest is significant as the *Khosi* (chief) is their first immediate contact with of authority. The role of the chief is to represents his/her own subjects. The very accessibility to the traditional office, allows community members to firstly interact with the structures of authority that their find closest to relate with. This makes the chief more present and inevitably making the state present too.

The road protests at the traditional office speaks to promote their subjecthood of the community as "ba Batlokwa" in seeking the provision of infrastructure but noting the indifference of one another to achieve a common goal and betterment of the community. This includes the common traits of what is considered "normal or normal "behaviors within public spaces which are equally shared amongst community members. This brings an element of ownership by both individuals and community of the infrastructure and public spaces that they reside in. Ownership brings a sense of belonging, right and privilege, and so through these community

members feel the need to participate in the democratic processes and decision-making that takes place within it (Fraser, 1990).

Dubbeld and Peens (2013) argues that much of the problem is found in the failure of government and entities of authority to provide infrastructure evenly and hear the ordinary people's voices (Dubbeld, 2013). In times of political rallies, may it be national or local municipality vote's season different political parties use road side electricity poles to "freely advertise their agenda's to the community, with different political parties' posters displayed. The road then becomes a canvas of political expression, a tool in which to reach a large mass of the rural population but most importantly an interaction with the state that validates their citizenship in a post-apartheid state.

4.4: The Road travelled to citizenship and subjecthood.

In bringing the local context to the study area, the road also signifies the political identities which are posed by the public entities that are situated alongside the road. Hemson, Meyer and Maphunye (2004) highlighted by that describe access to place as a spatial location in relation to opportunities and amenities that assist in sustaining quality of life. The numerous discussions over former homelands which were subjected to processes of underdevelopment, due to their prehistoric disposition, they have remained prevalent in rural areas and out of the scope of development. For an individual to acquire citizenship status they must have access to infrastructure, be it in terms of basic service delivery by municipality through clean water and sanitation, provision of electricity, clinics, schools and community library to list. These are viewed as visible symbols of state provision in the broader perspective and declaration of society's civil rights being upheld by the very institution that holds and are accountable to .In understanding democracy being of a relationship between the state and an individual which is regulated and

accountable by rights of the state. Anna Secor (2005) explains that the state in its representation by the local municipality is constituted by the daily everyday provisions in practice and discourse. The tangible interaction with the services is that relatable to the everyday individual towards the connectedness in relation with the state .In grounding the notion that citizenship is both a status and a practice. This adding that a mutually the state and citizen enter into a contract, that hold each other accountable. The electoral system keeps both parties forever checking up on each other in keeping their promises. Democracy makes it possible for interaction between the state and society to engage on political issues of rights and daily life. Roberts (2004) reasons that citizen's involvement in state function form the basis of democracy (Roberts, 2004).

Citizenship is at the heart of a democratic political system. This notion speaks to a broader theme of inclusivity and exclusion within the system. Given South Africa's political past governing structure which privileged a particular race over the other. When referring to inclusion, it is of the state's responsibility to incorporate all the areas across the country were left behind predominately traditional communities. The main argument has been that traditional and modern systems of governance are competing against each other, which leave traditional communities vulnerable and caught in the tension ultimately affecting their provision to services. Roberts, 2004) secondly democracy fundamentally needs the physical space to function. Secor (2004) makes a statement that despite individual interaction with the liberal democratic state; the poor are marginalized and often positioned as "strangers" or "outsiders". This narrative position of the "stranger" can be understood from its broadest sense them being more "internal" strangers within the community. Mbembe (1995) argues that a road in of itself is disputed space, where all modes of transport and individuals encounter with each other. This space served as an introduction of the loving space of the subjects. Closely following the

Tlokweng case, where the rhythm analysis presented that that much of the life activity is presented on the road.

4.5: The subject in the Space – the subject on the side of the road

In interviews with the participant's about their views and perceptions of the current infrastructure in Tlokweng The physical interaction of public infrastructure of clinics, schools as well as access to the traditional council office and community library are perceived as spaces for relations but also viewed as tangible symbols of the state, which further stimulate the concept of citizenship. The physical space of the road provides social activities and public opinions (Cammaerts and Van Audenhove, 2006). Painter and Philo (1995) speaks about 'spaces of citizenship', and through this, he explains that citizenship is constructed in the space. The public space becomes important because that's where politics and society meet. In this case study, there are different levels of political interaction from the immediate the chief, local municipality and national government, which every day influences the standard of living of the traditional community.

The participant's further stated that the ability for community members to have direct access to the traditional office to lay their grievances or compliments re-ensures the residents public and their interaction with authority. Painter and Philo (1995) further make another argument that public spaces enhance democracy. These spaces are referred as "geographies of citizenship" within specified territorial limits that allow for citizens across their nation state, to meet in their designated spaces. The spaces create an environment for critical collective decision-making of common issues which impact the community. The traditional council members with the chief at the forefront hold regular meetings called "*lekgotla's"* The different

community clans meet to discuss issues ranging from crime in the area, developments, and state of the community. However, in this case the basis of this community emphasis the cultural institution that forms their very subjecthood. Through monthly clan" Lekgotla's" they sublimely echo out the very norms, customs and lifestyles that bonds them. commonalities of their traditional subjecthood is encouraged, because people want to attach themselves to the same people in which they have common values, cultural, ethnic and history, leading to a common national identity.

A community functions as an aspiration and an ideal and that linked through mutual understanding as traditions and practices of the community. This brings the notion of what a community is and its purpose. The essence of community stems out from multiple individuals, which are bound by forces of commonality, sharing, belonging, connection, and attachment. This made the study research being focused on this rural area because of the shared collective in tradition. The sharing of collective dual authority and its challenges experienced in the area (Malone, 2002) .The sense of community is created through the sharing of the same spaces. The daily interactions experienced by people on the inner streets and road have the potential to create bonds between people and enhance the cultural customs of the area. The observations gathered of the study area highlighted the impact of the rural-urban migration that are increased to the increased notion to search for work. The village networks brings in the different mixing of new and old practices, traditional and newly migrated urbanized citizens and classes in the village that subconsciously influence the identities full-time community members interacting the space. The migration that brings new perception of young –vibrant working class back into the village brings new thinking. Tlokweng is small in size and isolated from other villages and town. The identities are constructed within these boundaries, even as 'outsiders' beyond the perimeters infiltrate into the space,

identities of the "other "is constructed and altered. Tlokweng hosts other nationalities, who own small spaza shops in the area, whom employ local residents. In my observation conducted the rhythm patterns. The different individuals not from Tlokweng, become marginalized because they are not bound to any of their customs (Painter and Philo, 1995).

The sense of solidarity of the clan changes as the minority or excluded groups such as foreigner nationals. The public space can in ways, through encounters with other members of the public reinforce prejudices. Through these encounters many community members find themselves uncomfortable with the differences amongst them. The given physical limits are regarded as the "insiders" due to common cultural, historical and even language shared amongst them. The given history of the main road in Tlokweng was built by the Lucas Mangope administration. The province and community as a whole had a political and social transitional period, which have different inter-generational effects and emotions. In sharing a common political framework with all the common qualities highlighted, the public space synonymous with the road becomes a place which is inclusive. The main road also showcases the rebirth of old and of new ground political players in the community. This has widened the notions of subjecthood but broadly the interchange that happens in a democratic setting

The sense of community is created through the sharing of the same spaces. The daily interactions experienced by people on the streets and road have the potential to create bonds between people and enhance the cultural customs of the area. The sense of community is created through the sharing of the same spaces. The daily walks and commute nearby shops foster communication between community members to share in their frustration, sentiments on the social, economic and political situation of the area in which they reside (Parkinson, 2012).

Chapter 5 Water provision

(JoJo Tanks) used by home owners and businesses in Tlokweng



I have to bring my own water to the clinic because the clinic doesn't have water, and this small clinic serves the whole community of Tlokweng, plus others from Vrede and Madikwe so the queues are long, If I want to use the toilets I have to be prepared and bring my grandchild along to assist me with the bottles. So I can use the toilets and drink something for the day. I am old my child (referring to the researcher) and have high blood pressure so I am here every month– **(Anonymous, 56 years old resident of Tlokweng)**

"The clinic has been without water for 16 months now"- **Nonofang disetlhe, 29 year old resident of Tlokweng**

The provision and access to water is one basic need that is essential to the quality of life any individual and community. However, rural areas are faced with the greatest challenge in the supply of adequate quality of water. Rural areas are often fall within small bases and have a small population therefore the lack of resources being needed to be utilized those areas.

Access to water provision/supply in many rural parts of the country is limited to self-provisioning from boreholes and river streams. In mapping the physical infrastructure, the results found that provision of infrastructure require the incorporation of the local municipality and traditional council that govern over the traditional community. In this chapter, I will discuss the provision of water to the community of Tlokweng, and how understand how they have created new mechanisms that allow them to cope in the area.

Anna Secor (2004) argues that the state is construed through prosaic and everyday practices. Similarly, Corbridge et al (2005) suggest that the state does not appear to ordinary people through grand plans and policies, but through the everyday encounters

with bureaucrats, municipal offices, police stations etc. In Tlokweng, political subjectivity is not only forged in relation to the state, however. Most local residents encounter the state only at a distance, and in particular moments. Their everyday lives are defined mostly by their relationship to traditional authority. In this chapter, I attempt to bring together some of the observations made by (Secor 2007 & Corbridge et al 2005) and others on the everyday nature of the state especially in relationship to infrastructure with the important observations made by Mamdani (1997) on the bifurcated nature of political subjectivity.

As we saw in the previous chapter, the road provided a lens with which to explore other social conflicts that are embedded in the community. The infrastructure currently provided in the community characterized limitation and opportunity, it also presented tension between the perceptions and practices of the local state and traditional authority. Although delivery is supposedly a partnership, it is not clear that this is the way that local communities perceive the relationship, thus, impacting the way in which community members interact with them.

Rural people have to use multiple sources to get water, due to the lack of a stable water supply system. The shortage or lack thereof of water, can be seen as a significant stress for households and communities. In meeting with participant's who were elderly at their homes, visible to the naked eye, water buckets that contained rain water typically used for washing clothes and watering plants. Re-used white paint container buckets on the kitchen table used for cooking and drinking. Grey metallic water buckets are seen outside for external use such as bathing, laundry and cleaning. These are methods of adaptation to the situation at hand that some households use to manage with the situation on daily life. In my daily observations and interactions with participants in their households, I witnessed what were the iconic green Jojo tanks that households and businesses had on their premises. This product has become an act of a coping

instrument to deal with the shortage and absences from having a community communal tap in the village. This has provided relief for so many families, however it has become a costly expense. The very in-accessibility to water speaks to the exclusion of firstly as a subject under the leadership of *Kgosi* and secondly as a citizen of a democratic state.

The South African apartheid geared its policies to the selected minority groups. The legacy of apartheid has left a backlog of the majority populace without formal water supply provision. The new transition democratic state however has carried the responsibility to provide quality water to all its citizens irrespective of race. The dawn of democracy has highlighted the availability to have South Africans towards water services and improved quality of life. There are two main legislative frameworks that guide the provision of water. The policies that have been significant to the aid of provision has been the Water Services Act of 1997 (No. 108 of 1997) Section 3(1) that states that everyone has a right of access to basic water supply and basic sanitation. The National water Act (Act 36 of 1998), the principles set by the National Water Act also promotes other spheres of social and economic development through water provision (Perret, 2002). These policies have provided institutions that manage the distribution of water. The apartheid legacy left the newly democratic state with a service backlog of close to 14 million people in South Africa. This left many citizens vulnerable and majority of them being from the rural areas. South Africa's apartheid government left many homeland areas deprived from adequate service infrastructure and led to poorer standards than their white counterpart citizens. The apartheid state provided services to local township and homeland areas, to maintain a customer-supplier relationship with majority of the black population in order to sustain support. The creation and distribution of water supply was provided to wealthy municipalities, which were predominately white areas. This also brings a race aspect that aided in the distribution. This meant that spaces of the black populace such as townships and rural areas were often left out of the spectrum.

The inadequate distribution of resources and knowledge, brings along an element of social exclusion that perpetuate a cycle of despair, humiliation and worthlessness.
In contrast the water supplies services are generally more advanced and maintained in urban-white areas than in rural areas and in most cases today are still non-existent. There are supporting policies which enforce the critical need to provide water and sanitation. The 2002 Draft White that states every citizen is "entitled to a basic supply of 25 litres of clean water per day, or 6 000 litres per household per month". This was to abide with the constitution to provide all citizens of the country with access to services. In other words, the post-apartheid social contract was based on provision of infrastructure.

The legacy of an apartheid government and its rigid policies has left much of the majority without formal water supply. Predominately being the underprivileged, rather than the selected minority. This equating for more than 70 % of the black populace, found in the former homeland areas. The ownership of land has been intrinsically linked water resources. In rural–traditional communities, challenges of poverty and unemployment are compounded by the limitation of access to basic municipal services such as water, sanitation and electricity and also through quality social services of healthcare infrastructure, education and transport (Von Schnitzler, 2008). During my exposure in Tlokweng accessibility to basic services remains a challenge, although some are present however pose significant challenges in the upkeep and in operation. The constitution of South Africa validates that everyone has a responsibility to play and ensure that services are made available. During my observations of the traditional authority office, nearby residents would come with the specific purpose of collecting water from the tank in the early morning and afternoon. The significance of the jojo tank at the traditional authority offices community members was able to fetch water from the jojo tank and more turning the tank into a "communal water tap". The role of the

traditional council office has become a facilitator so everyone can have access to water. However, the office closes at 5pm each day so meaning that residents must plan their daily routine.

The time spent in Tlokweng accessibility to basic services remains a challenge, although some are present however pose significant challenges in the upkeep and operation thereof. There were no visible communal taps seen during the site tour, and the only sources of water points were in key areas which operate from 08:00AM to 17:00PM and locked and keyed with huge metal lock and chain at the end of business day. These compelling families without the jojo tanks must plan appropriately for different uses of the water day by day. This brings to the forefront of the role of the state, in its national capacity to guarantee that all people have physical access to water and in addition that they have the economic access and capacity to water supply. This means that the ability to access water, must be limited to standards that do not impede on other essential basic needs of individuals and community. The economic access speaks directly to the many households in Tlokweng that had to make "sacrifices" in terms of purchasing Jojo Tanks in order it make alternative measures to manage their standards of living. However, noting that some cannot afford to install the tanks for their households.

"We have two contesting municipal representatives in Tlokweng, one from the Economic freedom Fighters (EFF) and one from the African National Congress (ANC). People here are opposed to a different candidate. I feel like that is putting the developments and services of this community backward. I am a traditional council member of the elected by the community and the chief as by the law. I understand the workings and always try my best to help my community. But I am equally living in the problems of the Tlokweng as a village" **Dikeledi Tau (56) – Traditional council member**

Through the interviews conducted with the participants with the water challenges, they expressed that there is gap between public government officials, the traditional council

leaders and local municipality. This is through the lack of quality infrastructure in the community, even after the political parties made promises. Community members expressed feeling of dissatisfaction with municipal officials that they do not have their interests, because essentially local government is the closets sphere of government citizens have an opportunity to liaise with. The very institutions that are meant to safeguard its citizens sometimes threaten their own creditability, and be places of distrust and exclusion. If the voices of the masses are shutdown then democracy it itself is muted. The residents conveyed their disaffection of not had any discussions by officials and the chief of installing communal taps so everyone is can catered for. The municipal official and chief meet on a quarterly basis to discuss any information prudent to the community.

In the new dawn of the 1994 democratic state, the government has put emphasis on the shift towards improved water supply and services that are made available to all South African citizens. This improves the quality of life for all. However, in the new democratic government 90% of rural schools, 50% of rural clinics have insufficient sanitation facilities. This is concerning as the South African population continues to rise yearly and subsequently to that rural areas are further left in the periphery . This means that the lacks of water supply in communities are then unable to manage themselves. This further comprises the state and quality of many rural communities across South Africa. This leaving the majority of the populace feeling unable to receive what is constitutionally owed to them by the elected government (Lucas,2004).

The elected government's objective in 1994 was towards inclusion of rural community members into a new and improved democratic setting. The apartheid government has left much of rural communities across South Africa in ruins, with delayed recovery because of the marginalization through the absence of basic resources. However, the newly democratic government has tried to ensure supply of clean water through the

adoption of policies and development plans. In rural areas such as Tlokweng, government is working towards meeting their political objectives. No sphere of governance can escape the general responsibility of dealing with socio-economic rights. In addition, rural poor municipalities bring the visible failures of the government to the forefront. As local government without adequate resources further cripple communities.

The post-apartheid governance policies in changing the infrastructural development has less than infiltrated in rural areas. The apartheid spatial planning of rural/traditional areas are placed within the periphery. This noting that there further the distance from the core, the more costs incurred by the state (local municipality) critically diminishes the deployment of quality infrastructure. This response further imprints rural areas as places synonymous with poverty. This further translates to rural areas with poor infrastructure. Water is a life source and is written in the constitution of South Africa to all citizens' .The provision of water in the Tlokweng area is present however scarce with no community taps in the village to allow for collective consumption. In undertaking observation and interaction within the study area, participants stated that they depend on green Jojo tanks within their households and businesses. These are costly to install and maintain. In a focus group conducted with elderly participants, they are assisted by their children who have found employment in the city of Rustenburg and further to other provinces across South Africa to pay for them. Jojo tanks can be seen at "state " spaces and have been distributed to schools, the Tlokweng clinic, newly built community library and the traditional authority office , and billed to the Moses Kotane local municipality. It is in understanding the nature of daily life of residents of Tlokweng to go without their basic needs not fully addressed. In the same light the rural–traditional communities have challenges of poverty and unemployment are compounded by the limitation of access to basic municipal services such as water, sanitation and electricity and also through quality social services. This further puts strains on already escalating challenges that embedded in the community.

Water was and still is viewed as a valued resource and impacts communities in their everyday life (Earle, Goldin and Kgomotso, 2005) Water has been renowned as having a high economic value which reflects its value and scarcity. In the post democratic era, water provision has become one of the instruments of state manipulation, used as a political tool to gain support and favour during elections. The newly democratic government led by the African National Congress (ANC) maintained in their campaign of 1994 was to ensure that all essential services, such as water and electricity that is affordable to all South African citizens. In the newly political framework, the element of responsibility of the new government's mandate remains present and one that is sees that provision of water is not one that is 'unconditional' in approach .The key responsibility to the other (townships and rural areas) even in the socio-economic sphere should not purposefully hinder the progress and wellbeing of the populace.

The access to water supply is essential to the transformation of society's, moving them towards social and poverty eradication. Provision of basic services affects the everyday workings of any given society. The state is responsible for the provision of basic services of the country as bestowed by the constitution to all people residing in South Africa. This is marked with equal rights treatment and sufficient basic services met by the government. Democracy is one of interactive communication with administration at all levels (local, provincial and national), as well as be informed of all decisions concerning the wellbeing all its citizens. It is essential to note the duties provided by the local municipality which directly deals with communities in the different sections. The local municipality are in charge for the implementation of electricity, water and sanitation, municipal roads, health care, and creation of local jobs (Martin and Rogers,1995)

In conclusion the chapter firstly, highlighted that water from the traditional authority is limited. Secondly, there is still a strong narrative that says state should provide water. The views gathered from the community members were that as much as there is infrastructure provided, it is the quality and quantity that remains a challenge. The right

of access and use of water resources is intrinsically linked to the very ownership of the land that they reside. The lack of satisfaction in the services in the community, even though present makes them also in contrast absent too. Community members raised the concern of local municipality n maintaining the services in which they use every day. The interviews interrogated the contending issues of normalizing the "un-normal" of the South African rural poor in a post-apartheid period.

Chapter 6 Social grants: Spatial narratives

Case Study: Disemelo Sandra Akanyang(24)

Disemelo Akanyang is a 24 year old woman born and bred in Tloweng with matric as her highest qualification. Disemelo lives with her both her parents aged 56-62 and just within retirement age. Her mother a former school teacher and father a miner, later become a security at the mines in Rustenburg. Disemelo lives in a modest three bedrooms with zinc ceiling and medium-sized yard which is being used to grow some vegetable for the family. With little job prospects in the village and limited opportunity to higher education, now a young mother of one, who is informally employed by a security company as a security guard at the Tlokweng community Library opened in August 2016. Due to the little payments she receives from her employment. She also receives a child grant for her daughter to supplement her earnings. Her expenses range from monthly groceries, transport, buying electricity, and the odd clothing articles. She incurs other expenses that are brought to her due to lack of services that should be supplied by government. The clinic is often closed on Saturdays and Sundays as medicine is not dispensed on those days and sometimes there is shortage of medicine, so I have to buy my own from Clicks pharmacy in town". Her daughter attends a non – paying system school (Bogautsu Primary School), with only R100 every month for the

upkeep of the school and payment of a security guard to safeguard against theft and vandalism of the school.

The provision of the social grants such in Disemelo's household, speaks to the notion of alleviating extreme poverty from befalling many African families especially in the rural areas. Social grant are able to keep the balance between keeping food on the table and building trust that the state looks after its citizens. In a liberal argument this form of partnership is seen as citizens and the state bound together in a 'contract'. This enabled every party involved to abide by the rights and responsibilities bestowed upon them by the constitution in which they belong to. This relationship between local government (state) and citizen are grounded on rights. One of the rights founded by the constitution of South Africa, has been through the assistance of social grants has been a visible act that assists the citizens of South Africa.

The constitution of South Africa Section 27 states that everyone has the right of access to health care, food, water and social security. The state has the responsibility to for the provision of basic services.

The democratic government has done much towards the liberation of the black populace, however extreme poverty in township and rural areas remain a present worry. The very notion of poverty and paying particular focus on rural poor has encouraged and moulded communities to take charge of their fortunes (Binns and Nel, 1999). The reality of on the ground for the rural poor is that they are far marginalized from the "modern and globalized "way of life. This has led to self-reliance. This is informed by the state (local development initiatives) to remedy poverty however they are partial in response.

In the South African narrative, grants have been related within the context of poverty entrapment. However, only so much is given to slightly meet the needs of the monthly household needs. The meeting of basic needs of individuals is essential, child support

grants were introduced in April 1998, which has become the most important assistance form for poor families in many parts of South Africa (Van der Berg, Siebrits and Lekezwa, 2010). The former homelands areas and the different black urban townships of South Africa have been areas that are heavily impacted and, re-telling of the narrative of an apartheid planning system. This characterized by informal settlements, adequate services housing, lack of infrastructure and any formal access to economic markets. This has led to the introduction of the informal economies in many black townships and homelands, such as spaza shops to help alleviate the position of goods and location amidst poor statics in unemployment. In the main objective of rural development, is one that seeks to improve the quality of life of the rural populace. Two methods are through sustainable projects of poverty alleviation or the promotion of economic activity in the rural poor areas.

Since 1994 the South African government has administered over 17million social grants to its citizens, supplied by the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA). This was guided by the Social Assistance Act of 2004 (Act No.13 of 2004) which provide the legal mandate to provide over 7 social grants which are the Child Support Grant, Older Person's Grant, Disability Grant, Grant-in-Aid, Care Dependency Grant, War Veteran's Grant, Foster Child Grant. Social grants in South Africa undergo a process called a means test, this is a process of assessing the value one's assets and income. An individual can only be eligible for a grant if all criteria is met in accordance to the means test. To date Child Support Grant has 12,092,183 beneficiaries with R350 per month payment. Grant for older persons has 3,295,170 beneficiaries with R 1,510 per month and people over 75 receive R1530. Disability grant has 1,067,402 beneficiaries with R1, 510 per month who are unable to work because of their disability, ages from 18 to 59 are eligible for this grant. The care dependency grant has 145,089 beneficiaries with R 1,510 per month and grant in-aid has 161,989 beneficiaries with R350, this is a temporary grant for people in

dire need of assistance. Social assistance grants are distributed once a month (Department of Social Development).

In the same breath the access of social grant's entails one's claim to citizenship be affirmed through the attainment of an identification card or birth certificate. (Adato, Carter and May, 2006). This tackles the broad theme of citizenship that speaks to ensure and provide a platform for equality and active citizenship (Whitworth and Wilkinson, 2013). The criterion for receiving assistance is that the primary care giver of the child or children must be both South African citizens. The exclusion has two dimensions economic and social. The economic dimension focuses on the inability to access the labour market and find gain access to assets. The social dimension focuses on social services, family and the community. Within social exclusion it relates to exclusion from right to citizenship. In the same argument that social assistance programs effectively divide people from the "deserving "and "underserving" categories, through the means test in the sense of who is eligible for assistance. This is done through accessing the different variables in income for individuals.

In the post-apartheid period, social grant provision has had to accommodate for the deep and widespread African poverty, with the inequality of the South African distributional regime as a key factor. White South Africans have long been incorporated into systems of social protection, first devised in the 1920s. The distribution of social grants has reinstated and established citizenship status to the black poor populace, as the state has been able to provide a platform in which to better take care of their well-being (Neves *et al*, 2009).

One the other hand social grants have been able to provide a much needed security in livelihood, critics have argued to an extent that social grants perpetuate the cycle of poverty and continue the dependency on the state. This not allowing individuals to fully participate on their own capacity in the economy. They further argue that social grants

perpetuate a generational poverty trap, with the funds being little to further break them out of their economic challenge. However, the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) provides a counter argument in that social grants are geared for people who are unable to be active in the economic or labour market. Such as minors, elders, veterans and people living with disabilities so dependency is assured and critical in insuring the citizenship status is upheld (The Human Science Research Council, HSRC, 2018)

With a country enduring structural poverty that has left millions of its population on the outskirts of economic activities. South Africa has some highly unequal socio-economic disparities. Since the distribution of social grants, they have improved poverty levels and reduced vulnerability by redistributing income. The social grants have minimized the gap of unequal scales between the wealthy and poor in the country. In South Africa the delivery of social grants are financed through taxation revenue. The provision of social grants can disrupt chronic poverty, including its perpetuation across generations (Grosh et al, 2008). They offer potential benefits to poor households and to the betterment of their futures. Social grants provision has enabled an increase in human capital, as has allowed people to become economic players to buy consumer durables, improve housing and invest in productive assets (Ardington and Lund, 1995). In the time spent in Tlokweng, a large majority of women are involved in one form of society group or another, this ranging from investment, burial or social. Through the grants they have been able to save and use that money towards improving their lives. In undertaking the research in Tlokweng and interactions with the local community members that the provision of social grants, they have been able to build themselves houses, start businesses to supplement home incomes and overall quality of life is uplifted.

The notion has been that rural areas are where the older generation reside, as the youth populace move away towards major economic cities to pursue employment, better access to services, marriage and family growth. This leaving majority of the older generation left in the periphery and away from access to resources. However, social

grants have been able to permit the older generation to contribute to the reduction in their dependence on their children who are in the urban areas because of employment opportunities. Thus, also giving opportunity to the next generation to be able to save on costs and making their way out of poverty. Social payments play a fundamental role in ensuring personal growth, family growth but importantly economic growth for the vulnerable people living in rural areas (Armstrong and burger, 2009). The post-apartheid government has been effective in providing grants as an instrument in which to remedy the extent of economic circumstances for its citizens. The poorest and vulnerable shows the statistics being the majority of the black populace. . The lack of education and high rates in unemployment have all contributed towards the exclusion of them fully participating in society and economy of the country. In addition there is a continuous division in income disparities in South Africa's that prevent the marginalized individuals from productively engaging and integrating themselves back into society. Surender, Noble, Wright and Ntshongwana, (2010) argue that the provision of social grants are unable to guarantee viable access to higher levels of income, further elaborating that the payments are little and continues a cycle of co-dependency over many generations. The further absence in the creation of job opportunities, allows social grant recipients to create themselves a livelihood (Surender, Noble, Wright and Ntshongwana, 2010)

Case study: Christine Mokwena (Older-generation Tlowkeng resident)

Christine Mokwena is a 62 year women, born and resides in Tlowkeng. Ma Christine is a former nurse by profession. She is secondly married and has two children and her three grandchildren, lives in a modest round house away from the main road. She leads her "Lekgotla" clan and a prominent figure in the community. She is unemployed and a member of the traditional council, in an elected position. Her responsibilities vary throughout the community, such as doing routine check-ups and follow ups at schools, clinic and attending to domestic issues those families may experience. Christine is

assisted by a grant that comes from her grandchildren's grant, that takes care of the daily expenses whilst accepting the large tasks that she takes care off . *"I was supposed to be getting a stipend by local municipality for being a traditional council member, but for the last 8 months nothing has come, that money would be helpful for the many things we do in this community."* In many circumstances throughout the focus group interviews, the general theme was the desperation and the importance of social grants being issued in the rural areas. They provide solace to many community families, without the amounts being dispensed at month-end many of the residents would be left without food, electricity (prepaid in most cases) and all other necessities a family may require. This makes social grants a method in which the state is in reach and gives off a sense of being well-taken off by the state.

Scholars have suggested that in high unequal societies, social grants function to reduce social unrest, especially in economically marginalised peripheries such as in rural areas (Barrientos, 2004). On the other hand they have been effective in being used as a political tool of bolstering purchasing power, especially in rural areas with state pensions. The reinforcement of the marginalisation of the uneducated black populace have fallen partly to government law and polices (Burns, 1992). In South Africa state pensions have become a key resource for many rural households. It has been argued by scholars that they become entrapped and become victims of the system. However, the payment provides much relief to the recipients and physical acknowledgment of the state's intervention.

Chapter 7: The Tsholofelo Disability Home

Case Study: Tsholofelo M

Tsholofelo M is a 34 year old woman, born and bred in Tlokweng single parent of two children, 1 in grade 11 and the last born in grade 8. Highest academic qualification is a diploma in fashion design, and that has become her way of income. She makes curtains, clothes and school uniforms for people in Tlokweng. Founder of the organization Tsholofelo Disability Home. The Tsholofelo Disability home was started in 2005 by Miss Tsholofelo. She saw the gap in the schooling system in the village of Tlokweng that does not cater to disabled children. In identifying the need in the community she started the projected in her own home and looking after her neighbor's disabled child and furthermore word of mouth preceded the way to where they are now. The department of Social Development built them a house in 2011 that could accommodate all the children. The Tsholofelo Disability Home looks after 14 children daily aged 7-18. The children get fed daily breakfast and lunch and looked after during the day, with a team of volunteers that consists of 4 women and 1 gentleman.

The home receives little to no funding from local government and international groups. The home survives on each volunteer taking the little allowances they make as care givers and portioning some out towards the home. Alternatives to bring money to the home has been Ma Tsholofelo sewing and portioning some her revenue from the sales. In discussions with the team, they seemed to be dissatisfied firstly by the lack of support from The Department of Social Development as the funding budget is little to cover cost in the home. The budget is stated as per child, per day a child receives R15 and further spilt up in sections, R5 going to personnel resources, R3 administration cost, and R7 for food costs. This means that every item is cost controlled without the caution of transport costs to buy the food and electricity in town.

This chapter explores the relationship between subjecthood and citizenship in the newly democratic South Africa and its failing gaps. The most vulnerable and most inactive citizens view disability grants as a tool of survival for both the individual with a disability and the household living with a disabled individual. The disappointment lies with the traditional council (which includes the *Kgosigadi*). In talks gathered in the field, there stories of participants feeling neglected by the traditional council and state, especially when they are a noble initiative for the people they govern and preside over. They had expressed their sadness in the little effort from the chief for a visit and to hear their grievances. Little attention has been given to them and hence at times has brought the morale of the team down over the years. The emotional support one expects from their chief, not expressed to them. The disability home is located between a dilapidated building and former traditional council offices, old sports field and the Bogatsu primary school. Hidden in its locale in the midst of the community, makes this case significant in broadest sense of abandonment and hidden from the rest of the community.

Predominately the analysis in this case study has been the social anguish produced in society and how immediate reactions of abandonment and poverty in a cultural setting have been acclimatized into the very sense of subjects versus citizens. This brings into focus the stability of the new post democratic government in relation to the functions of the traditional leadership, customs and value systems towards their immediate owns needs. This case study highlights the dynamics of custom/traditional and state (local municipality) involvement, having both entities does not automatically relate to better conditions in quality of life for rural residents. The lack of formal channels to report their (participants) concerns, have led to community member's immediate issues unattended.

The new political system has initiated communities, individuals, traditional and state leaders find themselves in a space of challenging each other within the new political, social and economic climate. Traditional leaders do not have any constitutional rights or

are employees of the state. They merely recognized from the relevant royal family. On the other hand, local municipalities have had to contend with dealing with marginalized area's that have been long forgotten by the apartheid legacy. This also burdened with limited resources within municipalities from budget constrains to personnel to meet all the needs of the populace they hold account to.

Insufficient support from public sector and traditional leadership

The participants explained that the home has tried to overcome the problem of inadequate funding by speaking to the social development representatives but without any response. They have gone as far as visiting the Social Department in the city center of Mafikeng province, with little to no assistance. The lack of sufficient and reliable funding provides questions about the consistency in the availability of services being offered and their long-term sustainability in communities (Martin, 2010) This brings the concept that individuals become self-regulate over time and find themselves in spaces in which they are creating their own copy mechanisms.

"The local government makes it hard, by needing too many funding forms so we can help the community. Even after receiving the funding the feedback reports that they want back, it is like you paying them back in the form mountain of paperwork. Our job is looking after the children, it does not allow much time to complete administrative work that we get buried with. You must also remember as well that these provincial offices are all the way in Mafikeng, even more far for us" –anonymous

Skhosana, Schenck and Botha (2014) argue that both professional and voluntary services professionals are important for good-quality services (Skhosana, Schenck and Botha, 2014). The participants alluded that they do not have any professional experience in social work or care giving, however they make do with the little intelligence and skills they have This has been also to the many functions attended by the team in Mafikeng

to assist them in this regard. However, to no avail to the daily challenges in which the home factors in.

"We really here because of God and understand that, in our home we have three children that do not speak but we make it work even without the qualification's or ability to speak sign language. We make it work nonetheless. The kgosi is very quiet and her speaking out of issues of our home because I feel she cannot do something to assist us"
(Tsholofelo Founder-43)

Networking with other organizations

The NGOs operate on a smaller scale and are only are able to offer particular services as the mentioned by the participants. They alluded that the struggle does not end with them, all other smaller operated NGO's in remote village's struggle to receive funding or assistance. In the case of Tsholofelo Disability Home state 1 social worker, 1 auxiliary social worker and 1 nurse are brought in to supervise them every month. Payment of the workers comes out of the Home's miniature budget R15 750 is paid to the nurse, R7000 to the social worker and auxiliary. This being that the team does not have carry any professional qualifications. This puts strain on the financials of the home, as they do not currently much for monthly expenses. Whitworth and Wilkinson (2013) argue that social and economic exclusion are targeted to a small section of society. Predominately rural areas have been places where they are excluded from being actively engaged with the state and left vulnerable in the end (Whitworth and Wilkinson, 2013) Seeking's (2008) argument that even though the poor and disabled have a direct and indirect relationship with the state. They still feel viewed as "outsider" in location as well as in the realm of citizenship (Seeking, 2008). During the interviews at the disability home, they main argument was the lack of assistance from the traditional authority. They first approach to authority of help in the community in that they occupy to serve the community.

"*Only one traditional council member comes and checks up on us. The chief as much she is old has not visited us but able to attend the prestigious library opening with MEC's and other traditional leaders and we located just behind the very library. How must one feel?*

"Traditional council members are intelligent people and know exactly what the needs of the community are. They are nurses, pastors, principals but I do not understand why nothing is moving in this community" - **Didintle Sethgedi (caretaker at The Tsholofelo disability home)**

The relationship between the state and community as it stands is one that the state is the development enabler and partner rather being a provider and ultimate decider on the welfare of its vulnerable citizens. This case study provides an argument that explains that community and state participation is key in building resilience within communities. The social component of resilience is the ultimate achievement in people's willingness to face the challenges in which they encounter (Botero and Saad-Sulonen, 2010). This case study brings the public activeness in ensuring services to the community. In the midst of mounting frustration in meeting with the shortages they encounter. The skills, experience and little knowledge gap that has been gained over the years has assisted in community uplift and direct empowerment. This has led to community participation that is interlinked with information sharing and betterment of overall community. It is then when community members are faced with projects infinite chances of successful are probable. However, it should be noted that, South Africa has many poor communities that make them extremely vulnerable by the insufficient and lack of infrastructure to be able to fully maintain their livelihoods.

The access to financial security and resources is critically important for individuals and community members to be able to transform their way of life and immediate conditions. In this case study of the disability home and its financial challenges, further speak to the

wider notion of citizen security to its most vulnerable individuals as well. However, this brings into focus the "imaginary state" those individuals feel detached from the state that is supposed to protect, serve, and visibly assist its people. The state is perceived as a far- distance entity that is removed from the ordinary needs of the people on the ground. Socially, financially and even more mentally in this particular group of volunteers in accessing funding to provide what the state has been unable to deliver. Furthermore, the ordinary community members have expressed their preference to be identified by their ethnic-clan label in this case, they refer to themselves as "Batlokwa" before their state given right as a citizen to the country. Bank and Southhall (1996) reasons that the traditional –rural areas are characterized by customs, identity, belonging, shared values and unitary traditional authority that brings security. The idea that in the physical sense the state is unattainable in daily practice. (Bank and Southhall, 1996) However within rural homes and communities are locations of living cultural customs which are preserved and kept thriving amongst them. This making the state and its institution roles and responsibilities is reduced in capacity and in its effectiveness (Clements et al 2007). Another significant aspect that the Tsholofelo Disability Home highlights that the traditional societal reform structure is crucial to have every function of authority working towards the betterment of the community. This ranging from the chief, clan headmen, village leaders', and community members, determine the social construct of the day-to day of a large majority of populace across many of traditional led South Africa's provinces. They are the first approach of authority when faced with a crisis or challenge.

Through the gains of democracy, the poorer the black majority have come to endure. The poverty levels have been argued to have been reconstructed and further increased by the poor and rich gap. This has been debated and has been excessively written in the post- apartheid state, from the urban and rural perspectives. However, the statement remains that they both co-exist together in one state. The new post-apartheid political

system brought about confidence of a new political and economic climate and a decrease in poverty and inequality levels of the black population. The inclusion of "Bantustans" areas into the major and urban municipal regions, which have well-graded infrastructure services. Saw the opportunity that the once neglected areas in South Africa can better included in development plans. (Clements *et al* (2007) makes a statement of a "hybrid model of governance", which combines both the traditional norms, values and democratic practices. The blend of both policies is argued to be probable in achieving effective social service delivery, operational and desirable outcomes. Stability of the state and legitimacy of the traditional institution depends on all the actors (Clements *et al* ,2007).

Two of the fundamental factors that can influence the decrease poverty line spectrum are access to quality education and employment. The current climate in South Africa is that the rural-poor do not hold any land ownership and even that it is in the hands of traditional chiefs. Small subsistence farming has become a means to supplement the household needs, casual employment in local spaza shops and nearby town businesses, and the rural-urban migrant labour pattern that pulls people into major cities. The newly elected African National Congress (ANC) since gaining control of administration of the government. This would need to work vigorously on poverty reduction implementation plans that will require considerable migration out of rural areas to nearby towns where formal jobs could be created or accessible to local community members (Hunter, 2013).

During interviews with the participants at the disability home, they expressed the discomfort of having to be burdened by government in a day to day living in rural areas. They get monthly stipends of R280 for their voluntarily work. Which their expressed is far lower than a child grant, and even when payment is made, it is after 6 months of irregular payment over recent years. Without a doubt money plays a fundamental role in the day to day of volunteer's expenditure and ultimately the quality of life.

"I wish I could go back to school but I not getting anything. I have children of my own who need to eat, go to school, what is R280 in the scheme of things. The department should rather train and empower us instead of bringing people to us "– **Tsholofelo (34) Volunteer**

In emphasizing the assistance programmes that are geared at the black majority, the new democratic state mandate has become more pro-poor. Through expenditure of state budget that would to be for the benefit of poor communities that have been previously excluded in the past apartheid era. This meant more spending on education, health, provision of water and electricity to poor households/areas and infrastructural systems. This has gone a long into assisting the poor since the beginning of 1994. However, for significant results to materialize in the reduction of poverty, more opportunities and economic growth needs to be prioritized. Most young rural South Africans are limited in skills, as mostly schooling careers is completed by Matric (grade 12) and enter straight into the labour market. This is to escape poverty and the high unemployment in rural areas, thus meaning that their entering employment that is structured for skilled employment, creating an uneven labour system. This however makes them more vulnerable to exploitation by an unregulated labour practices. Thus, rural areas continue to have high levels of unemployment and escalating poverty levels .The case in Tlokweng speaks to the broader theme that for benefits to be realized the growth must be equally shared. The organic essence of a democratic state, is in its ability to engage with community participation and state institutions for its growth. The case studies identified the tension in the link between a subject and a citizen. When one is failing and unable to meet the expectations, it breeds levels of despair, isolation and tension.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

I tell these stories that are located conjecturally between the late and post-apartheid periods. Within this paper democracy's infrastructure was critically explored. The case studies immensely contributed to the understanding of the many of the lived experiences of rural community members in the ever-changing modern world, whilst competing with post democratic state. In the introduction, I introduced the notion of citizenship and subjectivity as way of navigating about the political subjectivity in the colonial and post-colonial or even an apartheid and post-apartheid context. In remembering the work of Mamdani when he uses the terms of subjects and citizen to distinguish between the forms of political subjectivity. Citizenship is defined as a set of practices that encompass the juridical, political, economic and cultural systems. Citizenship in the context of this paper was concerned with the efficiency and equal distribution of resources, this is dominated by different forms of particularistic inequality. This emphasis the ability of a citizen to participate more or less in the political, social and economic realms of society. The state or social services is entrusted to ensure that all citizens have that ability to participate in their own respective societies. This in-turn shapes the flow of resources to persons and social groupings. He distinguishes the different modes of citizenship and the conflict that it imposes. This is being that remedial action to address the quantity of unequal distribution of resources to different groups, still does not make everyone equal in the system. This is the notion that subjects are treated at a distance by the state, whilst the citizens are seen as right bearing citizens. This he contends that it is where political subjectivity is understood and navigated, through these two political principles. This was significant in the fieldwork was that citizenship and location are co-terminus.

The setting of this project is in the rural traditional village in the North West Province. Where their first point of political subjectivity is found in being a subject and that of an ethnic identification of being a called a Motswana. Mamdani states his argument that

subjectivity belongs within a particular place and moment. The chief have becomes the gatekeeper of the state. This alludes to how the apartheid functioned and placed subjects to such a separation. Mamdani reasons that in the present South Africa, it is not much of the indirect and direct rule that changed the political structure that still felt even today by colonialism and apartheid. However, he states that the notion of subject and citizen is not tied-up nicely in the rural and urban context. This emanating from how apartheid was a form of consolidation of homelands and legitimizing them into ethnic states, and chiefs turned into politicians. The remains of indirect rule is still felt that the divide of the subject and citizen are still being navigated. Whilst understanding that citizenship is crucial in state building, it facilitates the participation of the state, civil society and customary rule to achieve it.

The how in do we then understand citizenship and subjectivity in relation to infrastructure? In following the theme of Mamdani's literature is the notion that what if colonialism or apartheid did not take place in South Africa's history, it would essentially mean that most African would be city dwellers. As the restrictions imposed by those two political events, greatly changed the socio-geographical that fractured the pre-existing order of the country. The paper set to answer this relation by arguing that subjects were denied adequate access to infrastructure or it was limited to extent to material infrastructure. On the other hand citizens were given relatively decent infrastructure .This study tells that even under rural subjecthood , they did have some form of engagement with material infrastructure. Whether it was a broken road and water pump that one has to walk long distance to fetch water as to do household tasks. The paper does not take away that they were there regardless, however in a post-apartheid context South Africa the commitment upon the elected state mandate is not only to give people rights that were previously disadvantaged out of. One way in which to achieve this mandate is to solve the infrastructural inequality that still puts individuals and communities under strenuous conditions. In the urban areas, this largely remains

unproblematic as opposed to the rural areas where municipalities are not highly prioritized. The distribution of low cost housing project has been one success story towards the momentous turnaround features for the new elected government. Conversely, this becomes complex when taken into a rural context. Where on the one hand people are told that they are citizens, whilst in the same breath traditional leaders are recognized in the constitution however unable to have substantive power. People's sense of citizenship is not clearly resolved. It is not a subjectivity that is rejected but more embraced and honoured by the group. The contestation arrived when traditional leaders are seen as by their subjects as being able to provide those lacking infrastructure or services. Infrastructure can be seen a way forward substantive citizenship and not a just a form of rights. At the heart then how do understand post-apartheid South Africa, where to access material infrastructure is not resolved but intrinsically linked to the everyday life's of the populace.

The empirical results support the broad notion that basic infrastructure is an investment to community development especially in Tlokweng. Transport and services infrastructure contributes directly to the improvement of living conditions of the poor. However, many poor communities remain isolated by distance, bad road conditions and inadequate transport mimicking the functioning of the apartheid era. The costs of the travelling into the city centre constitute considerable amount to any household budget in Tlokweng. This taking them a step away from attaining opportunities that are held in more infrastructural advanced towns. Mann (2004) argues that infrastructure is two-folds, which is about the accessibility of the said infrastructure and to what level of quality does it serve. Through this the notion of "infrastructural power" manifest itself. In this notion, Mann considers transportation and communication as the backbone of any state (Mann, 2004). In the post-apartheid context, it has become more visible and it has been marked with protest and unlawful acts in the quest of infrastructure. This just aligns the argument that people's subjectivity and identity is linked to infrastructure in this socio-

economic period. Protests have become a prominent feature in daily life activity that show disaffection. The significant cases coming from poor rural areas that feel neglected by the state. This being not only coming to the state as citizens but as well as a population.

Water provision, social grants and a disability home as a form of infrastructure was interrogated. The provision of portable drinkable water is one of the oldest traditional forms of in which the state is visible. The piped and non-piped is a clearly distinguished. What is physical and visible to the naked eye, the case studies provided a new way of thinking into what can be called 'functional citizenship' that enables individuals to be actively acknowledged by the state and the traditional Authority they are affiliated to.

James Ferguson (2015) reasons that an alternative way of thinking about poverty and inequality. He argues this could be channeled through focusing on the politics of distribution. The cash transfers offer only an option for innovation and experimentation in certain cases as people are able to use the money towards another income stream. As Ferguson states as forms of "survivalist improvisation". Through the provision of social grants has "freed" many individuals from the barrels of poverty. The participants of Tlokweng community members noted with appreciation the assistance social grants as one of the most progressive programs that the new government in alleviating poverty for many of the poor and marginalized groups in South Africa. Social grants are much a form of infrastructure in its right, as it relies on a network of institutions. It may not be concrete blocks or piped water. The physical is also recognized as there is a physical card needed and its digital networks. Another dimension to be able to fully utilize its purpose. It leads to further engagement with other forms of physical infrastructures. The infrastructure of the state is really the objective that citizens that are the end user are satisfied and their everyday inner workings are in line with that is being provided by the state and traditional leadership. The payment of social grants is largely by design are

modest to address poor families' responsibilities fully. However, the little payment that is given out by the state ultimately takes them away from experiencing absolute poverty. No sphere of government is immune to the socio-economic rights of their constituency. Citizens are found to be intensely making demands on the state, so that the state is more present in their life's and need to confront poverty in more visible ways. The administration of social grants may not eliminate the inequalities of the country is challenged with however they promote a level of state involvement to the betterment of the society.

The Tsholofelo disability home is a form of infrastructure in the sense that this case study is the intercession or coming together of the water provision and social grants as a pastoral expectation and the physical/concrete, bricks and water pipes infrastructure that goes into housing. The work and value from the volunteers of the home to the community of Tlokweng bridge a gap between the adhering to the needs of the children and fulfill both responsibilities of the traditional council and the local government. Their level of skill and determination may not be easily defined as infrastructure, however they fulfil a mandate

The study is introduced and concluded by the road in Tlokweng which serve entry and exist points. This road brought many of the case studies to light and how the community interaction with spaces of infrastructural influence are conducted. The vast picture painted by the road to the village of one of access and connectivity of traditional community members that leads to engagement with the outside and broader networks. It boasts stories that offer vast opportunities. The road cons two sides that in its physical form becomes a theoretical form of connectivity and dis-connectivity. The road is fundamental to understanding the inclusion as well as abandonment from being far removed from the urban area/city and services. The road provides a framework that even the state is broken, which one hand can close possibilities but they generate

alternatives for social interaction and coping mechanisms for the community of Tlokweng. The traditional Authority is much fragmented in its own right. As they try to carry out functions, however find themselves without the powers to carry out and then viewed as weak in the eyes of their subjects. The community of Tlokweng have found solace in reconstructing and "normalized" the spaces where shortage has fallen short on the state's mandate to them.

Annexures



Main road: Leading into the Tlokweng Village.





Main Road : Rhythm of the morning in Tlokweng.

Road leading to the Traditional Authority Offices (riddled with potholes)



Figure A: Sliverkraans Clinic



Tlokweng Clinic



Post Office in Tlokweng



Abandoned Community Center (previously Traditional Office)



One of the three primary schools in the Tlokweng



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