

**Title - The Construct of State
Practices: Excavating Municipal
Relationships with Waste
Pickers, the case of the City of
Johannesburg.**



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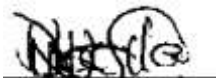
Date: 17th September 2018

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DECLARATION

I Nomathemba Elizabeth Dladla hereby declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted in the fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree, Master in Urban Studies, under the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signed on the day of 17th September 2018



Nomathemba Elizabeth N. Dladla

ABSTRACT

This research focuses on the City of Johannesburg's Environment Infrastructure and Service Delivery Department as well as Pikitup and how they have been engaging with reclaimers in the city of Johannesburg. There was a need to conduct research on the relationship between the state and the reclaimers in Johannesburg because of the loopholes and inconsistencies in the practices and forms of management that shape Pikitup's and COJ's programmes to work with reclaimers (SACN, 2016). The reclaimers that began to work with the City in programmes such as the Separation at Source were not included in the planning processes and City officials did not have guidelines that assist them in working with reclaimers. This research explores the practices of the state that are often missing from accounts (documents) of service delivery and engagement with reclaimers. Therefore, one of the main concepts unpacked in this research are state practices and instruments and how they produce certain norms (Sharma and Gupta, 2009; Olivier de Sardan, 2009; Bénit-Gbaffou, 2016). The notion of "integration" that links to other concepts such as partnership, formalisation, co-production and empowerment have also been looked into. For the purpose of this study the following question will be addressed: *How have state practices of City officials shaped and influenced the "integration" of reclaimers in the city Johannesburg?* The research was explored through qualitative and the ethnographic research methods. The City of Johannesburg has been going through a major shift in relation to its political context. Therefore, the study also investigates the current priorities of the City with regards to reclaimers. I demonstrate how the challenges faced by City officials are as a result of lacking guidelines and strategies. These challenges have also caused the fluidity of the City official's commitment to working with reclaimers. This has been explored principally through Pikitup and EISD officials in the City of Johannesburg.

Keywords: Reclaimer integration, State practices, Instruments

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DEDICATION

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ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CFO	Chief Financial Officer
COJ	City of Johannesburg
COO	Chief Operating Officer
CRUM	City Relationship and Urban Management
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
CUBES	Centre for Urbanism and the Built Environment Studies
CUP	Community Upliftment Programme
DA	Democratic Alliance
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
DST	Department of Science and Technology
EISD	Environmental Infrastructure Services Department
EPR	Extended Producer Responsibility
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GDARD	Gauteng Department: Agriculture and Rural Development
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IndWMP	Industry Waste Management Plans
IWMP	Integrated Waste Management Plan
IWMP	Integrated Waste Management Policy
JMPD	Johannesburg Metro Police Department
KPIs	Key Performance Indicators
MD	Managing Director
MMC	Member of Mayoral Council
NEMWA	National Environment Management: Waste Act
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NHLS	National Health Laboratory Service
NIOH	National Institute for Occupational Health
NWMS	National Waste Management Strategy

PPE	Personal Protective Equipment
PPP	Private Public Partnership
S@S	Separation at Source
SACN	South African Cities Networks
SAWPA	South African Reclaimers Association
SWAIC	South African Waste Information Centre
SLA	Service Level Agreements
SMMEs	Small to medium enterprises
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing
WIMS	Waste Information Management System

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CHAPTER ONE

THE RECOGNITION OF RECLAIMERS

Large cities have a high population that produces a lot of waste. Waste management is now a great concern of city authorities because of the role it plays in the hygiene, sanitation and aesthetics of the city and city dwellers. Recycling has become part of the waste management efforts of many City authorities, particularly outside Africa. In Johannesburg the duty of recycling has by some default become the informal duty of people referred to as reclaimers. This study is about these reclaimers and how the City has been collaborating and cooperating with them to rid the city of waste. According to Samson (2010a, 2009), there is a wide range of literature that explores the changes in the public sphere related to the privatisation of services provided by the public sector. This has become the norm and has resulted in the perpetuation of economic struggle for the marginalised in the context of South Africa, particularly amongst reclaimers. The purpose of this research is to investigate how a municipal institution engages with informal waste reclaimers to deal with waste management problems. This research particularly looks at relations between the reclaimers, the City of Johannesburg's (COJ) department of Environment, Infrastructure and Service Delivery as well as Pikitup (Samson, 2015). The EISD and Pikitup have worked with reclaimers and have introduced a number of programmes, such as Separation as Source (which will be discussed further in this report), making both departments relevant to for the purpose of this research.

The main reason why this needs to be conducted is because of the loopholes and inconsistencies in the practices and forms of management that shape Pikitup's and COJ's programmes to work with reclaimers (SACN, 2016). For example, the reclaimers that were part of the Separation at source programme were not included in the planning processes for the way forward and their access to the landfills were restricted because the City was involved (SACN, 2016). Moreover, there is an absence of the evaluation of the state working with reclaimers.

Furthermore, the main objective of this research was to understand the practices of the state that are often missing from accounts of service delivery and engagement with informal workers. This was explored through Pikitup and EISD officials in the City of Johannesburg and their process of "integrating" or working together with reclaimers within the waste management department. This will speak to other concepts such as partnership, formalisation, co-production and empowerment will also be looked into. Not only have these concepts been analysed, but the conceptualisation of waste management have also been explored.



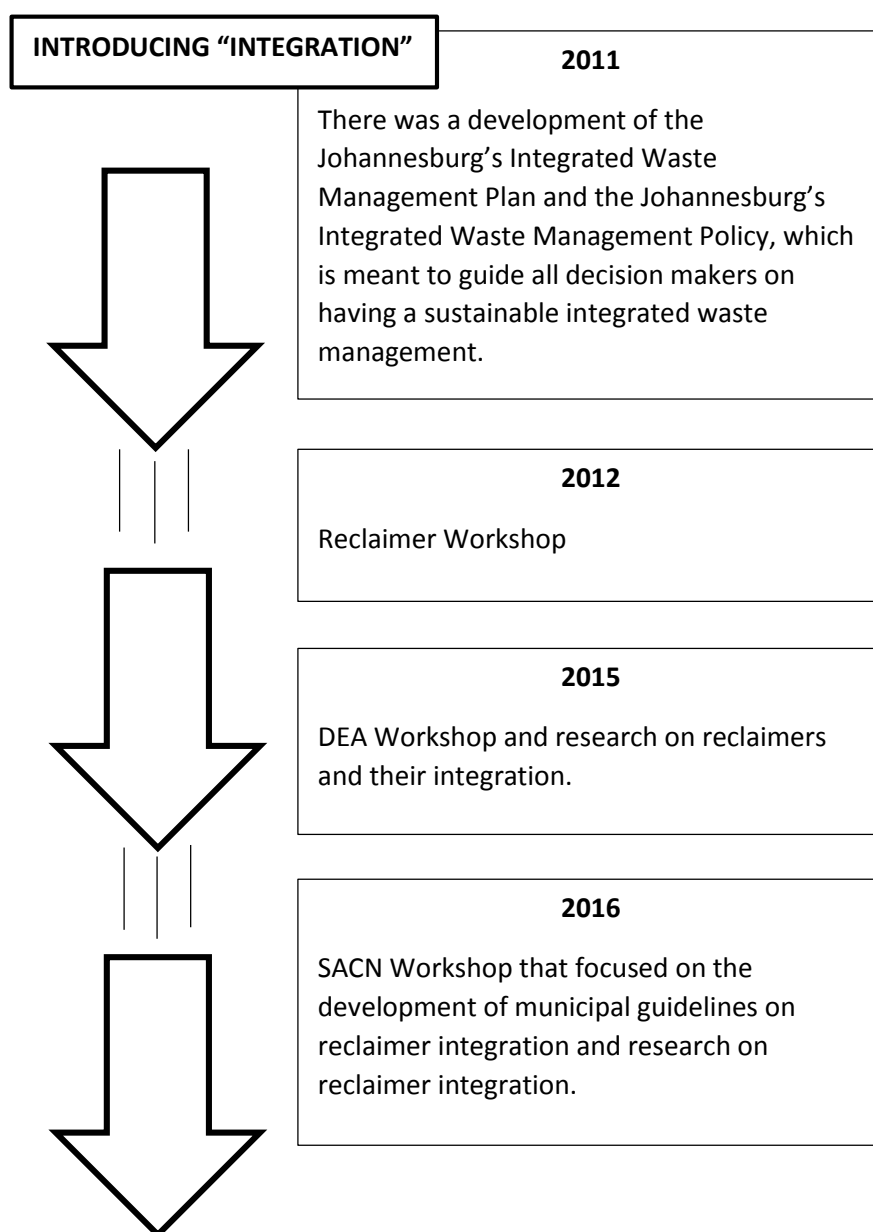
Figure 1.1. (above) Locality map showing landfills in Johannesburg.
 Source: Dladla, 2017 (adopted from google maps)

1.1. BACKGROUND

This section provides a background of what has taken place in relation to the engagement between the state and reclaimers. It also elucidates on who reclaimers are.

1.1.1. Waste and national government

The diagram below shows a timeline of events that have taken place in relation to the City of Johannesburg engaging with reclaimers.



*Figure 1.2. (above) timeline showing a contextual background on the events
Source: Dladla, 2017.*

Recently the various metropolitan municipalities in South Africa have come up with different initiatives to work with informal reclaimers (SACN, 2016). In the year 2011 National Waste Management Strategy obligated government to formally include the informal reclaimers into the municipal waste management systems (Samson, 2015). The National Waste Management Strategy (NWMS) saw the need to help create formal employment within the recycling sector in 2016 (SACN, 2016). The National department has been working with the City of Johannesburg, Sasolburg and Tshwane as a pilot study to ensure that the recycling sector is recognised. There have been a number of workshops that national government has had pertaining to the state working with reclaimers. For instance there was a workshop that was held at Wastecon in the year 2012 in East London. What was established in this workshop was all present stakeholders (that being municipalities and the national government) recognising that there is value in the work that reclaimers do in the recycling sector and their services need to be retained (DEA, 2015). It was debated that the in the process of the state working with the reclaimers needs to be within the parameters of the law. It could be argued that the result of little or hardly any progress at that time was due to the state stating laws that continuously placed the work of reclaimers within a grey space. Another workshop was convened at Pretoria in the year 2015, which was mainly organised by the DEA (DEA, 2015). The purpose of this workshop was for the DEA to compile a study on how the state could place reclaimers within the waste management system (ibid.). It was proposed that reclaimers should establish cooperatives in order for the state to formalise their work and for them to be integrated into the waste management system. It should be known that the notion of cooperatives was one of the many discussions that the stakeholders had in this workshop. It could be debated that the idea of reclaimers becoming cooperatives was not clearly explained, as there are still many reclaimers that prefer to work as individuals (SACN, 2016) and see cooperatives as having many challenges (CSIR, 2015).

In the year 2016 South African Cities Network (SACN) ran a workshop and this organisation was mainly investigating what has been done in relation to the reclaimers becoming part of the waste management system. What stands out in this workshop is that there was an establishment of principles that were meant to assist in the implementation for reclaimer integration (SACN, 2016). These principles are as follows: Respect and recognition; inclusivity; equity Redress of gender, race, national, class, ethnic etc. power; holistic and comprehensive understanding of waste and integration; formalisation; improved status and conditions; job protection and creation; payment for service and savings; increasing recovery; commitment to shifting mind-sets and actions (SACN, 2016). It was emphasised that the guidelines that must be informed by these principles is a sole responsibility of DEA as the national government (ibid.). These principles highlight a number of concepts such as formalisation, inclusion and empowerment that make the notion of integration very broad. As the notion of integration becomes broader, the definition of integration that the state uses becomes

blurred. A theorisation and analysis of the concept integration will be made in the second chapter of this report.

In the recent years the recycling has been done informally by reclaimers in South Africa (Miraftab, 2001). This has not only been the case in South Africa, but reclaimers have been collecting waste and recyclable materials in many developing countries such as Brazil and India (Samson, 2009; Scheinberg, 2012; Gupta, undated; Godfrey, *et al.*, 2015) and many other African countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia and Nigeria (Samson 2010).

1.1.2. Who are reclaimers?

Reclaimers are informal workers who collect reusable materials for themselves or to sell to agricultural and industrial sectors (Scheinberg, 2012). Furthermore, reclaimers' contribution to society is that they collect reusable materials or items of value from households, streets, containers, dumpsites, and in transfer stations, separation plants or landfills (Scheinberg, 2012). Reclaimers are also the principal actors at the base of the recycling value chain, collecting and valorizing recyclables from households and businesses and extracting usable materials from containers (Scheinberg, 2012). In the context of Johannesburg reclaimers mainly work in landfill sites and on the streets (Pholoto, 2016).

These individuals make a living out of this activity (Marello and Helwege, 2014). They are also referred to in different names such "reclaimers", "waste collectors" "reclaimers" and "recyclers" (Marello and Helwege, 2014). This is a diverse area of work where men, women and children are involved (*ibid*). It should also be considered that in other African countries reclaimers are dominantly men and they tend to monopolise the collection of certain material such as steel (Samson, 2010). Issues on gender are salient among reclaimers in some (Beall, 1997; Scheinberg, 2012; Samson, 2010).

In South Africa, a study conducted by South African Waste Information Centre (SAWIC) found that there are an estimated 62,147 reclaimers in South Africa – where 25,467 are street reclaimers and 36 680 work on landfills (SACN, 2016). In the year 2014 it was estimated that reclaimers had saved municipalities between R309.2 – R748.8 million in landfill airspace (CSIR, 2016). What is more salient in the context of South Africa is nationality, where most of the reclaimers are foreign nationals (Godfrey, *et al.*, 2015). With regards to foreign national reclaimers, national and local government is not clear on whether they will include foreign nationals in any interventions that have for reclaimers. South Africa also has children as reclaimers in landfills and this could be seen as one of the major problems that the City of Johannesburg and other municipalities need to address in their aspiring interventions as mentioned in section 1.2.1 of this chapter.

1.1.3. Reclaimers in Johannesburg

In the context of Johannesburg, Pikitup and the municipal department of Environment Infrastructure and Service Delivery started a programme called Separation at Source in 2012. The main purpose of this programme was to educate the reclaimers on the different types of waste and how to separate the waste within the landfills. It is also a programme that also aims to encourage households to separate their waste so that when it is collected cleaner material is taken to the different recycling companies. This means that the separated material becomes a product in itself or a raw material. One could argue that the pivotal goal of the Separation at Source programme is to emphasise the value of waste. This programme was linked with the materials recovery facility (MRF) at Robinson Deep landfill in Johannesburg. The municipality through Pikitup also initiated Jozi@work as a municipal instrument in 2013 that also contributed to working together with reclaimers. These programmes provided training for reclaimer cooperatives that were established – where 180 reclaimers established four cooperatives in 2012 (SACN, 2016.). The programmes' priority was to teach the reclaimers on the different types of waste (ibid.). Jozi@work had more than 1000 reclaimers involved with Separation at Source programme and it also provided the cooperatives work packages – that being protective gear such as gloves and a reflector for the public to easily identify them (SACN, 2016). These packages are what the City calls the personnel protective equipment (PPE) (DEA, 2015). The main aim of Jozi@work was to demonstrate the innovative ways in which the unemployment and poor service delivery could be addressed (Tau, 2015). The former Mayor of the City of Johannesburg also highlighted that Jozi@work was meant to challenge poverty and inequality (Tau, 2015).

What Jozi@work focused on working with cooperatives for 12 months and they treated them like businesses (ibid.). There are many points of view on how Jozi@work was meant to function. Some prominent arguments made are that Jozi@work was meant to empower the existing reclaimers, but it hardly succeeded to do so. One of the reasons for this was that new reclaimers were placed into collection sites where there were reclaimers already doing the job. Another issue was that there seemed to be poor communication between Pikitup (that was in charge of Jozi@work) and the reclaimers. The output of Jozi@work was to work with cooperatives similarly to the Separation at Source programme, but with a close analysis it worked with small businesses (SMMEs). It could be argued that individuals that had small businesses as reclaimers were empowered more than reclaimers that could have been part of cooperatives. One could question whether this programme or instrument fought inequality and poverty for all reclaimers or it did for a few of them.

Having looked at the recent emerging association between informal reclaimers and the City, reclaimers had already started working in the landfills by 1994 (Samson, 2016). In 2002 Pikitup tried to evict them and to replace them with a formal private company (ibid.). The formal company was

meant to take up the recycling process that the reclaimers already started. In the context of Marie Louise landfill, the reclaimer won a court case that gave them the right to freely access the landfill (Samson, 2016). This recent engagement process is interesting to investigate with regards to the processes the City will use and the main goals for the involvement of reclaimers in the waste management system.

In some developing countries such as India, Serbia, Columbia and Brazil, the engagement and partnership of informal reclaimers with waste management departments has been a success, despite previous tensions between the reclaimers and the municipalities (Scheinberg, 2012; Samson, 2015). The partnerships of the reclaimers were established formally and their contribution to waste management was recognised. In some cases frameworks were formulated to prioritise on recognising and working together with reclaimers (ibid.). Not only were the identities of reclaimers improved, but their economic and work security was made firm, where they could receive health insurance (Scheinberg, 2012).

In relation to Johannesburg there are still challenges such as officials seeing the reclaimers' activities as unreachable, the lack of needed facilities and reclaimers being excluded from waste management strategies (SACN, 2016). It also seems as though the City is informally formalising the informal reclaimers. Moreover, the engagement of officials with reclaimers seems to hardly follow set guidelines. Hence, it could be argued that there is a need to develop guidelines that will help officials work better with reclaimers in Johannesburg. According to the National Waste Management Strategy, the formulation of guidelines is one way to improve the relationship between the City and reclaimers. Therefore, this research will contribute to the investigation of how certain guidelines could be made.

From this background it is clear that the City of Johannesburg has had an interaction with reclaimers. There are parties that have worked with them such tertiary institutions. For example, Dr Samson from the University of Witwatersrand in the Geography department has done countless research on the reclaimers in Johannesburg. A number of students have written on waste pickers and their experiences and this indicates the importance of the work that reclaimers do. The reclaimers also have a relationship with a non-governmental organisation called Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO, 2017). This organisation is well known for doing research on the informal economy particularly among poor populations (WIEGO, 2017), therefore this NGO has also written a number of papers on reclaimers. Not only has this organisation written about reclaimers, but they have also helped facilitate their meetings and organise them as reclaimers. WIEGO has also played the role of being the mediator between the state and the reclaimers. Its vast knowledge in the informal economy has empowered the reclaimers in the sense that the value of the work that they do is emphasised by WIEGO.

More recently, specifically in the month of May 2017, the City had a workshop with the reclaimers, where Pikitup and EISD were involved. This workshop was based on the City finding better ways to work with reclaimers and to help with the provision of jobs in the recycling chain. Other stakeholders were part of this meeting, that being the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department, the managers of the different landfill sites in Johannesburg, WIEGO, and academics from the University of Witwatersrand. This could be seen as an important meeting, as most of the stakeholders were present and the most essential players (the City and reclaimers) shared their view points on what the way forward should be. Reclaimers have a relationship with other reclaimers nationally through the South African Reclaimers Association (SAWPA). This association works informally and it caters for street or open reclaimers and mainly reclaimers that work in the landfills (SAWPA, 2017). SAWPA's connection with the reclaimers nationally is through the reclaimers' committee that operate in the different areas. Within every province the reclaimer select a province coordinator that will communicate more closely with the association. These coordinators are part of the decision making process as representatives of the reclaimers. After the reclaimers-City workshop that was held in May 2017, the reclaimers decided to protest on the 10th of July 2017. This protest was mainly to challenge the state to terminate the contracts made with the private sector. This led to the intervention of Pikitup's Managing Director, which led to a different approach to the way the City engaged with reclaimers.

1.1.4. Landfills in Johannesburg

There are four operational landfills – the landfills are the main areas where the Separation at Source programme was initiated by Pikitup. This is also where some of the reclaimers have been collecting recyclable material, which has contributed to the waste management system of Johannesburg. It could be argued that the reclaimers working in the landfills have closed some of the gaps that the waste management system of Johannesburg is struggling with. This could also be the reason why the City of Johannesburg is claiming to “integrate” or work with the reclaimers.

The City of Johannesburg states that Robinson Deep and Marie Louise are high-intensity landfills, with almost 2 000 tonnes of waste delivered each day. Goudkoppies and Ennerdale accept 1 200 and 700 tonnes a day respectively (COJ, 2007).

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WASTE DISPOSED AT RESPECTIVE LANDFILLS

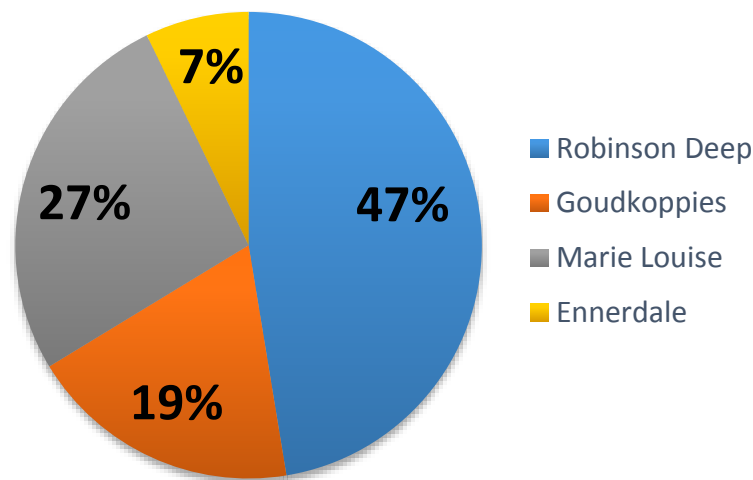


Figure 1.3. (above) Amount of waste disposed in the landfills in Johannesburg.
Source: Pikitup, 2017.

1.1.5. Cooperatives in Johannesburg

The notion of cooperatives has been highlighted earlier and this is something that the City of Johannesburg and the state as a whole want reclaimers to form. The basic definition of a cooperative is “an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic and social needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprise organised and operated on co-operative principles” (Cooperatives Act, 2005: 5). This is where the members can be both the producers and consumers of their product. The informal trading policy stipulates that cooperatives benefit a large number of people (Informal Trading Policy for the City of Johannesburg, undated). Therefore, the more members a cooperative has, the more the beneficiaries. In relation to reclaimers in Johannesburg, there are number of reclaimer cooperatives that were established through the implementation of the City programmes (that is, Separation at Source and Jozi@work). However, there are still many individual reclaimers within the city. Majority of the documents that the City of Johannesburg has which give account of the workshops and meetings they have had with reclaimers and on Integrated Waste Management so not give a detailed explanation of what cooperatives are. As mentioned earlier that Jozi@work worked more with SMMEs rather than cooperatives and this could be the reason why there are many individual reclaimers that are sceptical of joining cooperatives. The fear of joining cooperative may be due to lack of complete understating of what a cooperative is. The CSIR Co-operative good practice guide in the waste recycling sector shows the different encounters of reclaimer cooperatives in South Africa and it point outs that there are many individuals that do not have a plan or an understanding of their role in a cooperative (CSIR,

2015). Therefore, if there are individuals that do not know what their role is in a cooperative, the cooperative is most likely to be unsustainable (CSIR, 2015). It could be argued that cooperatives have been successful in the agriculture sector in the country (Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2012). In this case local farmers worked in cooperatives and the state was able to support them by providing resource and infrastructure that the farmers needed. The state's support sustained the farmer cooperatives making the agricultural sector a very productive throughout the country (Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2012). From this example it is important to note that the state supported farmers with all the necessary tools that they needed. One could reason that this is what needs to be done with the reclaimers. The lack of state support and of a clear understanding of what cooperatives are may be the reason why most reclaimers are not confident in joining cooperatives. Some of them even argue that they make more money as individual reclaimers and not within a cooperative (CSIR, 2015). There is also a need to give a clear explanation of the role members of a cooperative. It is important to note that the City has commenced training the reclaimers this year with the intention to encourage the formation of cooperatives and SMMEs.

1.2. RATIONALE & PROBLEM STATEMENT

Policy provides a form of structure and procedures that lead to the success of the particular set agendas (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2007). Given the context of the City of Johannesburg's engagement with reclaimers, the challenges that are being faced are a result of lacking guidelines or strategies. Moreover, the management of the reclaimers seems to be fraying because some of the reclaimers are hardly paid on time or entirely for the waste they collected (SACN, 2016). They have limited resources as well as restricted time of when they should collect on the landfills (SACN, 2016). The evaluation of City officials' work with reclaimers is undocumented thus far. This leads one to question whether the evaluation process does exist in the first place. It is also highlighted that policy and legislation in South Africa is currently inconsistent with regards to waste picking (Samson, 2012). ***The reasons for which this case study is important is because it demonstrates the challenges of the City officials which provides a different perspective on reclaimer integration; the engagement of the City with reclaimers has not been effectively monitored to identify a way forward on how reclaimers could be formally recognised and incorporated in the waste management system.*** Therefore, the problem statement here is as follows: ***no research has been conducted on the challenges that local officials face in designing and implementing reclaimer integration programmes.*** It seems as though the City's method of "integrating" reclaimers is being done informally. This is why there is a need to explore practices and instruments that Pikitup and the EISD have used or are using in this initiative and how the notion of integration is understood by the state in this case.

Samson (2012) also articulates in her review of literature on waste and recycling in African cities that there is little reference made to policy and legislation. This demonstrates that there a need for legislation and policy to be explored in the waste management sector. This also speaks to the context of Johannesburg, where the existing undocumented practices of city officials need to be researched on in order to understand how the state operates and how certain decisions are made, considering policy implementation.

1.3. DEFINITIONS

There is a need to formulate a topic related language which will give a better understanding on how the different terms are related. The definitions of certain words and terms that will be used throughout this report are given below. These definitions will demonstrate how the different terms have ben understood and interpreted in the context of the integration of reclaimers in waste management systems. Some of these terms and concepts will be further theorised within the second chapter.

Reclaimers

This term used to refer to people who informally collect reusable and recyclable materials. These are individuals that collect recyclable material from the landfills and the streets within the Metropolitan of Johannesburg informally. They ae referred to as waste reclaimers or recyclers by other authors, but this research report will use the term reclaimers. According to Scheinberg (2012) reclaimers are informal workers that collect reusable materials for themselves or sell to agricultural and industrial sectors for a living.

Waste management

This is the collection and disposal of waste with the aim to reduce, re-use and recycles waste. It also entails the transportation of different forms of waste to landfill sites and recycling or composting centres as well as cleaning the city, which involves sweeping the streets and collecting recyclable material along the streets (Damghani, et al, 2007; Pokhrel and Viraraghavan, 2005; Sharholly, *et al*, 2007).

State practices

According to Olivier de Sardan (2009) state practices entail “the operating modes of the public service, the professional culture of civil servants, the forms of administrative management and the relations between government officials and service users or citizens” (Olivier de Sardan, 2009: 41). This report will use this definition of state practices.

The City

This term will be used to mostly refer to the City of Johannesburg. Within the analysis of the City this term will be interchanged with the term state, especially when referring to state practices.

Integration

The City of Johannesburg partnering and collaborating with reclaimers as relevant stakeholders in the waste management sector.

1.4. RESEARCH AIM

This research aims to investigate the practices of officials in the City of Johannesburg, particularly within the EISD and Pikitup. The practices that will be investigated will look at how the City is working with reclaimers and how they are being into the City's waste management system. I received access to two research programmes which are: the Practices of the State in Urban Governance, located in the Centre for Urbanism and the Built Environment Studies (CUBES) and the DST-DEA-CSIR research programme on the "Lessons from reclaimer integration initiatives development of evidence based guidelines to integrate reclaimers into South African municipal waste management systems." Through this access I aim to do the following:

- To further investigate the existing approaches that the City has used and is still using to work with reclaimers.
- To look into the different methods the City has employed with regards to waste management
- To explore the City's notion of integration and what this means for the reclaimers.
- To look into the future plans that the City has in relation to working with reclaimers.
- To work towards formulating guidelines for reclaimers' integration onto the City's waste management system.

These objectives will be clearly demonstrated in research questions.

1.4.1. Research question

How have City officials' practices in Johannesburg shaped their approaches to "integrate" reclaimers?

This research attempts to look at the City officials' engagement and partnership with reclaimers. It also aims to unpack and understand the various state practices that are shaped by conflicting norms such as professional culture and social norms (Olivier de Sardan 2009).

1.4.2. Research sub-questions

1. What are the norms and practices of City officials and how do they influence their relationship with reclaimers?
2. To what extent have the practices of City officials and policy instruments supported or hindered their approaches to "integrating" of reclaimers?

3. What is the City officials' respective understanding of such "integration"?

1.5. REPORT OVERVIEW

Chapter 1: Introduction – this chapter provides the background on the process of the City of Johannesburg working with reclaimers. It also provided an outline of the various stakeholders that are involved in reclaimer integration. This chapter also provided a context of how the city and other stakeholders have been engaging with reclaimers. To add, problem statement, rationale and research question were discussed to give an understanding why this research should be done. Definitions of concepts and terms that will be used throughout the report have been given as well.

Chapter 2: Literature review – this chapter presents a critical review of existing literature on the following concepts:

- The governance of waste management sector.
- Approaches to reclaimer integration.
- State norms and practices.
- Policy instruments.

Chapter 3 discusses my research strategy. This is where the research methodology and methods are outlined. The chapter provides a detailed account of the research method that was used and how data was collected. It also explains that the focus of this research is to investigate the practices of city officials based on theory of state practices and instruments, making the research methodology deductive (Trochim, 2006).

Chapter 4 provides a critical analysis of the legislation, policies and programmes that are related to reclaimer integration. These are existing instruments that the City of Johannesburg uses to work with reclaimers within the City

Chapter 5 explores intra-state relations between the EISD and Pikitup. The purpose of this chapter is to look into the structures of and the interaction between EISD and Pikitup. The analysis made in this chapter will give a better understanding of the waste management practices and approaches taken by these bodies.

Chapter 6 looks at the construct of the state and its engagement with reclaimers. It also explores the instruments that the EISD and Pikitup use that are linked to the formation of a sustainable integrated waste management system and to the integration of reclaimers. What the chapter mainly argues is

that there are a number of challenges that City officials face in relation to the implementation of different projects.

Chapter 7 explores how the instruments used by the state have been transformed by the mobilisation of the reclaimers. It gives an account of how state practices have changed and how different platforms of engagement between the state and reclaimers have been established. The main argument of this chapter is on the transformation of the state.

Chapter 8 is the concluding chapter which analyses the transformation in the solid waste management system of Johannesburg. It also provides a summary of the narratives given in the finding chapters as well as a theoretical analysis.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter critically engages with two bodies of literature: literature on waste management within the Cities of the South together with the different approaches used to integrate reclaimers into the waste management sector and on City officials' practices and instruments. The theory discussed here provides a foundation for the analyses that will be made in the finding chapters. This chapter firstly outlines the theoretical threads used in this study. Secondly, it looks into the approaches taken by various cities in their waste management systems. Thirdly, the chapter discusses waste management services and how reclaimers are key role players in providing this waste management services in developing countries. Fourthly, state practices are theorised, which looks into the behaviour of officials as well as the factors that influence their decision making. Lastly, this chapter explores theory on policy instruments that are known a technical device that shapes socio-political relations. This chapter concludes on how this study will draw on the literature discussed. The combination of the bodies of literature will help analyse the practices of state officials in realtion to reclaimer integration.

2.1. THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

The diagram below shows the concepts that will be analysed in this literature review. There are three concepts that will be looked at namely; waste and its management systems and the understanding of recycling and this will be linked to informal reclaimers. The second concept that will be theorised is integration and this concept will be analysed with particular attention to waste management, recycling and informal reclaimers. Lastly the theorisation of state practices in cities of South.

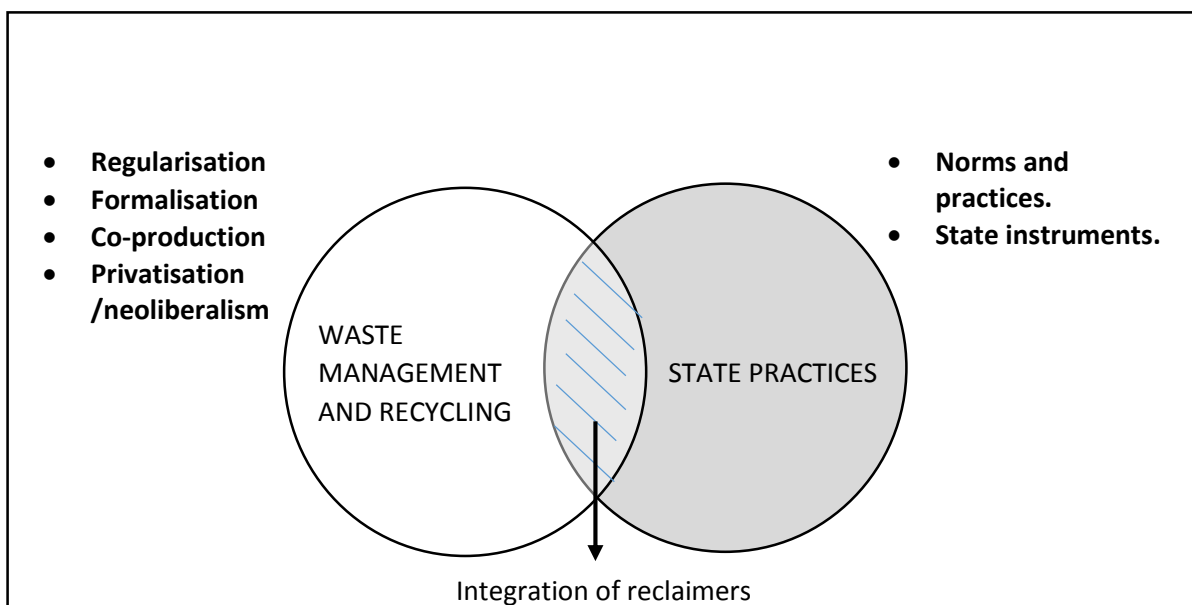


Figure 2.1. (above) Two theoretical threads.
Source: Dladla, 2017.

2.1.1. Provisional definitions of concepts

State practices

The activities of state officials that entail administrations and public services. These activities could be better unpacked by analysing what Olivier de Sardan (2015:1) calls official or professional norms and the behaviour of the officials themselves.

Waste management

This is a system that has a number of approaches used to effectively collect waste, separate it transport, sort, treat and dispose of it (Beall, 1997; Medina 2005; Paul *et al.*, 2012; Sternberg 2013). It should also be considered that various forms of urban governance have shaped the way waste is being managed in cities today.

Waste

This has a variation of definitions. Some people see waste as a form of value and raw materials and others see it as something that has no value and needs to be eliminated.

Integration of reclaimers

Based on the background of the reclaimers working together with the City integration this could be defined as the cooperation of different sectors (the informal and formal), it could also be interpreted as the partnership between the state and the reclaimers (SACN, 2016: 12).

Integration

This concept has been interpreted in a number of ways all through this research, where participants have shown that this is a relative concept. A universal definition of this concept in relation to this case study defines integration as recognition, consultation, inclusion and registration of reclaimers by the City of Johannesburg. It is also defined as the inclusion of reclaimer within the existing waste management system of the City. These definitions will be used when referring to integration within this research report.

2.1.2. Theoretical framework

This work has been mainly inspired by how the role of a planner has been defined over the past years. The role of a planner is to look into the reality of things and never to look at things in an apolitical way (Watson. 2002; 2003). I am not only a technocrat as planner, but I am a professional that needs to interrogate what happens on the ground – meaning that the practices of the state and how they shape a certain space or the relations it has with the public must be studied. This is what Throgmorton (2003) calls persuasive story telling about the future. From the analysis of the state practices within

EISD and Pikitup I have been able to see the trends of how these departments function which could be informative to how things could be done in the future.

The theoretical framework of this research has adopted from Bénit-Gbaffou and Oldfield's work (2011) from the article called "Accessing the State: Everyday Practices and Politics in Cities of the South". This work looks into how the state is accessed through politics and day-to-day practices in the South. They further look at the different forms of representations and engagements between the state and the public. The method employed within this work helps demonstrate the different views of various authors on the state. The narrative used in this article has been adapted in my research in relation to how state practices (everyday practices and politics) have shaped the integration of reclaimers and the relationships that has been forged between the two parties and other stakeholders. The work of Olivier de Sardan (2009) on state practices and practical norms has also inspired my work. His work on the articles "State Bureaucracy and Governance in West francophone Africa. Empirical diagnosis, historical perspective," and "Practical norms: informal regulations within public bureaucracies (in Africa and beyond)" show through ethnographic and qualitative approaches different state practices and how these practices are influenced by the practical norms (which have been explained in chapter 2). Within his work, Olivier de Sardan (2009) presents the daily experiences of civil servants and the public and how this defines the African state. This method has been employed in my research to explore the governance of waste and the relationship between the state and reclaimers through the City officials' practices.

Another theoretical lens used for this research is that of the Weberian method. Weber's theory of bureaucracy looks into the structure of the organisations and the various features within them— that being the modern state (Evans and Rauch, 1999). In the context of my research this would be the structure of EISD and Pikitup and the features make these "organisations" function on a day-to-day basis. Weber's theory looks into the rationalities of how the organisations reach their set goals (Evans and Rauch, 1999). The reason for the use of this theory is to explore the different forms of power that Weber mentions. The forms of power that could be found within organisations are traditional power, charismatic power and legal power. Von Holdt (2010) points out an important fact that the Weberian model of ideal bureaucracy that has shaped states is slightly different in the context of South Africa due to its history (2010: 9). He says that the post- apartheid bureaucracy is different in its functionalities and rationalities. But he also argues that this does not completely remove the fact that there are different forms of power discussed by Weber that are at play within the South African state. Therefore, I found this part of Weber's theory relevant, as this unpacked how the departments under

study are influenced by the forms of power that exist in the City of Johannesburg (which will be explained in chapter 5).

2.2. THE THEORISATION OF WASTE MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

2.2.1. Waste management systems and recycling

There are different lessons that can be drawn from the studies made on waste management systems in developing countries. It is argued that within cities of the South waste production has been increasing due to rapid urbanisation (Manaf *et al.*, 2009; Damghani *et al.*, 2007). In some of these developing countries there has been an attempt to use different methods of reducing waste production but that does not solve the issue of the management of the waste produced in rapidly urbanising areas (Nnorom, 2009; Damghani *et al.*, 2007; Abila and Kantola, 2013). In Nigeria, City authorities determined that the advancement in technology as well as the involvement of informal recyclers would improve their waste management system and help reduce waste (Abila and Kantola, 2013). Other developing cities such as Bangalore (India) and Faisalabad (Pakistan) acknowledge informal recyclers, as the informal waste economy provides livelihood opportunities for them (Beall, 2012).

In developing cities the collection and disposal of waste has been characterised by the level of economic development and cultural norms (Oteng-Ababio, 2014). It is argued that some City authorities (municipalises) create models that categorise waste as “a problem that needs to be eliminated” (Oteng-Ababio, 2014) and this could be seen as a cultural norm, as opposed to seeing waste as a form of value (Ojeda-Benitez *et al.*, 2000). It seems that City authorities have characterised waste as invaluable in this context. Oteng-Ababio (2014) posits that this view of problematising waste results in the inefficiency of waste management systems. This inefficiency has led to the lack of proper disposal and re-use of waste. For example, it is pointed out by Abila and Kantola (2013) that there are no formal recyclers in Nigeria and it is only informal reclaimers that do this job. This is true for cities such as Bangalore and Faisalabad (Beall, 1997). Guerrero and her colleagues (2012) further emphasise this point as they posit that the separation and recycling of waste is done by what they call ‘informal stakeholders’ (Guerrero *et al.*, 2012). Based on this statement it could be concluded that there is a gap within the waste management system and this gap has been closed by informal reclaimers in cities within developing countries. Albeit there have been municipalities that give private companies the right to buy recyclable materials directly from the landfills for example in South Africa and in Zimbabwe (Samson, 2008; Tevera, 1993).

The importance of recycling

Cointreau (1984) compares the practices of waste collection and recycling within cities of the North and of the South. He posits that recycling has mainly taken place spontaneously in the South due to the need of a livelihood or when markets have affordable prices for the material. In the North, recycling takes place due to political will and or public interest on the environment (Cointreau, 1984). It is argued by Forbes and his colleagues that recycling waste has been instrumental to the re-defining of waste management across the world (Forbes et al., 2001). This statement may be counter argued in the context of most cities of the South. Ahmed and Ali (2006) posit that the recycling practices in the South are done informally by the urban poor and they are not enhanced by any policies. This is why Gonzalez-Torre and Adenso-Diaz (2005) point out that recycling practice will only be encouraged by social influences and the formulation of regulation around recycling. Oteng-Ababio (2014:1) mainly argues that re-defining waste management systems links to rethinking waste as resource. This will encourage the recycling of waste in cities of the South.

The Reconceptualization of Waste

Waste could be seen in various ways as others see it as having the potential of being converted to a resource (Oteng-Ababio, 2014). Based on this point it could be argued the understanding of waste shapes waste management systems in a better way. To understand the concept of waste it is important to look into how various authors define this concept. Waste management systems will also be explored. It is also important to know the value and the role of reclaimers as they play an important role in the management of waste and its recycling (Beall, 1997).

What is waste?

Waste should be seen as a form of value and not simply refuse (Oteng-Ababio, 2014; Samson, 2010). Having a mentality of discarding every product once it is used once results in `the improper disposal of some valuable resources (Oteng-Ababio, 2014). The moment the public see waste as a resource that could serve as secondary raw materials (Velis, 2015) waste will be seen for its values and this will lead the reduction of waste. It is debated that waste minimisation and recycling remain a continued concern (Beall, 1997). It is point of concern because there are authors that believe that the disposal of waste is a helpful act of putting something in its right place (Cheyne and Purdue, 1995). The table below provides the various ways in which some authors define waste:

AUTHOR	DEFINITION
Schenck et al (2012: 10)	Any material that is considered to be of no further use to the owner
EU (2015:131)	Waste is any substance or object which the holder discards or is required to discard

OECD (Oteng-Ababio, 2014: 2)	Wastes are materials other than radioactive materials intended for disposal
Samson (2012:8)	The production of waste is a necessary corollary of the production of value.
Lox (1994)	Either an output with (a negative market) no economic value from an industrial system or ant substance or object that has been used by the consumer and will not be reused.

Table 2.1 (above) Various meanings of waste.
Adapted by Dladla, 2017.

These different definitions clearly indicate that that definition of waste is determined by the norms, political economies and urban histories of particular communities and by individuals. But individuals can also use their agency to determine what waste is (Samson, 2012). The different definitions of waste show how waste in itself is very complex (Oteng-Ababio, 2014). To further add to the complexity, Elwood and Patashik (1993) argue that waste is a human concept and it could be mean anything because it does not exist in nature. On this point it could be argued that the concept of waste could be interpreted as anything. Reclaimers interpret waste as a resource and this is what most authorities are unable to do – that is seeing waste as a resource (Oteng-Ababio, 2014).

2.2.2. Recycling and informal reclaimers

Some city authorities see the need for informal recycling methods to be included within the formal waste management systems (Sharholly et al., 2007; Manaf et al., 2009; Viraraghavan, 2005, Miraftab, 2004). The separation of waste and the collecting recyclables contributes to the urban community and this process involves the work that informal reclaimers do. As mentioned in Chapter 1, reclaimers contribute largely to the environment and to the waste management system with what they do.

For instance, they help create environmental benefits for the waste management departments, through removing the recyclables – eventually increasing the lifecycle of landfill sites (DEA, 2015; Oteng-Ababio, 2014; Gupta, undated). Not only do they contribute to the environmental benefits, but they also contribute to cutting down costs for municipalities. This entails the advantage of municipalities saving more with regards to recycling and transport costs (Gupta, undated; Scheinberg, 2012). Reclaimers in the context of South Africa are even said to spot illegal conduct of miscreants around landfills (DEA, 2015). This could be a form of surveillance to assist city security agents. Reclaimers also contribute to their households by being part of this informal economy or what is called the circular economy (Velis, 2015).

The fact that recycling contributes to the sustainability of landfills shows that the work of reclaimers has an environmental impact. Not only can the recycling process be seen as a contribution to the

environmental upkeep, but also seen as a normal daily income earning activity for other individuals (Beall, 1997), where reclaimers also collect the material for their own personal use (Samson, 2010). It is also interesting that the new products are also produced from the recycled materials the reclaimers collect (De Kock 1986; Samson, 2010). The fact that the informal recyclers or reclaimers separate and recycle waste at household level; this has reduced the amount of waste local authorities collect (Oteng-Ababio, 2014)

2.2.3. Understanding Waste Management Systems

This section looks at the waste management systems of different municipalities in the South. It outlines the various perceptions that the municipalities have on the management of waste and the presence of reclaimers. The reason for this discussion is to provide a better picture of what municipalities experience with regards to the waste management systems put in place. Oteng-Ababio (2014) posits that the best approach for waste management systems is to have an integrated system that has control over processes that generate waste, handling waste, and dispose of it.

Most cities in developing countries used dumpsites and some used landfills for the disposal of waste. In the Philippines the waste management centre proposed the development of a landfill due to the large amounts of waste being disposed of in the dumpsites (Paul *et al.*, 2012). In places like India the landfills and dumps have caused public health issues (Sharholly *et al.*, 2007). Not only do the landfills and dumpsites that are used by municipalities a health hazard, but some of the cities experience illegal dumping along river banks (Pokhrel and Viraraghavan, 2005; Guerrero *et al.*, 2012). Another challenge is that the generation of waste is increasing (Guerrero *et al.*, 2012). It is interesting that some of the municipalities view the dependence of reclaimers on those dumpsites and landfills for their livelihood as a challenge (Paul *et al.*, 2012).

The different methodologies used when looking at waste management systems

Solid waste management systems have been studied through a combination of research methods, but the most dominant method is quantitative for the collection of statistics and tonnages (Guerrero *et al.*, 2012). Research has been done in places like Ghana (Oteng-Ababio, 2014), Nigeria (Ezeah, and Roberts, 2012; Abila and Kantola, 2013), Philippines, India, Brazil and more (Scheinberg, 2012; Samson, 2015). Data has been collected in the number of times waste is collected, how many tonnages and how many households and other facilities each local municipality caters for. The table below displays the quantitative research done by Guerrero and her colleagues (2012).

Urban areas visited, country Gross Domestic Product (GDP), waste generation rate (kg/capita/day) and solid-waste origins studied; 1 = household; 2 = offices, schools; 3 = construction; 4 = health care; 5 = agriculture; 6 = industry; and 7 = shops.

Continent	Country	GDP (US\$)	Year of study	City	Waste origin arriving at the official disposal site	Waste generation rate (kg/capita/day)
Africa	Ethiopia	344	2009	Addis Ababa	1,2,4,6,7	0.32
	Kenya	738	2009	Nakuru	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	0.50
	Malawi	326	2009	Lilongwe	1	0.50
	South-Africa	5786	2009	Pretoria	1,2,3,4,7	0.65
	South-Africa	5786	2009	Langeberg	1,3,4,5,6,7	0.65
	South-Africa	5786	2009	Emfuleni	1,3,6	0.60
	Tanzania	509	2010	Dar es Salam	1,2,4,5,6,7	0.50
	Zambia	985	2010	Lusaka	1,2,3,4,6,7	0.37
Asia	Bangladesh	551	2007, 2008, 2009	Gazipur	1,4	0.25
	Bhutan	1805	2010	Thimphu	1,2,3,7	0.54
	China	3744	2010	Beijing	1,3,4,7	0.80
	India	9232	2010	Doddaballapur	1,2,3,6,7	0.28
	Indonesia	2349	2009, 2010	Banda Aceh	1,4	0.90
	Indonesia	2349	2009, 2010	Ambon	1,4	0.90
	Indonesia	2349	2010	Jogjakarta	1,2,5,7	0.90
	Nepal	364	2007	Kathmandu	1,2,6,7	0.35
	Pakistan	495	1995	Lahore	1,2,6,7	0.84
	Philippines	1995	2009	Quezon City	1,2,3,4,7	0.67
	Sri Lanka	2068	2010	Balangoda	1,2,3,4,6,7	0.83
	Sri Lanka	2068	2010	Hambantota	1,2,3,4,7	0.81
	Thailand	4043	2009, 2010	Bangkok	1,2,3,4,6,7	1.10
	Turkey	8215	2010	Kutahya	1,2,4,6,7	0.60
	Turkey	8215	2010	Bitlis	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	0.90
	Turkey	8215	2010	Amasya	1,2,4,7	1.20
Central & South America	Costa Rica	4084	1985, 1995	Cartago	1,2,3,4,5,7	0.7-0.8
	Costa Rica	6386	2011	San José	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7	1.10
	Costa Rica	3370	1991	Talamanca	1,7	0.30
	Costa Rica	4084	1992, 1995	Tarcoles	1,7	0.30-0.50
	Costa Rica	5529	2001	Tuis	1,7	0.30
	Ecuador	1771	1995	Pillaro	1,7	0.50
	Ecuador	1771	1995	El Carmen de los Colorados	1,7	0.50
	Nicaragua	1069	2008, 2009, 2010	Managua	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	0.48
	Nicaragua	1069	2009, 2010	Masaya	1,2,4,7	0.40
	Peru	4447	2008, 2009, 2010	Cañete	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	0.47
	Suriname	5888	2008, 2009	Paramaribo	1,7	0.47
Suriname	5888	2008	Asidohopo	-*	0.28	

* Absence official disposal site.

Figure 2.2. (above) Data collection of local municipality solid waste management
Source: Guerrero et al. 2012.

Stakeholders involved in waste management

Within the solid waste management systems in these cities is that the stakeholders that are considered very important are the local authorities and the private sector. The educational and research institutions as well as political groups, healthcare organisations are seldom made a part of this system. Reclaimers have been regarded as ‘unrecognised’ stakeholders (Guerrero et al., 2012). This could be seen as a problem for solid waste management systems, as reclaimers are key role players in reducing waste in dumps and landfills (Gupta, undated). Therefore, there is a need for them to be ‘recognised’ stakeholders.

Various needs of municipalities

Guerrero and her colleagues (2012) also highlight that waste management systems in developing countries do not adequate equipment to collect and separate waste. This is because there is a lack of knowledge on the technologies that could make the separation of waste efficient (ibid.). In places such as India organic waste is left unattended to and this has attracted animals and pests (Sharholly et al.,

2007). This has is another health hazard and Sharholly and colleagues point out that waste separation at source and recycling could be a solution to this issue,

Municipalities and reclaimer integration

Over time municipalities have realised that the development of roads and having better transport makes the collection of waste efficient and many areas in the cities are easily accessed (Guerrero *et al.*, 2012). However, in the context of most of these cities having such infrastructure is very important. It has also been recognised that informal reclaimers are the key role player in separation and recycling waste (Huysman, 1994; Sharholly *et al.*, 2007; Paul *et al.*, 2012; Samson, 2012; Chen and Skinner, 2014; Oteng-Ababio, 2014). The integration of informal reclaimers into the waste management systems of municipalities was eventually seen as a solution to some of the issues mentioned above (Samson, 2010; Chen and Skinner, 2014). This has been a success in India, Pune and Brazil (*ibid*). The reclaimers were provided with resources to make their work conducive (Chen and Skinner, 2014). Reclaimer cooperatives worked closely with the local authorities in these three places (Chen and Skinner, 2014). This shows that waste management systems are beginning to recognise reclaimers and the work they do within developing countries. Another change that is evident is the awareness of how important recycling and infrastructure is to manage the generation of waste.

2.3. WASTE MANAGEMENT SERVICE DELIVERY – THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CITY AND RECLAIMERS

There are many ways in which informal reclaimers contribute to the waste management in cities of developing countries. As mentioned earlier that some municipalities have made attempts partner or work with informal reclaimers and these have been carried in Brazil, India, Columbia, Cario and more. The directions taken speak to the meanings of integration in the different contexts. These different directions could help conceptualise integration in relation to informal reclaimers working with local authorities. The conceptualisation of integration itself is one that is not clear, therefore unpacking certain concepts may give a clear understanding of what it means to integrate.

2.3.1. The notion of neoliberalism

The process of some local authorities working with informal reclaimers has led to the debate between Samson (2010) and Miraftab (2004) on the concept of neoliberalisation. On the one hand, Miraftab (2004) argues that the City of Cape Town used a neoliberal tactic to deliver the service of waste collection. She sees this as a neo-liberal approach because the state involved reclaimers to cut down its own costs (2004:240), under-paying and exploiting community labour (as cheap or voluntary) in the process, and even having contractors reproduce exploitative labour practices on their own community. The aim of the City was to formulate community-based approaches for post-apartheid waste collection programmes (Miraftab, 2004). The main reason for this strategy was for the City to

cater for areas that were excluded into its jurisdiction, such as townships and informal areas that were given minimal services during the apartheid regime (ibid.). The City focused on community participation, empowerment and social capital, through providing jobs for community members (ibid.). As a result, the City formulated a partnership scheme in 1997 that included the municipality, the company that was meant to manage projects and finances and the local residents that were responsible for collecting the waste. Through this a hundred jobs were created and nine entrepreneurs (ibid.).

In as much as the aim of this strategy was to empower the informal reclaimers, it was more beneficial for the City in terms of reducing its labour and costs (Miraftab, 2004). Miraftab (2004) argues that the concepts of participation and social capital are depoliticised by neo-liberal agencies. For instance, social capital is stripped off of its economic, power, network and political structures. This makes social capital seem as though it has no complexities and it is made a non-representational concept. The neo-liberal governance also depoliticised empowerment, where the true issues of oppression are removed (ibid.). Besides, officials made themselves believe that they empowered societies by giving a few marginalised people underpaying jobs (ibid.).

On the other hand, Samson (2010) posits that neoliberalisation is not the only factor that needs to be assessed in the process of informal reclaimers working with the state. She argues that the notion of privatisation and neoliberalisation should not be analysed without the consideration of other factors such as exploitative racial, gender and class relations (2010:405). The analysis of neoliberalism in this context needs to be unpacked together with gender and racial processes that established the institutional context of South Africa (Samson, 2010:408). Therefore, neoliberalisation could be seen as one of the factors that shaped the privatisation of waste management in South Africa. In her analysis of the case study of Johannesburg, she points out that privatisation in Johannesburg is spatially separated and that this form of privatisation together with race, gender and class produce one another (Samson, 2010: 405, 425).

Samson further looks into the issues a neoliberal state and how the local government has privatised the waste management services including recycling (Samson, 2009). Cities in South Africa are now focusing on recycling yet this was something that was done by reclaimers before. They are incorporating recycling into their waste management systems, but this is through public-private partnerships. This will make the private sector to have a right to reclaim the material in landfills which will eventually exclude the reclaimers and rid them of their livelihood (Samson, 2009). This links to Harvey's (2005) argument on how governments have created domains of capitalism. It is for certain that the private sector will have more of a say and the power to control over how services should be delivered. In the context of reclaimers this means that the private sector will dominate the waste

industry and dispossess the reclaimers. The nature of a neoliberal state and how public-private partnerships work does greatly affect the work reclaimers do as well as their accessibility to recyclable material. Public-private partnership exist in many cities of the South that are faced with issues on how to manage in ever increasing waste. The second section explores the how privatisation also affects reclaimers.

2.3.2. Privatisation

Within the waste management was explored in Batangas City, the Philippines (Panganiban, 2016). The solid waste management department of the city had no capacity to further provide this service within the city and this led to the privatisation of service delivery by contracting a company called the Royal Waste Management Company (Panganiban, 2016). The author argues that the provision of the waste management as a service improved and it also led to effectiveness and adequacy of the service (ibid.). It is also pointed out that private public partnerships could lead to more growth of the service and its sustainability. However, they point out that this form of partnership does not enhance equity, as the urban areas received better quality of the service as compared to the rural areas (as the company delivered its services in both areas) (ibid.). The residents in the rural area claimed that they did not notice any difference since the private company was hired to collect waste. Though, the author states that the disputes of the residents in the rural area were refuted because the waste collection company did make an impact on the level of awareness and every aspect of waste management was explored – that being the adequacy, sustainability, equity and progressiveness of the service (Panganiban, 2016). The attempt by the city of Batangas partnering with the private sector could be seen as the “integration” of the state and the private sector which excludes informal reclaimers or recyclers. The following section looks at how the reclaimers could also play an important role in their recognition to the government.

2.3.3. Mobilisation of reclaimers

In the context of Belo Horizonte, Brazil reclaimer integration focused on the transformation of the state’s agenda with regards to waste management (Samson, 2015). A political party called the Workers Party was involved in integrating the reclaimers and this took place at a local and national scale of the state (Samson, 2015). Reclaimers in this case mobilised themselves which contributed to the state developing certain approaches that included the work of reclaimers within the waste management processes. The state and non-governmental organisations were also involved, but key players were the Asmare association of reclaimers and the Pastoral de Rau that established the country’s first cooperative of reclaimers (Samson, 2015). In the state’s engagement with the reclaimers the Asmare association of reclaimers was officially made a partner for waste collection (Samson, 2015). This means that the association was formally made an entity within the state that contributed to the delivery of waste management and recycling services.

The reclaimers in this case were very organised and structured. Moreover, the interest of the political party (Worker's Party) is what led to the state's transformation. Therefore, the state's engagement with the reclaimers led to the Asmare association of reclaimers being officially made a partner for waste collection (Samson, 2015). Most importantly, the state's form of integration was to partner with the reclaimers that already provided a service that the state could not adequately provide. What is derived from this approach is that the governance of the state was collaborative, where it worked with the reclaimers, the Worker's Party and Asmare association of reclaimers (Samson, 2015). It could be argued that this form of "integration" included reclaimers mobilised themselves to be recognised by the state.

2.3.4. Regularisation

According to Scheinberg (2012), there are countries that have worked with reclaimers and this has led to their empowerment and formalisation in relation to the work they do which is part of waste management. In countries such as India, Brazil and Serbia, reclaimers were recognised through their organisation as contributors to the economy of their countries (Scheinberg, 2012). In Serbia it is stated that the reclaimers gained occupational recognition through a national project that prioritised on working with them (Scheinberg, 2012). This led to the regularisation of the various activities that the reclaimers do – where the 'recycler' or the 'collector of secondary materials' was incorporated in the national registry of official occupations (ibid. 2012:5). This approach supported all reclaimers in the area by giving them healthcare insurance and land for recycling materials (Scheinberg, 2012). This approach was more on empowering the reclaimers to be able to get resources they had little or no access to before. This notion of working with or "integrating" reclaimers here is seen through the lens of reclaimers' empowerment and their work being regularised. The reclaimers in this case are empowered because these countries placed certain social programmes for them, such as healthcare insurance.

2.3.5. Coproduction

What is co-production?

There is an ultimate definition of this concept by Ostrom which says that co-production is "the process through which inputs used to provide a good or service are contributed by individuals who are not in the same organization" (Ostrom, 1996, 1073). This definition has been supported by many authors such as Bavaird (2007), Brandsen and Pestoff (2006) and Whitaker (1980) and others that challenge it such as Joshi and Moore (2004). According to Bovaird (2007) the notion of co-production is where the

professional is willing to share power with the users (members of the community). It is said that co-production is becoming more desired based on budget constraints of the state and the increasing consumer awareness of the importance of their own determination to produce and deliver services (Roger, *et al.*, undated). According to Ostrom (1996) this is why it is important to see all civil servants and citizens as decision makers in the process of service delivery. From their theoretical analysis Brandsen and Pestoff's, (2006) point out that co-production is currently being used to understand the role of volunteers and community organizations in the production and delivery of services.

They posit that the increase of co-production is evident from the number of publications on this concept (Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006). Looking at case studies where co-production has been practiced in order to effectively conceptualise it is complex because one cannot generalise widely. This is because the way co-production is practiced is related to particular contexts (Bovaird, 2007). Looking at the examples that Bovaird (2007) uses in his article indicates justifies his statement, as most of these examples could be easily interpreted through other concepts such as participation, partnership and collaboration. As elucidated by Brandsen and Pestoff (2006) co-production could be interpreted as the integration of the states and the markets (2006: 495). This also links to the argument that co-production overlaps with concepts such as co-management and co-governance (Osborne and McLaughlin, 2004). These authors also explain that these other concepts have a pragmatic communication with co-production, where co-production looks at the involvement of citizens, and co-managing looks at the interaction of organisations, making them compatible concepts (Osborne and McLaughlin, 2004). Some theorists such as Whitaker (1980) and Bovaird (2007) categorise different types of co-production as shown on the table below:

BOVAIRD'S 3 TYPES OF CO-PRODUCTION (2007: 848)	WHITAKER'S 3 TYPES PF CO-PRODUCTION (1980: 242)
Professionals as sole service deliverer Professionals and users/ communities as co-deliverers Users/communities as sole deliverers	Citizens requesting assistance from public agents; Citizens providing assistance to public agents Citizens and agents interacting to adjust each other's service expectations and actions.

Table 2.2. (above) Two typologies of co-production.
Source: Dladla, 2017.

The content within the table above presents the different ways in which some authors understand co-production. What is interesting is that some of the classifications lean closely towards other ideas such as public participation. Looking at Bovaird's first and last type, these indicate that only one party is involved in the process of producing or delivering services. Comparing these classifications to Ostrom's (1996) definition, professionals being the sole service deliverers could be seen as the state just doing its job to deliver services and partaking in co-production. However, this could be seen as the state simply doing its job and delivering services and not coproducing the services with any other agent. The only classification that suffices as co-production is when professionals and users or communities are both involved in the production and delivery of services. One could argue that Whitaker's (1980) classifications all have an aspect of co-production because the citizens and the state are involved. However, the state or agents and the citizens are involved at different levels within the different types he gives. Based on what these authors have defined co-production requires participation from both organisations that are co-producing and co-delivering services. Not only does it require participation, but it also promoted the development and rebirth of democracy as it allows citizens or users to be part of the development of their own spaces (Baiocchi, 2003; Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006).

The rationale of co-production is mainly due to financial stresses and the lack of efficiency within state departments (Joshi and Moore, 2004; Bovaird, 2007). This is the reason why some public service producers are increasing the involvement of users and consumers in service production and delivery (Roger, *et al.*, undated; Ostrom 1996). Roger and his colleagues (undated) argue there are many local governments are limited by the law to self-supply of public services, making co-production hard to achieve. There are cases where this does not happen and large influential local administrations may use their political power to prevent substitution or replacement (Roger *et al.*, undated). There are also some cases where policymakers are not interested in the process of co-production but interested in the quality of the services it delivers (its adequacy and sustainability) (Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006). Rich (1981) adds that co-production is a point of interest because of budget constraints where local government providers become inclined to pay more consideration to the possibility of increased consumer production. , Joshi and Moore (2004) highlight that co-production is mainly practiced in poor countries and in their exploration why this is the case, they determined that it was because of the incapacity of the state to deliver services. This gives rise to what Joshi and Moore (2004) call governance drivers and logistical drivers; where governance drivers respond to failures in governance capability locally or nationally and logistical drivers respond when some services cannot be delivered efficiently (Joshi and Moore, 2004: 44).

Case study of co-production

Some examples of this are communities contributing to the security services in and around their living area (Ostrom, 1996) or substituting solid waste collection services (Roger, *et al.*, undated).

Buds and Hinojosa (2012) give another example of co-production of water. From this example it pointed out that there was an increasing usage of water in the area due to industrial and mining activities. In this case water was co-produced because of mining processes and this was made possible by the National Water Authority working together with local water authorities (*ibid.*). This led to the privatisation and the integration of water resources management (Budd and Hinojosa, 2012). It could be argued that this is similar to how waste management systems are making attempts to work with reclaimers and other stakeholders due to the increase of waste production.

In the case of Peru, what was done was to increase the participation of the private sector, which entailed the commercialisation and decentralisation of water governance (Budds and Hinojosa, 2012). The integration of water resources incorporated all the businesses and groups that use water in the area and it also allowed them to be involved in decision making processes (*ibid.*).

This example from Peru is a good example of institutionalised co-production, where according to Joshi and Moore (2004) the lines between the public and private sector are unclear. Not only is this line made blurry, but also the functions and the activities of the state completely change from solely providing goods and services to encouraging business (Majone, 1997).

Advantages and disadvantages of co-production

Co-production had been justified as a response to the state's incapacity to deliver certain services, but its limitations and advantages are discussed by various authors. Coproduction may transfer some power from professionals to users and it gives users wide choices. It mobilises community resources, but community members may not always be able to deal with public issues. One of the disadvantages of practicing co-production is that professionals are not able to use their expertise and it may cause them to be resistant to the idea of co-production (Bovaird, 2007) Albeit he also points out that this practice increases the chances for clientelism (Bovaird, 2007: 851). This could be seen as a disadvantage because not all citizens will have access to resources. In addition, the relationship between the state (professionals) and the community or users has risks, where there could be unclear divisions of role (Bovaird, 2007). The blurry lines between the public and private sector could also raise issues of accountability and it could lead to the control of resources being divided and unclear (Joshi and Moore, 2004; Bovaird, 2007). It is also important to know that there are cases where co-

production is the best alternative, but there will be institutions that will hinder this practice (Roger, *et al.*, undated). It is therefore, important to understand how institutional arrangements could hinder or encourage co-production.

The practice of co-production is still seen as an “unorthodox” way of delivering services in developing countries (Joshi and Moore, 2004). One could that the idea of co-production is still not recognised in developing countries. Therefore, co-production needs to be further explored, especially in the context of the City of Johannesburg working with reclaimers.

2.4. STATE PRACTICES

The analysis of state practices may help one understand the administrative systems put in place and how they influence social and economic practices (Chipkin and Lipietz, 2012; Chatterjee, 2004). This may not be the focus of this research, but it is important to know how state practices shape different elements or aspects that create a state, such as economic and social institutions. This theorisation will look into norms and how different norms shape state practices. State instruments will also be looked into within this theorisation, which a different way of studying the state.

2.4.1. Norms

Olivier de Sardan (2009) sees the state as a complex system. He argues that the focus on state practices should not be solely on the official norms and organisational responsibilities, but it should be on the practical norms, (Olivier de Sardan, 2009).

What is a norm?

There is a distinction between a norm and a practice. According to Boudon and Bourricaud (1982: 383), the distinction between norms and practice is that norms are what is supposed to be done and practice is what is actually done. Olivier de Sardan (2015:3) looks into what he calls practical norms and he defines it as the latent regulations of practices of officials when the official regulations are not followed. He further states that in these spaces where the official rules are not followed – which could be referred to by Boudon and Bourricaud as practice, there are alternative norms that are used (practical norms). In his analysis he emphasises that practical norms are not social norms, therefore official norms, social norms and practical norms are different (Olivier de Sardan, 2015). Other types of norms that Olivier de Sardan mentions are public norms, professional norms and bureaucratic norms.

OFFICIAL NORMS	SOCIAL NORMS
<p>Examples: legal, professional, bureaucratic norms</p> <p>Sphere: Public and professional sphere</p>	<p>Examples: family, religious, associative, neighbour-related norms</p> <p>Sphere: Private sphere</p>

*Table 2.3. (above) Explanations of different norms.
Source: adopted Olivier de Sardan, 2009.*

The gap between official norms and practical norms

Throughout the study of the state in Africa, it said that there is a gap between official norms or professional norms and the way officials act (Oliver de Sardan, 2009; 2015). He argues that the gap is caused by the degree to which officials move away from official norms and that social norms are the cause of this departure (ibid.). It is practical norms that deviate from either official or social norms that are categorised in the table above (ibid.).

He makes an example on how these norms work. For instance, a state official should be objective in the workplace as this is an official norm. However, what happens is that the official's approach to his or her work may be influenced by practical norms such as their affiliation with that person (Olivier de Sardan, 2009) they need to assist. One could therefore argue that these norms conflict one another (Olivier de Sardan. 2009: 2015). In his recent analysis Olivier posits that this conflict of norms is not fully explored in literature. Elster's (1995) analysis on social norms suggests that members of the same community share similar norms. He makes an example that economists will all be interested terms of interest and people in a certain profession will also be interested their field or work (Elster's, 1995). It could be concluded that this is what causes the gap between official norms and practical norms, yet this are equally important.

Galaty (2010) also states that all these norms are important because they underlie the processes of governance. This links to what Bénit-Gbaffou, (2016) argues that state practices (which included official and practical norms) shape the governance of cities. This is an important argument as opposed to the argument about urban dynamics that influence state practices being far too complex and heterogeneous to be analysed (Simone, 2004). State practices can also be informal, making this notion complex. Therefore, there is a need to further investigate both formal and informal state practices and how these lead to decision making processes.

The existence of the gap within state departments

Von Holdt's (2010) take is similar to that of Olivier de Sardan (2009) where looks into state practices of the national hospitals and the health department of South Africa to fully understand why public health in South African is poor. Von Holdt's (2009) work is similar to Olivier de Sardan's work because they both look into the differing norms that shape official's practices. What this author analyses is the mechanisms of bureaucracy in the African state and he argues that most African states have been shaped by bureaucracy (ibid). Other authors such as Mbembe (2001) and Bayart (2000) agree with Von Holdt that the Weberian ideal of bureaucracy has shaped Africa states where this model has been seen as the way in which states should be. He further points out that the bureaucratic identity or forms of practice in African states are greatly shaped by the pre-colonial and colonial regimes, which should be considered when studying the state (ibid). He identifies six practices which are:

"Black class formation mediated through affirmative action, ambivalence towards skill, the significance of 'face', hierarchy, ambivalence towards authority, and the rituals of budgetary discipline." (Von Holdt, 2010: 9)

These practices reveal the norms that influence the manner in which the health department officials work. At times these norms are restrictive and not allow officials to be innovative (ibid). This is where Olivier de Sardan's argument comes in on the existence of conflicting norms. Due to the officials' norms of the department, the practitioners feel that they are restricted and based on that they no longer follow them (what Von Holdt calls routines). In many cases these norms are conflicting, and lead to discrepancies and inefficiencies in public actions. He also acknowledges that in as much as the routines are not followed this does not displace them (or what he calls the 'normal' Weberian form of bureaucracy) (Von Holdt, 2010: 20).

2.4.2. Instruments

What are instruments and tools?

According to Lascoumes and Le Gales (2004) instruments are tackers of change. Baudot (2011:69) states these trackers of change could be seen as 'vehicles for operationalizing and materializing change'. Instruments could be seen as multi-layered and mutually linked and they evolve over time (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2017). These are objects that also dictate to political decision makers on what must be done in specific situations (Baudot, 2011). In Howlett (2005) he refers to instrument as tools of implementation. The various instruments that are adopted and implemented by local authorities also determine state practices and influence how officials conduct themselves. One could link this to Vedung's (1998) description of instruments as coercive tools towards the public. Instruments use technical approaches solve political issues (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2007). Public policy instruments are tools that help govern. This is what Salamon (2002) calls new governance.

It is within the literature of governmentality that the connection between state practices and the instruments they use could be explored. Governmentality is a Foucauldian concept that looks into what he calls the “art of governing” (Burchell, *et al.*, 1991). When referring to the “art of government” or the “rationality of government”, this looks into the practices of the government or the state, which entail the technologies and policy instruments the state uses to govern (Le Gales, 2016). It is important to be aware of the fact the analysis of policy instruments is not the only way to understand the art of governing; this is why there is also a theorisation of the various norms that Olivier de Sardan analyses.

Lascoumes and Le Gales (2007) see instruments as institutions. The reason why instruments are seen as institutions is because they help in defining how officials will behave and they create an environment where power dynamics can be clearly defined (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2007). In addition, instruments are institutions, as they will accommodate the interest of some people and not everyone. They also define what resources could be used and who is able to use those resources (ibid.).

The use and implications of policy instruments

It is elucidated by some authors that policy instruments could be used for both short and long term purposes. According to Cairney (2015) instruments are tools used to governments to reach a certain outcome, which entails a coherent set of strategies. On the other hand, Lascoumes and Le Gale (2007) state that policy instruments could be used to bring together state and social relations. In as much as these are tools of regulation, it should be considered that interments can be used to define socio-political relations.

Policy instruments are used to shape society. It is argued that instruments are socially shaped by individuals in influential positions (Berman, 1998). For example, the use of policy instruments were used to manipulate ethnic identities in African states (1998). Governmentality is interpreted as power to shape realities through shaping the people’s conduct (Rosol, 2014; Foucault, 1978). This links to what Lascoumes and Le Gales (2007) highlight about policy instruments. They mention that policy instruments entail tools that are both technical and social and they shape social relations between the state and the public (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2007: 4). They are tools that reveal the relationship between the governing and the governed (ibid.) When implemented, policy instruments are not neutral (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2007; Baudot, 2011; Le Gales, 2016). Baudot (2011) and Le Gales (2016) point out that policy instruments may seem neutral but when they are implemented they are not. This means that instruments could produce effects that are independent of the certain goals that they were initially meant to achieve. Lascoumes and Le Gales (2007) also argue that policy instruments are driven by one idea or interpretation of ideas which could then hinder different ideas. This could be interpreted a policy instruments supporting one idea.

2.4.4. Examples of policy instruments

This section explores the various examples of policy instruments.

Performance indicators

An example of these policy instruments is performance indicators that determine the success of the government in terms of how it performs (Le Gales, 2016). Another example that is used by Foucault (1994) and Desrosières (1993) is the instrument of knowledge (Aguilera, undated). Knowledge is carried within every instrument which helps determine whether a problem is being governed or not (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2007). Foucault also states and argues that the administrative techniques of the police (or any other officials) and the internal business functions of the state are what he calls common instruments that help develop and reinforce the state (Burchell, *et al.*, 1991).

Instruments are meant to have a political and technical approach to solving issues (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2007) and these are policies or strategies that the state implements. It should also be considered that the political and technical approaches that are used in policies are influenced by the scale of the institution and the form of governance (Aguilera, undated). The use of instruments such as performance indicators within the state create an avenue for reflection and it is a way in which state officials could rate their work or what they have delivered to the public (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2007). These instruments also create competitive forces that influence the restructuring of states and thus leading to neoliberalism and marginalisation (Le Gales, 2016; Rosol, 2014).

An example of an extension of governmentality to neoliberalism is where the private sector sets indicators or measures for the state to rate itself (Le Gales, 2016). Based on the set standards and measures, the performance of the state determines its transformation. It is argued that such indicators and measures have given rise to the modern form of government (Le Gales, 2016). To add, the instruments of measuring the state are implemented by global entities such as the IMF. Non-governmental organisations also enhance the use of instruments of performative states through their support of international networks and funding (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002). Another argument that Ferguson and Gupta (2002) bring forth is the fact that states outsourcing certain tasks to NGOs and other agencies is an essential element to what they call transnational governmentality. This is an argument that will be further analysed in light of the relation between EISD and Pikitup in chapter four.

Rosol points out that instruments also lead to participatory processes (Rosol, 2014). This is seen in the case of the City Plan in Vancouver where the public had a say in the development and planning process of the city (Rosol, 2014). From a governmentality perspective, the participatory process in the case of

Vancouver is a governing instrument or tool that looks at how a problem is framed which then helps identify the rationalities of the solutions made (Rosol, 2014). This explains how policy instruments are important in understanding governance (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2007)

Implementation tools – Substantive and procedural instruments

Howlett (2000) classifies instruments into two, which are substantive and procedural. He states that substantive instruments are traditional and they focus on service delivery – meaning that these are instruments that have certain deliverables that the state needs to achieve. These are instruments that focus on the production and consumption of service delivery. It is argued that more attention is given to substantive instruments (Howlett, 2000). Other authors also argue that substantive instruments are tools that affect the behaviour of those who are part of the production and consumption of the service being delivered. This happens directly or indirectly (Schneider and Ingram 1990; 1993; 1994). While procedural instruments focus on the socio-political relationships (Ostrom 1986; Howlett 2000). Howlett (2002) continues to highlight that procedural implementation tools affect the processes of production, consumption and distribution indirectly. In his explanation it is unclear how these process are indirectly affected. It is said by some authors that their effects have not been studied compared to substantive instruments (Schneider and Sidney 2009).

These are instruments that are being used in the contemporary world these are policy instruments that pay attention to particular issues and uses (Howlett, 2000). This type of implementation tools are regarded as the most important for government institutions – where government activities (state practices) are studied in order to change policy communication. He also states that the use of procedural instruments is being preferred because they can be used for investigatory commissions and government reorganizations (Howlett, 2000). This links with what Klijn et al. (1995) explain that procedural instruments create a structure without influencing the outcome of the policies or strategies. Such instruments look into behavioural changes that may affect the implementation

process (Howlett, 2000). These could be linked to what Thaler and Sunstein (2009) a nudge¹. What is such policy instruments are help the state to create relationship with the private sector as well as NGOs (Howlett, 2000).

The Innovation of Information Communication Technologies

Gagliardone (2016) talks about how Information Communication technologies act as instruments in his book, *The Politics of Technology in Africa*. He talks mentions that there technology is used to meet political agendas as well as for the development of certain policies (2006: 7). He also uses the terms “technopolitics” and “technopolitical regimes” which are concepts that give an understanding between development, technology and politics (ibid). He argues that states have used technology to achieve national and international agendas. Throughout his book he looks in to the case study of Ethiopia and how the ruling party used technology, various discourses and actors to meet their political goals. This is what he defines as technopolitics. It is also argued by other authors that the use of technology, in this case ITCs act as a means to do things differently (Mueller, 2010). ICTs are a component of technopolitical regimes and technologies are an instrument of politics. Technopolitical is defined as “both the medium and the outcome of a negotiation between a specific technology, a cultural and political context, and the actors that animate it and compete for power regimes are” (2006: 13). He also points out that these regimes are a result of conflicts between technology and society. In his case study he highlighted that the Ethiopian government believes that technology is an instrument that helps government to world well (Gagliardone, 2016: 39).

2.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter highlighted the different approaches of waste management within developing countries; it showed a trend of how the cities are struggling with the management of waste. In most cases the

¹ A nudge is when the government uses certain strategies to enable the public (the consumer) to do specific things that will benefit them in the long run. It have been argues that this is a paternalistic way of the state controlling people (Sunstein, 2014)

municipalities have discovered that informal recyclers could contribute positively to the management of waste. This chapter also discusses various approaches that cities have taken to integrate reclaimers into waste management systems. It also discusses the different ways in which integration could be interpreted. This chapter explains how neoliberalism can exploit the idea of integration in the context of reclaimer integration. Other concepts that have been theorised will also assist in reaching a conclusion of what the integration of reclaimers has been in the context of Johannesburg. The issue of service delivery in developing countries is prominent and in many occasions the public find alternative ways, mostly informal, to obtain these services. This is where concepts such as co-production have emerged. Not only has this chapter discussed waste management, but it has also theorised state practices and instruments that could be fundamentally linked to the way waste is managed. Olivier de Sardan is one author that has extensively studied the norms and practices of City officials. The author states that there is a gap between official and practical norms and this gap is caused by the extent to which officials are willing to move away from their official norms. This also influences officials to make certain decisions within the workplace. De Sardan's theory will be used for the analysis of the finding chapters that explore the relationship between EISD and Pikitup and how they work together in achieving reclaimer integration. Policy instruments have also been theorised and defined as political and technical tools that are used to reach a certain goal or to solve a problem. This concept will also be used to understand how different instruments are used in the case of EISD and Pikitup in Johannesburg.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1. WAYS TO REACH THE TARGET

The purpose of this chapter is to give more detailed account on the strategy used during fieldwork. This chapter provides an outline of how things were done and it also gives an explanation of the research methods used. Based on the main research question, *How have City officials' practices in Johannesburg shaped their approaches to "integrate" reclaimers?*, where the main focus of this research is the challenges of City officials face pertaining to the integration of reclaimers and creating a sustainable waste management system.

3.1.1. Access to resources

Having qualified to attain financial support for my studies, I received access to two research programmes which are: the Practices of the State in Urban Governance, located in the Centre for Urbanism and the Built Environment Studies (CUBES) and the DST-DEA-CSIR research programme on the "Lessons from reclaimer integration initiatives development of evidence based guidelines to integrate reclaimers into South African municipal waste management systems." My co-supervisor, Dr. Samson has closely worked with the reclaimers and the City of Johannesburg in relation to reclaimer integration. This research is part of a collaborative case study method where students from the University of Witwatersrand look at residents, the state and reclaimers as well as reclaimer integration in the same City. Through Dr. Samson's work and relationship, the University and Pikitup have a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) that allows students to do research on waste and reclaimers to work in the city. This MoU also permits students to do research through the Environmental Infrastructure and Service Department (EISD) and Pikitup, making the City a resource for their research.

I was privileged to become an intern within the EISD for 5 months (from the 17th to the 3rd of December 2017). Having access to the City of Johannesburg's Environmental Infrastructure and Service Department as well as Pikitup enabled me to look into the practices of the officials with regards to reclaimer integration. My participation in the DST-DEA-CSIR programme enabled me to connect with the key officials from the City that have worked closely with the process of integrating reclaimers. This helped me establish a relationship with the officials, making it easy to contact the relevant officials that I eventually interviewed. Likewise, this level of contact made it possible to observe the practices of the state within these two departments, which are the main location of this research.

What will be discussed in this chapter are the research methodology and methods. I also outline what worked out in the process of collecting data for this research. The ethical concerns and limitations will also be highlighted. Both a documentary critical analysis where used for the purposes of this research. An ethnographic approach was taken as the methodological approach of this study.

3.2. INSPIRATION FROM THE PRESENT – METHOD

The aim of this research is to look at state practices in the context of Johannesburg – to reveal key forces, performances and issues that shape reclaimer integration. As a result, this has helped craft concepts and theories that could be used in similar contexts (other municipalities) (see this is in concluding chapter). My research method was inspired by four similar approaches:

1. Bénit-Gbaffou and Oldfield’s work on accessing the state through its day-to-day practices.
2. Olivier de Sardan’s method of studying state practices through the distinction between official norms and practical norms.
3. Weber’s concepts of bureaucracy and rationalities.
4. Lascoumes and Le Gales’s method of studying instruments. It should be considered that some of this method will not be discussed in this chapter because the authors’ work has been theorised in chapter 2.

3.3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND ITS VALUE

The research methodology that was employed for this research report is qualitative research, which is practice oriented as well as an ethnographic approach. Qualitative research employs a narrative research method (Creswell, 2009). Since this research is looking at the context of Johannesburg in terms of the integration of reclaimers in the City’s waste management department, the qualitative approach has been used here through a case study approach (Creswell *et al*, 2010). The main reason why a qualitative and ethnographic research methodology was employed is because this research focused on a specific context – that being the City of Johannesburg (Creswell *et al*, 2010). Within the conducted interviews the questions asked were open-ended, which enabled me to understand the different state practices as well as the challenges faced by the officials on a daily basis within the researched departments. Using this methodology made this research report exciting and challenging because it gave allowance for more detail which harnessed my narrative and analysis. The value of doing an ethnographic study is the amount of detail and accuracy it provides in a particular setting (Berg, 2007; Creswell *et al*, 2010). Wolcott (1999) also defines ethnography “as the science of *cultural description* which means that describes and interprets social expressions between people and groups. A qualitative approach enhances research investigation toward more meaningful explanations (Sofaer 1999). Qualitative research appropriately “seeks answers to questions by examininig social settings ans the individuals that live within those settings” (Berg, 2007: 8). This is what this study aims to do – to look into the practices of City officials and to understand the factors that influence their practices.

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter a lot of research has been done on reclaimers and this is why looking into the City officials is very important. This study aims to provide a different perspective on reclaimer integration and to give a better understanding of its complexity.

In my endeavour to look into state practices in the City of Johannesburg, particularly within the selected departments the methodology used led me to interrogate my own assumptions and to give a reflection on what I have learnt within the research. Using this research methodology did not only allow me as the researcher to collaborate with the participants, but it also allowed me to have a self-disclosure and this is what Creswell and Miller (2000) highlight in their *article Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry*.

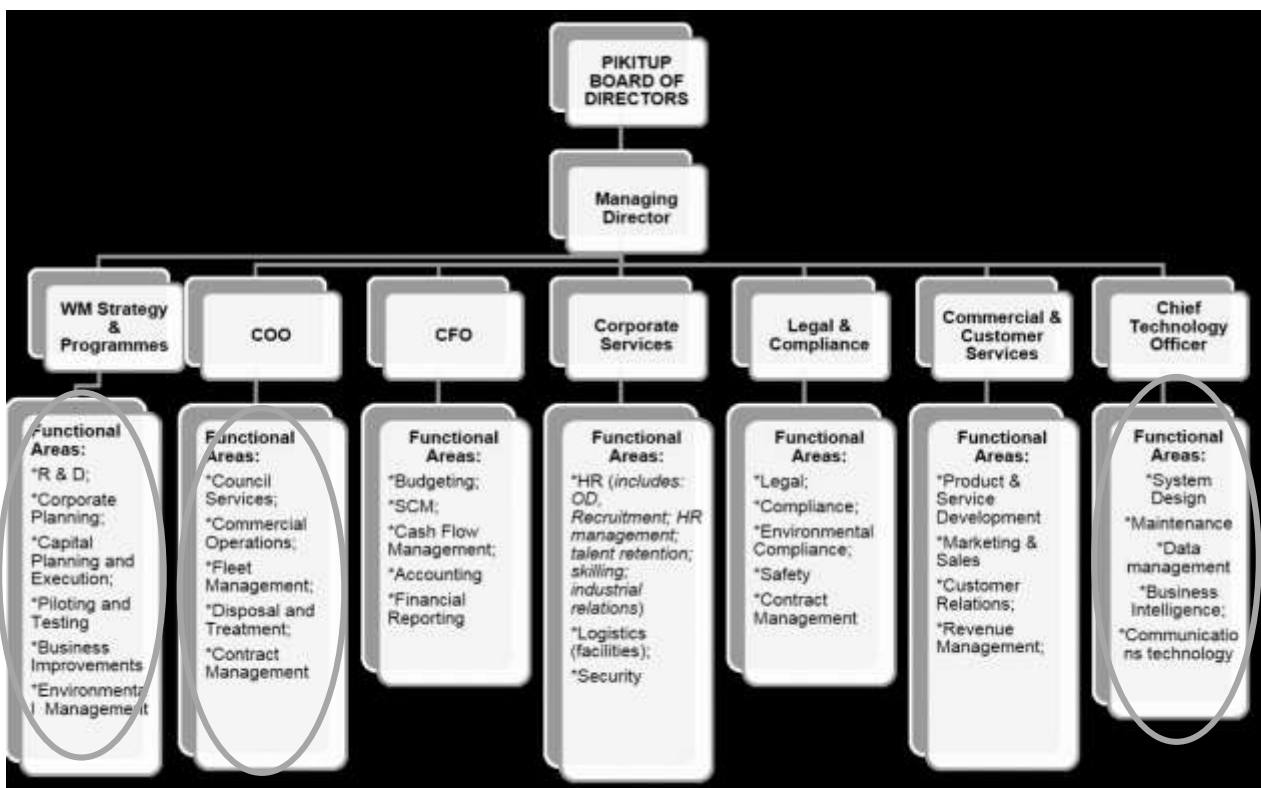
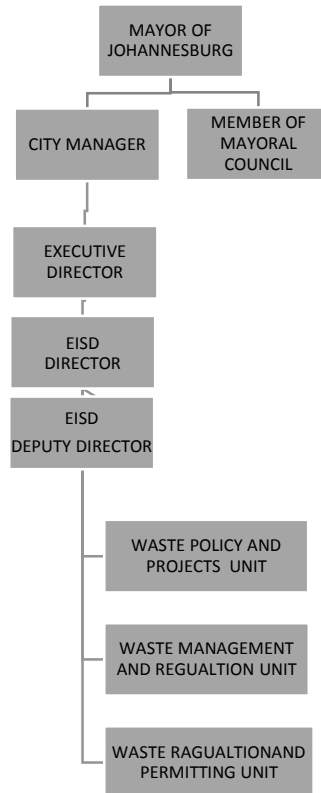
3.3.1. Techniques

The research methods and techniques used were field research, where personal interviews, participant and nonparticipant observations as well as mass observations were employed (Kothari, 2004). Throughout this process I was able to obtain in depth information on the City's progress on working with reclaimers. Despite the fact that some of the information provided by the interviewees seemed rehearsed, this gave a new perspective on the participant's effort towards their behaviour and the different language used in formal and informal settings. The information received through observations was varied because not all of the stakeholders in all the meetings or workshops.

3.3.2. Sampling

Initially, the form of sampling that would be used was purposive or deliberate sampling I used this form of sampling to identify the first few participants. Eventually worked was the snowballing approach because of the interest and availability of the officials. I first started identifying these participants by using the stakeholder organograms of the EISD and Pikitup that is shown on figure 3.1 and 3.2.

Figure 3.1. (above) Stakeholders mapping.
 Source: Dladla, 2017




 Areas of focus

Figure 3.2(above) The Structure within Pikitup – This organogram shows the different departments and responsibilities of those departments. This organigram could act a guide to find the relevant participants.

Source: Adapted from Pikitup © 2017

Purposive sampling

Kothari (2004) defines purposive sampling as the selection of small units within a larger entity and these small units become the samples used to study the entity. The organograms above help put in place the relevant role players within each department. In this case, EISD and Pikitup are the larger entities. Having selected the key role players from the organogram I have had the privilege to work under those officials and learn much more about their role when it comes to working with reclaimers. Another selection had to be made in the case where I had selected officials that seemed not to be interested in working with reclaimers anymore. These officials focused on other projects that they had within their units. This therefore left me with two officials to work under and observe how they engage with the reclaimers.

Over a period of 5 months I learnt more about the different mandates of the officials in the departments. Through my internship and attendance of meetings I gradually learnt where I could get certain information and from which officials (based on their mandate). Some officials that I interviewed were leaving the departments during the period of the study. This worked for and against me, in the sense that the officials were hard to reach due to other commitments, such as preparing to leave the department, but once I made an appointment they were free to offer information. The organogram below provides a general idea of all the stakeholders. It will be further unpacked in chapter 4. This general organogram assisted me as the researcher to identify the right officials, as explained earlier.

Snowball sampling

Based on the fact that some of the officials were leaving the department and others were simply not involved in projects concerning reclaimers, the snowball sampling approach was most relevant. This is because some of the officials were not sure what my research was about at first and that made some of them uncomfortable. With the access I had from my supervisor I was able to work with a senior official who then introduced me to other officials that worked on reclaimer integration. Snowballing is when one participant gives the researcher the name of another possible participant and so on (Vogt, 1999). This form of sampling remains flexible and the researcher has a continuously increasing set of possible contacts (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). Likewise, this form of sampling was more practical because the first few individuals interviewed referred me to other officials that have been closely involved in the interventions of the reclaimer integration and are still interested in this work.

3.3.3. Research population

The end product of this research is to learn about different state practices and how they have influenced the city officials in their relationship with reclaimers. All in all, 6 City officials were

interviewed – three from the EISD and three from Pikitup. The research population was made intentionally small, due to the ethnographic approach of this research. Having a smaller group of participants helped in producing a type of analysis that was directed towards drawing out a complete picture of the observed events, the actors involved, the rules associated with the different activities (Berg, 2007). The selected participants provided details on the relationship between the state and reclaimers as well as other stakeholders within the City of Johannesburg. Within a larger group of participants, some details would have gone unnoticed.

3.3.4. Answering the research question

One of the most important elements of the research methodology was the internship process. In as much as I had access to both the departments, I only did an internship within EISD. The reason why this changed was due to the officials within EISD having regular meetings with officials from Pikitup. These meetings were linked to the implementation processes that Pikitup is mostly responsible for as part of the waste management department. The structure of the interview questions also changed, where the first section focused on the experiences the officials had with the waster picker integration process instead of looking into waste management strategies and interventions (see chapter 1). Questions on policy instruments and waste management strategies that they use as officials were part of the third section. The new structure of the questionnaire, created an open ended conversation which gave the participants the freedom to expand on how their policy instruments affect the process of integrating reclaimers.

In my attempt to communicate with the reclaimers to obtain a broader picture of state practices it was not as easy as expected. Some of them were more open during informal interactions. They disclosed a lot of information when it was made clearer that my research is covering the work of city officials; however, not all reclaimers were comfortable to interact with me. Therefore, I concluded that it is better to interact with the reclaimers informally instead of having formal interviews with them. I had many opportunities to interact with them in workshops, meetings and other forums of engagement.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, this research aims to answer the question of how state practices have shaped the relationship between the city and reclaimers. Through my internship within the EISD, I was able to access to EISD and Pikitup on a weekly basis where I easily observed the practices of the officials and how they navigate varying relations. This could be seen as an empirical study of the daily functionality of these departments. Such a working environment enabled me to observe and understand the governance of solid waste management. The various policies and interventions that have been implemented and are still in the processing stages in relation to waste management and working with reclaimers have been scrutinised. Information was obtained through

observing meetings and administrative work in offices. My observations within the EISD provided a lot of information because the layout plan of the offices changed to an open plan. The open plan of the office allowed me to easily observe the officials, events and the patterns that took place in various situations. I likewise had easy access to various departmental documents and reports on waste management and the integration of reclaimers, except for contracts between the City and other stakeholders. My observations helped answer the first and second sub-questions were answered, which are:

What are the norms and practices of city officials and how do they influence their relationship with reclaimers?

To what extent have the practices of city officials and policy instruments supported or hindered their approaches to “integrating” of reclaimers?

During my fieldwork, the interviews with the city officials provided an in-depth understanding of how they worked with reclaimers. These interviews also gave a perspective on their personal experiences – being involved in the different projects on waste management and working with reclaimers. This helped answer the third sub-question:

What is the City’s respective understanding of such “integration”?

This question aims to look into the the City officials’ understanding of reclimer integration and how this unfolds in their individual practices.

3.3.5. Interviews - Unpacking the Questionnaire structure

There was one questionnaire that was structured in three sections. This questionnaire provided open-ended questions that paid attention to the practices, the roles, decisions and actions that the officials take as a department.

Section one – personal experiences of integration

There were open-ended questions that required information of the officials ‘practices pertaining to reclaimer integration. These questions aimed to also unpack the officials’ experiences on reclaimer integration in the context of their institutional position. The information provided through these questions assisted me to analyse how the officials assessed and responded to situations of reclaimer integration. These questions helped to further understand the professional culture and different norms that influence the officials. This section had some questions that Berg (2007) refers to as “throw-away questions” (2007: 101). These are questions are defined as general questions that are used to develop a connection between the interviewer and the interviewee (ibid.) Goffman (1967) attests that having *throw-away questions* makes the participant more calm and they create a relaxed atmosphere. In some instances these questions were not necessary because the participants were

comfortable. Some interviews led me to have probing questions to help me draw out complete stories from the participants.

Section two – relationship with reclaimers

This part of the questionnaire had questions that mainly looked into the timeline of the relationship between reclaimers and the City. What was investigated was the long-term vision that the officials have for the reclaimers as well as the registration process for all reclaimers was the main focus. As a result, this section required essential questions that were concerned with the main focus of this research. There was also a need to probe some of the interviewees in order for them to elaborate on some of their experiences.

Section three – policy instruments and waste management strategies

This section asked questions mainly on the policy instruments and processes taken to establish and implement certain projects. The section investigated how waste management strategies and interventions have included reclaimers and how they demonstrate and interpret integration. The decision making process of waste management were scrutinised as well as which stakeholders were a part of this process. Section three required me to word my questions in a way that motivated the participants to provide complete answers. Denzin (1970) argues that it is important for questions to give an accurate meaning to the participant. The wording of my questions was given more attention in this section due to the focus of the questions – that being policy and state instruments used by the officials.

3.2.6. Data collection

Through the techniques explained earlier, fieldwork data was collected by conducting personal interviews and ethnographic observations in meetings and workshops. The data was also collected through conversations with reclaimers or trying to understand state practices from outside sources (like private companies).

Secondary sources such as policy and workshop documents were essential, as this confirmed some of the information received by word-of-mouth. Analysing the policy documents and other strategies provided a better understanding of where the reclaimer integration process is in the City of Johannesburg. The media was also a resource that I used to collect data, especially the news on the reclaimers' protest that took place on the 10th of July 2017. The attention of media on this story also provided a perspective on how reclaimer issues in Johannesburg were translated. Other secondary sources that we used to collect data were contracts and minutes from different meetings.

In the process of collecting the data there was a need to pre code the data and this process was done efficiently by recording the notes in order (Sarantakos, 2005). Due to my constant engagement with the officials even after the interviews, new information would come up each time, it was interesting

to see and hear the changes of officials' perceptions and behaviour. Therefore, having the notes properly coded made it easy to add information that created a story.

3.3. ETHICS

Meeting all ethical requirements is paramount as it helps the researcher avoid misinterpreting information (Resnik, 2011). Confidentiality and conflict of interest are some of the key ethical concerns. Looking at the fact that this research will retrieve information from state officials, there might be cases of where the officials share specific information, but want it to be off the record. This may be a challenge, especially if the information disclosed may clarify a lot of issues. Conflict of interests between the researcher and the participants (with regards to intellectual freedom) may exist, such as tensions between the officials or between the reclaimers and the officials. This may result in the participants giving limited information. Other ethical issues may rise due to the political shift of the City of Johannesburg. For example, the participants may feel that this research is intrusive (Stevens, 2013), as it looks into their practices as state officials during such a pivotal change. It is important to know that with the access I have from my supervisor, Dr. Samson issues on exposure, conflict of interest and intellectual freedom may not be salient. If there is a chance for these issues to arise, the relationship that Dr. Samson has with these departments could assist in strengthening the relationships I create with the officials.

3.4. METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

3.4.1. Limitations

In as much as qualitative research allows the researcher to create strong networks and more collaborative ways of engagement with the participants (Creswell and Miller, 2000), a number of limitations were encountered. As mentioned earlier, some of the officials were not part of thereclaimer projects. As a result I could only draw on observations and informal conversations with these officials, limiting the amount and type of data I could gather. Having informal conversations and observing these officials worked, but it was not enough. For instance in a conversation with a junior official from EISD, hesaid,

“Once these reclaimers see a new official they forget about you and the work you put in to engage with them.”

The sigh in his voice demonstrated how distraught the official was about all their work not being recognised.

Important Events Competing with Time

The engagements between the city and the reclaimers gained momentum in the course of my research, but it was difficult to be involved in all the engagements due to time factors. As I was doing a coursework masters I was required to attend classes and had deadlines that required full preparation, making it hard to attend the caucuses between the city officials and reclaimers. The time and venues for some of these meetings were also a restriction in the sense that information was received at short notice. This made it difficult to plan to make it for those meetings. In some instances, information on some of the meetings was received on time but the meeting would be cancelled at the last minute.

There were situations where senior officials were hardly available and would cancel appointments more than twice. The reason for this was the number of meetings and workshops they had to attend in a day. They would also have important meeting requests made at the last minute or their meetings would take long resulting in cancelling appointments that I had made.

Platforms of Decision Making

There were times where important decisions were made in meetings that I did not have access to. In cases where junior officials were asked about these important decisions, it was clear that they also did not know what happened. Such scenarios were hard to analyse because of the non-disclosure of decisions made by senior officials. For example, the recently famed clean-up campaign led reclaimers to raise questions of whether the campaign was meant for all stakeholders, that being reclaimers, the City and residents to work together or for the City to better work with the residents and the private sector only.

Subjectivity is Relative

It is argued that qualitative research could be objective and provide a reference (Sarantakos, 2005). However, many authors argue that with ethnographic researchers cannot be objective. Being objective was also difficult for me, as this research looks into the City officials' practices where I was a participant observer and when to the field with officials. The potential of this research being subjective is high and this is because more time was spent with the officials than any other stakeholder.

Reconstruction and restructuring

There were office operations that interfered with my research and interaction with officials. For example, when I started my internship at EISD, the department underwent renovation for more than three weeks and this disorganised most of the officials. Some of the officials worked from home due to the tedious and slow process of their office renovations. The progress was too slow that some officials took it upon themselves to plan the layout of their sitting arrangement. Some officials had

limited working time, making it hard for me to engage them. For the officials, participating in any other activity such as helping me find my way around the office would not have been practical, because they also needed to adapt to the new set up of their own office. This was a time when I only had access to secondary sources.

The structure of Pikitup was being restructured because of the newly introduced administration. Initially, I assumed that the officials would be willing to disclose anything about the entity. What happened was that most officials feared the new bureaucracy and as a result I was unable to meet with some officials. I also had limited access to documented information from certain individuals and I was overly questioned before interviews about what my research is truly about. Some of the questions asked by the participants were about why I needed to know certain things. Other participants pointed out that a lot of research has been done on reclaimer integration and little is said about what the state is trying to do.

3.4.2. The Benefits of Qualitative Research

Having access to the EISD offices through the internship led to a number of advantages. In cases where I needed policy documents to be explained, it was easy to approach one of the officials and get clarity. Once the renovations were done it was easy to engage with the officials. Most of the EISD officials were open to the idea being interviewed. I was connected to one official who took me through most of the work the city has done, where they are and what they plan to do in the future. The level of openness and detail in the official's work made things easy to understand. This ethnographic approach prolonged engagement in the field thus making networks more concrete. According to Creswell and Miller, such an approach to research (qualitative and ethnographic) makes participants feel more involved in the study as co-researchers (Creswell and Miller, 2000: 128) and this gives them a positive view of the research. Beyond collaboration and prolonged engagement, qualitative research is validated by the fact that it helps produce in depth analysis and authenticity. Most officials that I worked closely with felt involved in the process of my research. The advantage of closely observing the practices within the department provided an experiential learning curve for me.

3.5. DEFINITIONS

During my fieldwork and the current engagements between the state and reclaimers, a number of words have been redefined. The purpose of the redefinition of these words is to provide consistency throughout the document and to provide clarity on what is being referred to.

Reclaimers or reclaimers

These terms are used interchangeably by different stakeholders. Not all City documents use the term reclaimers. In one of the reclaimer workshops, it was pointed out that some of the reclaimers did not want to be referred to as reclaimers, but as workers of the environment. However in the course of fieldwork it was agreed upon that the term reclaimers would be used. This also changed towards the end of this research and it was decided that the term reclaimers would be used. This research report uses the term reclaimers except for the title of this research.

Units

The participants (officials) used this word to refer to smaller divisions within a department. For example, the EISD has the Policy and Projects Unit or division, the Compliance Unit and the Information Unity within it. These units are very important because they give clarity on the official's line of work.

Service providers

This term is used when referring to private companies that Pikitup and EISD has contracts with in relation to training reclaimers. In one workshop it was emphasised by the City that these service providers are an extension of the City with regards to assisting the City with services that it cannot provide. This means that the City works with these companies because of their lack of capacity. This statement will be further debated within the analysis of my findings.

Consultation

This is where all relevant stakeholders are part of the decision making process that are linked to the process of integrating reclaimers within the City's waste management system. The relationship between reclaimers and the city officials has changed overtime and various fora of consultation have been conducted (this will be further explained in chapter 4).

3.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the methods and methodology used in this study and it also explained why these specific methods were employed. The different ways of collecting data as well how the participants were selected was explained. It also discussed the challenges and the advantages of doing this study. The events that took place in the course of me doing my fieldwork have also been summarised to help give a brief background of the current engagements between the state and reclaimers. This has helped provide a setting for this research – that being the state (EISD and Pikitup) as well as the reclaimers of Johannesburg. The following chapters will provide an analysis of the data that was collected during fieldwork. The data will be analysed within two themes namely; state relations and practices as well as state instruments.



CHAPTER FOUR

THE REVIEW OF LEGISLATION AND POLICY USED FOR RECLAIMERS' INTEGRATION

This chapter provides an outline of the legislation, policies and programmes that are related to reclaimer integration. These are existing instruments that the City of Johannesburg uses to work with reclaimers within the city. The main aim of this chapter is to answer the first research sub-question: *What are the instruments and practices of City officials and how do they influence their relationship with reclaimers?* To be able to answer this question it is important to first look into all the existing policies and strategies and the commitments they have made with regards to reclaimer integration. The rationale of this research states that there is a need for the documentation of the various programmes that the City has implemented to engage with reclaimers. Throughout my fieldwork this was confirmed. There is also a need to evaluate the progress made from the implementation of the programmes. Therefore, this chapter critically analyse the legislation and policies in chronological order used to frame the instruments developed and implemented to bring integration into reality. Furthermore, this chapter also explains why the certain policies and programmes were introduced and used by the City, how they have framed reclaimer integration, and how the instruments have shaped and influenced officials' practices.

This chapter argues that the already existing legislation and policies are not explicit on reclaimer integration. The role of reclaimers is not outlined in detail and there is a lack in guidelines that instruct City officials on how to work with reclaimers. This chapter mainly notes that these guiding instruments recognise reclaimers; however the role the City and reclaimers need to play in order to make reclaimer integration a reality is not clearly spelled out. It also points out the gaps that exist in the instruments, particularly on how reclaimers should be integrated into the system. It also demonstrates how some terms used in the documents are void of an explicit definition, such as the term 'stakeholders'.

4.1. NATIONAL LEGISLATION THAT HAS SHAPED RECLAIMER "INTEGRATION" INTO MUNICIPAL WASTE MANAGEMENT

This section provides an outline and analysis of the national legislation and policy that has been used towards the integration of reclaimers into the waste management system. The inspiration of reclaimer integration began in the National Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA). It began with the Department wanting to understand the waste industry and to find ways to enhance growth within the recycling industry. The Department was also aware of the presence of reclaimers in the recycling industry and it was working on finding ways to include them in the formal waste management system (SACN, 2016).

Initially, the DEA developed a National Waste Management Strategy (NWMS) – which is a legislative requirement of the National Environmental Management: Waste Act, 2008 (Act No. 59 of 2008), the “Waste Act” (DEA, 2011). Its main purpose is to achieve the objects of the Waste Act. It was first established in 1999. It is important to note that the first National Waste Management Strategy came before the legislation. In terms of the National Waste Management Strategy of 1999, local municipalities were required to establish first generation Integrated Waste Management Plans (which will be explained in the next section) and for these plans to be submitted to their respective provincial environmental departments (City of Johannesburg Integrated Waste Management Plan, 2011).

The National Waste Management Summit: Polokwane Declaration of 2001 compelled government to develop policy on sustainable integrated waste management. The declaration also stated that there should be a stabilisation of waste generated and for the disposal of waste to be reduced by 50% by the year 2022 (The Republic of South Africa, 2001). The National Environmental Management: Waste Act of 2008 was then passed on as legislation (NEMWA, 2008). However, local municipalities had already completed the first generation of IWMP’s, before the announcement of the Waste Act (DEA, 2011: 29). Of most relevance for this report, it says DEA must guide municipalities and industry in improve conditions of reclaimers (DEA, 2011).

An updated NWMS was completed in 2011 which provides a plan to address waste management issues within South Africa (DEA, 2011). The NWMS of 2011 mentions that the Department of Environmental Affairs must publish guidelines for the development of second generation IWMP’s of local municipalities that will be aligned to the Waste Act.

4.1.1. The National Environmental Management: Waste Act 2008 (No. 59 of 2008)

The Waste Act allows the National Department of Environmental Affairs to formulate rules and regulations that are related to waste management. The objects of this Act in Section 2 (a) (ii) and (iii) are

“...to protect health, well-being and the environment by providing reasonable measures for minimising the generation of waste and for reducing, re-using, recycling and recovering waste” (RSA, 2008).

The Act states that everyone has the right to use natural resources that promote economic development (RSA, 2008, preamble). It points out that waste is a resource that offers economic opportunities (RSA, 2008, preamble). Section 6 of the Act states that government should establish a National Waste Management Strategy (which will be elucidated in the following sections) that will help achieve the Act’s objectives of having guidelines related to protecting the environment and the

re-use, recycling, recovery, treatment, disposal, use, control and management of waste (RSA, 2008). The Act acknowledges that there is a need to reduce, recycle, and recover waste. The Act also mentions that the organs of state² are responsible for the development of integrated waste management plans (RSA, 2011: Section 6). Section 11 further articulates that for the plans to be developed there is a need for public participation to take place according to Section 72, however, it is not clear on whether all relevant stakeholders should be consulted, such as reclaimers and the private sector.

It could be argued that if everybody has the right to use natural resources while promoting justifiable economic opportunities, the state needs to enable such opportunities and encourage people that are already doing such activities like reclaimers. However, other than noting that landfill licenses can be amended to allow salvaging, the Act does not explicitly mention reclaimers in this industry. It talks about small, medium or micro enterprises in relation to stakeholders within Section 29 (3) (c) of the Act,

(3) When exercising a power under subsection (1) or (2)³. The Minister or MEC must consider whether –

(c) The persons who are likely to be affected by the plan comprise of small, medium or micro enterprises;

However, in key sections on governance and partnerships, the Act does not refer to micro enterprises. It does not provide details on how reclaimers included in the discussions on integrated plans as well

² Organs of state here refer to

“Any department of state or administration in the national, provincial and local government (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, Section 239).

³ Section 29 of the Waste Act states that : (1) The Minister may, by notice in writing, require an industry waste management plan to be prepared by an organ of state, excluding a municipality, within a stipulated timeframe.

(2) An MEC may, by notice in writing, require an industry waste management plan to be prepared by the provincial department responsible for environmental affairs, within a stipulated timeframe. This means that the micro enterprises should be considered by the organ of state that is asked to prepare the plans.

as the rediscovery of waste as a resource. It is clear that the role of reclaimers is not recognised in this Act and this is what could lead to municipalities' Integrated Waste Management Plans not acknowledging reclaimers either.

4.1.2. National Waste Management Strategies

The Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) is responsible for the drafting of the National Waste Management Strategy (NWMS). The first NWMS was developed in 1999. It was not supported by any form of legislation because the Waste Act of 2008 was not yet established (CoJ, 2011). The main objective of the 1999 strategy was to reduce the generation of waste and reduce the impact of all forms of waste on economic development, health and the quality of environmental resources (DEAT, 1999). Separation at source, recycling and composting were set out as the key factors that would help in reducing waste (DEAT, 1999). The NWMS of 1999 mainly focused on waste recovery and its objectives that entailed the "identification and development of appropriate mechanisms to promote sustainable recycling by all members of the recycling chain" (Naidoo & Associates 2010: 35). This statement shows the inclusion of different role players in the recycling industry, which could include reclaimers. Nevertheless, there is no explicit mentioning of reclaimers in this strategy.

After the formulation of the Waste Act of 2008, the National Waste Management Strategy of 2011 was established based on Section 6 of the Act that states that

"6. (1) The Minister must, within two years of the date on which this section takes effect, by notice in the Gazette establish a national waste management strategy for achieving the objects of this Act" (RSA, 2008)

Section 6 of the NEMWA of 2008 also talks about what the National Waste Management Strategy should entail such as

"objectives, plans, guidelines, systems and procedures relating to the protection of the environment and the generation (including the avoidance and minimisation of such generation), re-use, recycling, recovery, treatment, disposal, use, control and management of waste in order to achieve the objects of this Act." (RSA, 2008, Section 6 (a))

The 2011 NWMS is a legislative requirement of the National Environmental Management: Waste Act of 2008 (DEA, 2011). This strategy is reviewed every five years and it binds all spheres of government in terms of waste management. It outlines the roles and responsibilities of government, the private sector as well as civil society (DEA, 2011: 9). It encourages government to work with the private sector and civil society. There is a specification that the private sector should be involved in the establishment of Industry Waste management Plans (which will be further explained in this chapter) (DEA, 2011). The strategy further states that the private sector is,

“...expected to proactively take responsibility for the waste generated throughout the life cycle of a product.” (DEA, 2011: 54).

The Strategy states that civil society should reduce, re-use and recycle the waste they produce as consumers (DEA, 2011: 54).

Furthermore, the strategy compels both the private sector and civil society to comply with the rules and regulations of waste management (ibid.). When comparing the NWMS to the Waste Act, the NWMS mentions stakeholders within the waste industry, unlike the Act that only talks about the spheres of government and private land owners. It uses the word ‘stakeholders’ throughout the document (DEA, 2011: 27). The NWMS seeks to establish,

“...a common platform for action between stakeholders to systematically improve waste management in South Africa” (DEA, 2011: 10).

The stakeholders being referred to here are the private sector and civil society. The strategy aims to create

“...decent work through formalising the role of reclaimers and expanding the role of SMEs and cooperatives in waste management” (DEA, 2011: 27).

It further adds that the,

“DEA will provide guidance to municipalities and industry on measures to improve the working conditions of waste-pickers, establishment of Material Recovery Facilities and expand the role of SMEs and cooperatives in domestic waste collection services” (DEA, 2011: 27).

This is the first time reclaimers receive meaningful mention in national policy or legislation. These statements show acknowledgement of the presence of reclaimers and the fact that they work under hazardous conditions that need to be improved through formalising their work.

However, the way the words ‘stakeholders’ and ‘reclaimers’ are used in this document seems as though reclaimers are a separate group from the stakeholders being referred to in the strategy. For example, reclaimers are only mentioned twice in the document. There are sections within the document that specify the stakeholders being referred to which includes “industry, civil society and NGOs” (DEA, 2011: 28); “affected departments, industries and civil society organisations” (DEA, 2011: 50) and “all spheres of government, industry, labour unions, community based and non-governmental organisations, and the public at large” (DEA, 2011: 68). The term “public” could be inclusive of reclaimers, but there is no specific indication of reclaimers as a group of people that are already in the waste industry like labour unions or NGOs.

The National Waste Management Strategy has eight strategic goals which mainly aim to promote waste minimisation and achieve an integrated waste management system. It also emphasises on the diversion of waste from the landfill,

“The target is to divert 25% of recyclables from landfill for re-use, recycling or recovery by 2015.” (DEA, 2011: 23).

The recognition of reclaimers is clear within this strategy; however no mention is made that the emphasis of the diversion of waste will eventually result in the eradication of reclaimers’ work in the landfills. Godfrey (2016) points out that the unregulated recovery of waste on landfills has increased in the past ten years. Reaching the goal of diverting waste from landfills will be difficult to do with the increasing number of reclaimers working on the landfills. In as much as the strategy recognises reclaimers, the issue here is that this strategy does not consider how they will be affected or plan on how to accommodate them. Therefore, the strategy is unclear on how it aims to empower reclaimers that will no longer have work to do as the landfills.

4.1.3. National Guidelines on Reclaimers Integration

The Department of Environmental Affairs is responsible for the development of guidelines for Integrated Waste Management Plans and Industry Waste Management Plans (DEA, 2011). The notion of having guidelines related to the protection of the environment and the management of waste comes from the National Waste Management Strategy and the Waste Act of 2008. The Department of Environmental Affairs is tasked to have guidelines that will inform the second generation of the IWMPs that must be in line with the Waste Act (DEA, 2008). These Industry Waste Management Plans are meant to include voluntary Extended Producer Responsibility (EPR) schemes that will help determine how waste streams can be managed (DEA, 2011). DEA is also responsible for developing guidelines in consultation with industry for the voluntary and mandatory EPR programmes.

In addition, the strategy of 2011 states that extensive consultation should take place with a variety of stakeholders for the integrated waste management guidelines to be developed. However, this does not talk about the integration of reclaimers per se, and it must be noted that the integration of reclaimers and the integration of recycling into the waste management system are not the same thing in principle even though they overlap in practice. National legislation such as the Waste Act of 2008 and the NWMS do not directly discuss about the formulation of reclaimer integration guidelines.

DEA must provide guidance to municipalities and businesses on how to improve the conditions of reclaimers and how to work together with them. The need to provide guidance is interpreted as the need to develop guidelines. This is contradictory because the NWMS does not explicitly mention the development of reclaimer integration guidelines, but it talks about guidelines for the Integrated Waste

Management Plans, the Industry Waste Management Plans and for waste service budgets (NWMS, 2011). DEA therefore needs to interpret the NWMS and to find the best way provide guidance.

4.1.4. Industry Waste Management Plans

The Industry Waste Management Plans (IndWMP) flow from the Waste Act of 2008 as well as the NWMS of 2011. The National Waste Management Strategies make mention of the importance of the Industry Waste Management Plans. The Waste Act states that the Minister can require industries to develop the plans. Section 29 states:

“The Minister may, by notice in writing, require an industry waste management plan to be prepared by an organ of state, excluding a municipality, within a stipulated timeframe” (RSA, 2008).

The IndWMPs can entail a voluntary Extended Producer Responsibility (EPR) scheme for certain waste streams, In case the IndWMPs with the voluntary schemes are not effective, the Minister can require Mandatory Producer Responsibility (EPR) schemes to be developed that will manage specific waste streams (DEA, 2011). The EPR schemes are designed to keep producers, importers or retailers responsible for the waste generated by their products (DEA, 2011: 47). This means that industry could bear the responsibility for the collection of recyclables, which municipalities are currently seeing as their responsibility.

The Act provides guidance on how the plans should be prepared (Section 29) and what content they should include (Section 30). These plans are a main co-regulatory tool for waste management measures. They are mainly meant to enable “collective planning by industry to manage their products once they become waste and to collectively set targets for waste reduction, recycling and re-use.” (DEA, 2011: 7, 21). If the IndWMPs and the EPRs are meant to encourage collective planning, the question is how will reclaimers be included in developing them?

In the year 2011 the Industry Waste Management Plans were meant to be prepared,

“...by the paper and packaging industry, the pesticide industry, the lighting industry (focusing on compact fluorescent lamps) and the tyres industry” (DEA, 2011:21).

This means that it is for the private sector to prepare the plans. During the South African Cities Network workshop on experiences of integrating reclaimers in South African cities and across the world that was held on the 12th to the 13th April 2016, reclaimer representatives from SAWPA were disturbed by the fact that industries alone were responsible for preparing these plans as this could lead to prejudice (SACN, 2016: 4). In further discussions between DEA officials and reclaimers it was briefly mentioned that reclaimers could be involved and consulted in the process of the Integrated

Waste Management Plans. This would create a space where reclaimers are considered as stakeholders. Such consultative processes could address the issue of how reclaimers are not considered stakeholders in policies. Therefore, the involvement of reclaimers in the process of these plans is not adequately outlined in existing policies, except for the SACN workshop. There is a need for the preparation of these plans to involve all stakeholders and be explicit about reclaimers. This is because the plans could infringe on the reclaimers' livelihoods.

4.2. LOCAL POLICIES AND BY-LAWS ON WASTE MANAGEMENT

This section looks at the regulations and policies that the City of Johannesburg uses to govern waste management. It assesses how these policies and by-laws are assessed on how they relate to reclaimers integration. This section presents the Integrated Waste Management Policy and Plan that together act as the overarching policies which guide the locally implemented programmes. It also looks at the Extended Public Works Programme which focuses on funding municipalities in certain projects. The section further looks at Pikitup's own policy, the Strategic RoadMap that is meant to ensure that Pikitup reaches its desired goals by a specific timeframe (Pikitup, 2012). The programmes and projects that the City has implemented are explored in this section, giving an account of what the programmes focus on and why they were introduced. This section also explores the different programmes and how they explicitly and implicitly frame reclaimers and their integration. It should be considered that the different programmes discussed here have been implemented by both EISD and Pikitup.

4.2.1. Policy on Integration – The Integrated Waste Management Policy of 2011

The City of Johannesburg developed an Integrated Waste Management Policy that deals with solid waste management within the City's jurisdiction. The Integrated Waste Management Policy of 2011 was developed for the City to address the issue of the increasing volumes of waste in the city and the decrease in landfill airspace (CoJ, 2011). The purpose of this IWM Policy is to provide the overall framework for the City to develop a sustainable integrated waste management system for solid waste generated and/or managed within the boundaries of Johannesburg,

“The purpose of the Policy was to create a strategic framework for achieving integrated waste management within the municipal boundaries and to articulate approaches towards meeting the targets and objectives set by the Polokwane Declaration of 2001” (CoJ, 2011: 1).

The goal of the policy is to provide directions on the implementation of IWM principles, compliance measures and to create awareness in how essential the well-being of the environment is (CoJ, 2011: 7). It aims to “integrate all aspects of waste management within the CoJ” (CoJ, 2011: 2). The

policy aims to bring together all the different units of the waste management system, which reclaimers and their informal system are not considered part of the system to be integrated. Reclaimers are not included in this document.

The policy states that every person residing in Johannesburg has the responsibility to comply with it, but it has no clear definition of what integration is. It provides different waste management service mechanisms, which entail the City working through partnerships. Different Waste Management Service Mechanisms are discussed whereby,

“A service that is provided via a community partnership contract or another entity (private business, CBO or NGO) that is contracted via the CoJ’s commercial tender process to provide a service on behalf of the City...” (CoJ, 2011: 17).

Referring to community partnerships could be inclusive of reclaimers, but the policy fails to explicitly acknowledge reclaimers, even while it refers to NGOs, CBOs and the privates sector. What is more, the policy does not make mention of the reclaimers role in waste management, let alone how the City plans to integrate them. It is a problem to see reclaimers as on par with community members. Community members do not work in the sector; thus reclaimers should be an important stakeholder.

4.2.2. Integrated Waste Management Plan of 2011

The City’s IWM Plan was also developed in 2011 and it emanates from the Waste Act of 2008, the Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000), the 2011 NWMS and the 2001 National Waste Management Summit: Polokwane Declaration. The plan’s targets are taken from targets from the NWMS. The IWM Plan aims to enable the implementation of the IWM Policy of the City of Johannesburg (CoJ, 2011: 47). The document states that the approved IWMP should then be incorporated into the municipal Integrated Development Plan (IDP) as stated in the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 (CoJ, 2011: i). Its main objective is to optimise and integrate waste management services in order to provide efficiency and improve the quality of citizens living within the city (CoJ, 2011).

The IWM Plan aims to monitor how budget allocations are made in the waste management sector and this flows from the National Waste Management Strategy of 2011. Unlike the IWM Policy, the Plan talks about the financial issues within waste management. These financial issues do not mention how reclaimers could be assisted. It highlights that that both City officials and the public do not understand the costs of waste management services, resulting in the under budgeting of services as well as programmes (CoJ, 2011). Pikitup has had constraints with its budget which led to the failure of certain programmes that are discussed in the next section. This is what the IWM Plan aimed to address by the end of 2011 (CoJ, 2011).

There are eight main goals within this plan which entail waste minimisation, reuse, recycling and recovery amongst others. One of the set targets for waste minimisation is to have a Reclaimers Management System that entails registering reclaimers; providing them with the Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) and providing training on safety measures (CoJ, 2011: 51).

The IWM Plan has the goal to implement programmes that will target sustainable waste minimisation, reuse, recycling and recovery. One of the programmes that the plan mentions is the Separation at Source Programme. According the IWM Plan, the implementation of this programme will promote the goal to reuse and recycling of waste,

“To implement sustainable waste minimisation, reuse, recycling and recovery programmes through strategic interventions including the promotion of composting, waste-to-energy and other reuse and recycling initiatives supported by the introduction of waste separation at source programmes” (CoJ, 2011: 47).

Separation at Source means the separation of recyclable material from other waste, which also entails the separation of recyclable material into its component groupings (CoJ, 2011: xv). The Separation at Source programme is meant to contribute to the betterment of the quality of life of the people residing in the city by having clean environments. The IWM Plan reports on the programmes that Pikitup was implementing by the year 2011. These include the separation of waste and the formation of a reclaimers committee to work with the City officials. This committee is mean to provide a formal line of communication between the officials and reclaimers. The lines of communication that have emerged between city officials and reclaimers will be further explained in the following chapters.

As discussed above, the IWM Plan includes Separation at Source initiatives. However, problems were encountered in these initiatives, including that reclaimers “invaded the area and took the recyclables before the collection vehicles arrived” (CoJ, 2011: 34). In as much as the role of reclaimers is presented as a problem in this plan, IWM Plan mentions that this problem was addressed by giving reclaimers already collecting in the area identification cards (ibid). The intention of Pikitup working towards having a formal line of communication and providing identity cards for reclaimers is a sign that reclaimers are recognised. It also depicts the intention for the City to include reclaimers in the initiatives and programmes they implement. The IWM Plan also speaks of future plans the City could implement. It is stated in the plan that such programmes will promote job opportunities within the waste sector, but there is no explicit explanation of how reclaimers could benefit from such opportunities:

“These programmes should contribute towards the upliftment of the quality of life of the people within the CoJ by ensuring them a clean environment and by identifying, promoting and supporting potential job opportunities” (CoJ, 2011: 47).

Each goal has set objectives and plans and targets that Pikitup is responsible to meet. Some of the goals refer to the involvement of “society” and “stakeholders”. The plan does not clarify who are considered to be stakeholders. It is only pointed out within an implementation plan that the stakeholders being referred to are CoJ, the private sector and the community (CoJ, 2011: 42). One of the objectives set for integrated planning is that the City should “ensure capacity building for all key stakeholders relevant to the successful implementation of the IWMP.” (CoJ, 2011: 57). It could be argued that this capacity building is meant for CoJ, private sector and the community. A question could be asked whether the term ‘community’ includes reclaimers. The capacity building and raising awareness goal mentions that capacity building programmes should be provided for internal members of staff within the CoJ and for the broader community (CoJ, 2011: 65). This does not openly mention the involvement of the private sector or reclaimers.

This plan indicates that Pikitup and the private sector are responsible for implementing of all separation at source programmes. Yet is the same Plan points out that the challenge of implementing separation at source programmes is the interference of reclaimers. The IWM Plan is clear in its recognition of reclaimers:

“Further influx of reclaimers has been controlled by issuing identification cards to those already in the area” (CoJ, 2011: 35).

However, it is unclear of where and how reclaimers could be involved in the implementation plans. Reclaimers are only accounted for in the targets set for waste minimisation, reuse, recycling and recovery, which is a very broad goal that includes separation at source, creation of jobs and educating communities (CoJ, 2011: 47). Section 6.1 of the Plan mentions how reclaimers would be helped, but not specifically how reclaimers could help in waste management.

“Evaluate and implement appropriate mechanisms to formalize informal salvaging at the working face of the landfill site” (CoJ, 2011: 48).

As an official the mandate received from this IWM Plan is to help reclaimers by providing protective clothing and by training them (CoJ, 2011: 51)⁴. This document also gives an official the understanding that the will be working mainly with other state departments as well as the private sector. This is why Pikitup has been working with private companies to implement separation at source initiatives. There is no budget allocated to these plans.

4.2.3. Pikitup's Strategic Road Map

In the 2006/7 financial year, Pikitup contracted P D Naidoo & Associates to develop the Strategic Road Map. This roadmap is an instrument that Pikitup uses to ensure that the department reaches its desired goals over 5 year periods (Pikitup, 2012). They were contracted to do background research and the roadmap was only released in 2012. The Roadmap interventions encompass all operations and functions of Pikitup and seeks to that the department is well managed, efficient and effective (Pikitup, 2012).

The intent of this strategy is in line with the Joburg 2040 Strategy that focuses on three main concepts of resilience, sustainability and liveable urbanism (Pikitup, 2012). The strategy is in phases and it is required to meet the Polokwane Declaration targets and its key goal which is to:

“Reduce waste generation and disposal by 50% and 25% respectively by 2012 and develop a plan for zero waste by 2022.” (P D Naidoo & Associates, 2007: 2).

The Strategic Road Map continues to outline its implementation plan into three phases. The first phase was from 2007 to 2009 is for the City to improve the working conditions in the landfills for reclaimers to work to have a better working environment. The second phase waste state to continue form the year 2010 to 2012, which looked into the issue of sorting facilities. The third phase from 2012 to 2022 was to focus on the reduction of waste disposal into landfills by 70% (P D Naidoo & Associates, 2007). The first and second phases speak of creating a better working environment for the reclaimers, but

⁴ See table 16 of the IWMP page 51.

there is no clear indication of how the formalisation process will begin. The third phase talks about reducing waste that is disposed in landfills, meaning that the work reclaimers do in these landfills will no longer be necessary. Pikitup's Roadmap to 2016 that was developed in 2012 is in five phases. The document outlines these different phase and reclaimers are not mentioned with the implementation plan. It is a Roadmap that mainly prioritises on the "transformation" of Pikitup (Pikitup, 2012, 5). However, the Roadmap does acknowledge that the weakness of Pikitup's governance and it states that there are:

"...significant shifts that are required in terms of the new waste hierarchy require multi-stakeholder collaboration across the value chain both from an operational and financial/funding point of view..." (Pikitup, 2012: 15).

The Pikitup Roadmap also points out that there is "stakeholder fragmentation" (Pikitup: 15). The word 'stakeholder' is used throughout this document, but it is not clear about who the stakeholders are. The document continues to discuss the need for the EISD and Pikitup to be more integrated. This integration is to ensure that Pikitup imperatives are aligned to regulatory requirements (ibid.). The Roadmap prioritises on the functionality of the entity and tries to bridge the gap between Pikitup's plans and the obstacles that may prevent it from succeeding. Therefore, discussions on reclaimers have not been considered.

4.2.4. Separation at Source Strategy

The inspiration of the Separation at Source Strategy came from the Polokwane Declaration in 2012 which mainly focused on creating new standards in the waste management system of the country. Pikitup drafted a Separation at Source Strategy in 2015 to ensure that Separation at Source (S@S) is implemented throughout the city. The vision of this programme is to,

"Divert recyclable waste away from landfill by establishing a Recycling Economy within the City of Johannesburg". (Pikitup, 2015: 5).

The implementation of S@S was to save the city's rapidly decreasing landfill airspace (Pikitup, 2015: 4). The 2015 S@S Strategy was developed to be in line with Jozi@work that was implemented a year before (Pikitup, 2015). Similarly to every other strategy within the waste management system, S@S flows from the National Waste Management Strategy and the NEMWA (no 59 of 2008) amongst other national legislation. It also flows from the Integrated Development Plan of the City of Johannesburg. The strategy points out that the Jozi@work model will be used to implement Separation at Source in high income residential areas. Jozi@work is an approach developed to tap into the unemployed and promote formal employment through various service delivery projects (CoJ, 2015). 130 000

households were targeted for the financial years between 2015/16 - 2017/18 (ibid.). In addition, the S@S strategy clearly outlines its plans for reclaimers and community members, as seen below;

“The Separation at Source Model is premised on the City facilitating a recycling economy through supporting communities to establish waste management entities, supporting reclaimers by integrating them into the programme as well as the provision of supporting infrastructure such as sorting facilities.” (Pikitup, 2015: 7).

Section 5.2 of the Strategy shows how the City aims to integrate reclaimers. This section defines what integration means for the City,

“Reclaimer integration refers to the incorporation of reclaimers into the value chain of S@S.” (Pikitup, 2015: 10).

According to the strategy the integration of reclaimers will work through the involvement of cooperatives. They will sell their recyclables to cooperatives and cooperatives will create a better working environment for reclaimers:

“Most of the current integration happens through interface with the cooperatives i.e reclaimers selling material to cooperatives and cooperatives facilitating better working environments for reclaimers” (Pikitup, 2015: 10).

It is however indicated that the cooperatives that exist are usually started by the reclaimers themselves and they are not able to manage them well. The strategy sets out two ways reclaimers can be integrated. The first is be remaining independent and selling materials to cooperatives that have been integrated into S@S. The second is for reclaimers to form coops which can be integrated. The interpretation of reclaimer integration in the Separation at Source Strategy is therefore dependent on the implementation of S@S. In the case where S@S programmes do not succeed that would mean that the integration of reclaimers would fail as well. The strategy has an implementation plan that makes reference to Jozi@work programme this is aimed at promoting partnerships with communities in the delivery of services. The partnerships will then be adopted as a key mechanism for implementing Separation at Source (Pikitup, 2015: 13). Pikitup also states that manual decentralised sorting buyback centres will be built that will be turned into “Integrated Waste Management Facilities” (Pikitup, 2015: 14). In the year 2017, reclaimers are still in need of sorting facilities. This demonstrates the way the City is trying to integrate reclaimers is not effective because it is entirely dependent on S@S. The strategy does not talk about how the City could adapt some methods used by the reclaimers.

4.3. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INTEGRATION

This section addresses the various programmes and projects that the municipality executed. The projects here are presented chronologically by year of implementation. The analysis of the projects looks at how they affect reclaimers and determines whether these projects enhance their integration into the system. The EISD and Pikitup has implemented some projects separately and others together. Both departments are still responsible for the progression of all the projects or programmes that are implemented in the waste sector. The projects that are discussed are as follows:

PROJECT	YEAR IMPLEMENTED	DEPARTMENT
Separation at Source	2009	EISD and Pikitup
The Reclaimers Empowerment Project	2010/11 and 2014	EISD
Jozi@work	2014	CoJ

Table 4.1. (above) Projects within the waste management system.
Source: Dladla, 2017.

4.3.1. Separation at Source

As explained in section 4.2.2., the Separation at Source Programme is meant to

“implement sustainable waste minimisation, reuse, recycling and recovery programmes through strategic interventions including the promotion of composting, waste-to-energy and other reuse and recycling initiatives supported by the introduction of waste separation at source programmes” (CoJ, 2011: 47).

The Separation at Source Strategic programme was first released in 2009 and once again in 2012 and 2013 (Pikitup, 2015). The first project that was implemented was a pilot project in the Waterval Depot. The second time the programme was established in 2012, it was based on the Declaration of Polokwane in 2012 (Pikitup, 2015). In 2013 Pikitup focused on mainstreaming Separation at Source as part of its operations where certain depots were upgraded. The depots were upgraded in order to ensure that S@S functions were factored into Operations and to allow for recycling activities to take place (Pikitup, 2015). From the budget allocation we find that Pikitup saw the need to assist reclaimers specifically to provide support equipment for reclaimers and buy-back centres (ibid.). Approved budgets of S@S increase in each financial year. An amount of R49072m was allocated for the financial year of 2015/16 and R55189m for 2017/18 (Pikitup, 2015: 17). This illustrates the commitment of the City to this programme. Pikitup also aims to have a city-wide implementation of S@S (Pikitup, 2015):

the remodelling of a city-wide S@S programme is perceived as advantageous as it would create a recycling economy within the city (ibid.), as well as provide business and job opportunities for communities.

4.3.2. The Reclaimer Empowerment Project

The Waste Reclaimers Empowerment Project was seen by the City as more of a partnership than an empowerment program (EISD, 2014). The City was meant to work closely with the reclaimers and together find ways on how to make the working conditions of the reclaimers better. This project began in 2010/11 and it has the following goals:

- To capacitate the Reclaimers on economic development issues
- To educate Reclaimers on waste management issues and risks associated with environmental and health hazards.
- To educate the public about the role played by the Reclaimers in waste management.
- To increase Reclaimers productivity and efficiency in waste recovery to assist the City minimise waste to landfill.
- To develop Waste Reclaimers to entrepreneurs and to form co-operatives to create sustainable jobs. (EISD, 2014)

The trolley brigades was enhanced by the Reclaimers Empowerment Project. The trolley brigade project was where a donation of twenty trolleys was done by a private company. These trolleys were branded and had reflectors. Once the trolleys were in use there were problems because the trolley pushers would be found collecting waste where other reclaimers do their collection (Godfery, *et al.*, 2015). EISD had several workshops to further engage with reclaimers from the City of Johannesburg and this was done through EPWP (Extended Public Works Programme) funding. The National Department of Public Works has the EPWP grant for provinces and municipalities to help them implement projects that reduce poverty through the alleviation and reduction of unemployment (Department of Public Works, 2011). The EPWP is a financial instrument meant to fund provincial and local municipalities to create employment for South African citizens that are low skilled, unemployed and are willing to work for an EPWP wage (Public Works, 2014). The beneficiaries of the EPWP are also meant to do work that will provide a service to the community (Public Works, 2014). EPWP wages and contract are for a very short term so that they can benefit a number of people. The issue is then the lack of sustainability for beneficiaries.

On the 31st of January 2014 the Reclaimers Empowerment Project was officially launched by a Member of the Mayoral Committee (MMC). The producer responsibility organisation or PETCO sponsored fifty trolleys worth R200 000 to EISD on the day of the launch. The City had plans to eventually design

designated routes for the trolley brigades; to date, the routes have not yet been put in place. With the intention of integrating reclaimers, the City created a database of trolley brigades or street reclaimers, landfill reclaimers and service providers (SACN, 2016).

In 2015 Pikitup launched a pilot project that had twenty trolley pushers given new, well-constructed trolleys (Cox, 2015). The newly constructed trolleys had reflectors for motorists to be able to see the reclaimers on the road. The main purpose of this initiative was to protect reclaimers and integrate them into the City's recycling programme (Cox, 2015). The provision of the trolleys resulted in a number of problems where recyclables were being "stolen" by the "trolley brigade" in areas where cooperatives had already been contracted to provide recycling services (Godfrey *et al.*, 2015).

The City is trying to find ways to make the working conditions of reclaimers better, but this does not help reclaimers because there are no routes on the roads that allow them to freely use these trolleys. Having new trolleys does not protect them on the road. Moreover, the trolley pushers and cooperatives are now competing for the same areas to recover waste and this is hard for officials to monitor (Godfrey *et al.*, 2015).

4.3.4. Jozi@Work

The Jozi@Work Programme was launched on the 30th of September 2014 (CoJ, 2015). This was a project that was introduced by then ANC Mayor Parks Tau in the different City departments (Raborife, 2017). This was intended to give communities the opportunity to partner with the City in the delivering of services (CoJ, 2015). One of the targets of Jozi@Work was,

"Shifting mind-sets by turning job seekers into job creators" (Pikitup, 2016: 263).

Over R 1 billion was designated to carry out this programme (ibid.). It was developed to respond to the shortcomings of EPWP, which was not creating sustainable employability for its beneficiaries, nor any transfer of skills. This programme was meant for the City to provide access to previously unavailable opportunities through a simplified procurement process for certain work streams (CoJ 2015).

"The programme is designed to create an opportunity for communities to partner with the City in the delivery of municipal services in their own neighbourhoods" (Pikitup, 2016: 263).

This programme was meant to contribute to all municipal sectors, including energy, waste, maintenance and construction, road and transport infrastructure, business and urban management, agriculture, water and information technology (CoJ, 2015). Pikitup was the department responsible for Jozi@work within the waste sector. Certain skills and services that would be rendered in the waste

sector were mainly linked to this department. Some of the services provided through this 'partnership' would be done on behalf of Pikitup.

Pikitup also had the mandate to provide existing cooperatives with infrastructure for them to work well (CoJ, 2015). Communities, youth and reclaimers played an important role to render services through Jozi@work (ibid.). This means that the job opportunities provided were not meant to benefit reclaimers exclusively. The services were; recycling, waste collection, street cleaning, eradication of illegal dumping, hostel cleaning and informal settlement cleaning. This programme is a "Developmental Service and Delivery Model" that worked on the services provided by community cooperatives (ibid.). Jozi@work had a number of challenges which include having a limited budget allocated towards it (Pikitup, 2017). When the Democratic Alliance took over the Johannesburg Council in 2016, it ended Jozi@Work due to widespread allegations of corruption and its association with the previous ANC Mayor. For the 2015/16 financial year an allocation of R 2 183 million was requested by Pikitup and this money would cater for an expanded microstructure, the Jozi@Work project as well as current collection levels. The City only approved an increase of R 155 million, reducing the requested budget to R 1 995 million (Pikitup, 2015: 94). Due to this restricted budget it is said that the Jozi@Work project would have to be under control (Pikitup, 2015: 94). It is still not clear how much money was assigned to the Jozi@Work project itself, but it could be argued that Pikitup had a limited budget assigned to this project. Jozi@work was replaced by the Community Upliftment Programme in the 2016/17 financial year. This new programme currently has R1 million allocated for its execution (Pikitup, 2017). Pikitup's 2017-2018 Business Plan specifies that there will be budget cuts for environmental education and the Separation at Source Programme for 2017- 2018 financial year (Pikitup Business Plan, 2017). The question here is, what the reason for these budget cuts when there are additional strategies the City is planning on implementing that require basic environmental education such as separating waste from its source. In the case of Jozi@work, over R1 billion was designated for its implementation in all the City departments (City, 2015). According to the Pikitup 2014-2015 Business Plan, the waste management sector was allocated R14.7 million for the implementation of the Jozi@work programme. The amount increased in the 2015-2016 financial year to R19.8 million. It is unfortunate that in spite of the budget increasing, this project was not entirely a success.

This project was meant to be a co-production of municipal services between the City and the public (CoJ, 2015). According to the concept of co-production as discussed in Chapter 2, the Jozi@Work model worked as a co-production of municipal services between the City and members of the community. However, the integration of reclaimers was not a priority for this model. This was a model that was meant to benefit all community members.

4.4. CONCLUSION

The review of the national legislation, local policies and programmes that focus on the developing a sustainable and integrated waste management system show the different levels of interaction between the state and reclaimers. The analysis made in this chapter shows that there is a gap between national and local policy in relation to integration. Local policy implicitly acknowledges reclaimers and it makes an attempt to include them, however national policy is still unclear of its recognition of reclaimers. At the moment there is no policy that clearly deals with reclaimer integration and its budget allocations in the City and nationally. It is only the Separation at Source Strategy that gives direction on how reclaimers can be integrated into the system. The dilemma here is that the service they provide still needs to be recognised. This is because the work reclaimers do is pertinent to the City's waste management. If reclaimers are properly recognised, the integration process will easily be materialised. It could be argued that the nature of the reclaimers work makes the process of integration complex. But then, a counter argument indicates that the way these instruments are structured and framed is what has created the complexity. EISD and Pikitup seem to work with different mandates that lead to disintegration. The complexity is further perpetuated by the shifts in time, whereby the recognition of reclaimers has become more salient, but the City is not well equipped to work with reclaimers. The overarching instruments are not overtly clear on how reclaimers should be integrated, what their role is and how much they should be paid in order to manage waste. More analyses will be made in the following chapters that will help answer the question on how City officials use the instruments they have to engage with reclaimers.



CHAPTER FIVE

UNDERSTANDING PRACTICES AND RELATIONS BETWEEN EISD AND PIKITUP

This chapter explores intra-state relations between the EISD and Pikitup. The analysis made in this chapter will give a better understanding of the waste management practices and approaches taken by these bodies. This chapter aims to answer the second part of the first research sub-question: ***What are the instruments and practices of City officials and how do they influence their relationship with reclaimers?***

This chapter looks into the practices of City officials and way in which EISD and Pikitup work together. It first presents the different structures and the lines of communication within the departments. The Key Performance Indicators within the various units are explored to give a picture in how the City aims to empower reclaimers and to what extent and how this becomes part of City officials' mandates. The third section also explores how the different units within EISD and Pikitup communicate and coordinate particularly with regards to reclaimer integration, since their mandates partly overlap.

This chapter draws from Olivier de Sardan's work on state practices. Olivier de Sardan argues that the focus on state practices should not only be on the official norms and organisational responsibilities, but it should also be on the practical norms. As discussed in chapter two, official norms are the set of rules and regulations that officials need to follow and practical norms are the officials' practices where they do not follow regulations (de Sardan, 2009). This chapter looks into both official and practical norms of EISD and Pikitup officials. It also determines that practical norms are essential in providing a better understanding of City officials' practices. The main argument here is that, the official norms need to be clarified and give guidance on how the reclaimer integration process should be carried out.

5.1. INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE CITY

This section focuses on firstly on the separate structures and different units of EISD and Pikitup. It also shows how EISD and Pikitup are connected institutionally and who they are both accountable to. The structure of EISD that is illustrated below only focuses on the department that has been researched. This is the department that focuses on the development and implementation of waste management projects. Units have worked closely with reclaimers.

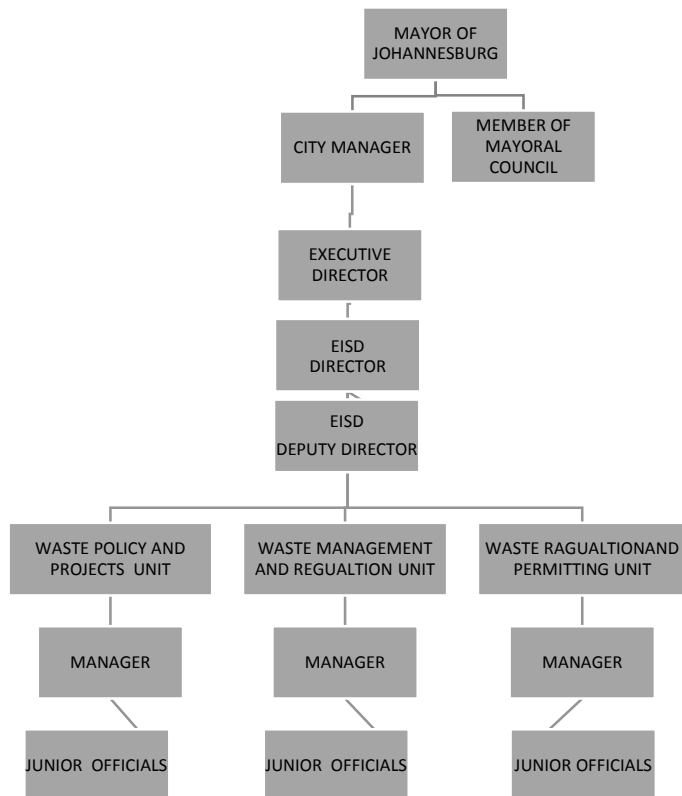


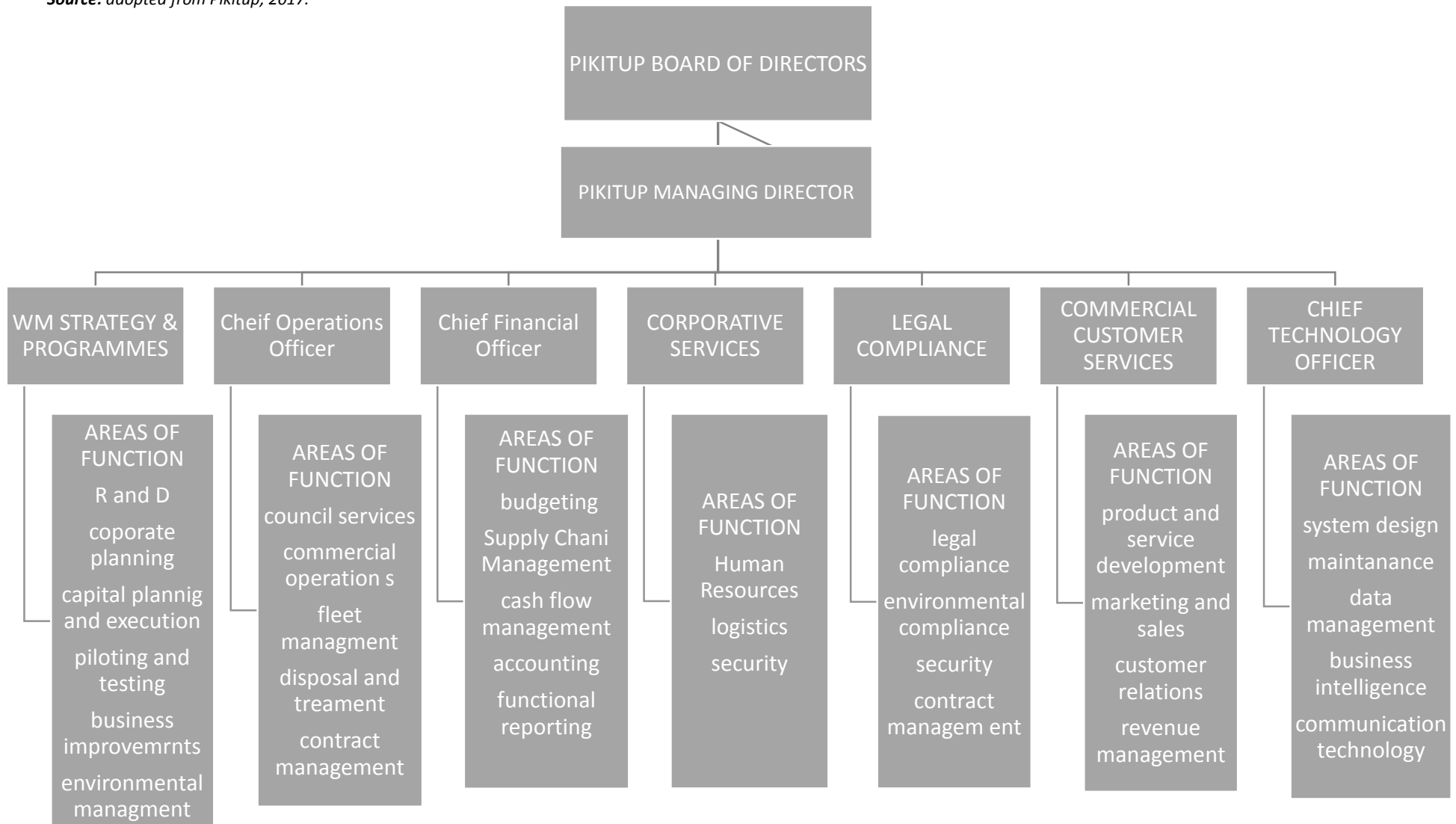
Figure 5.1. (above) Internal structure of EISD
Source: Dladla, 2017

The organogram above only shows the sections of the EISD Department that are relevant to this research. EISD is the Department that deals with the Policy and Monitoring department. As shown above, the Director reports to the Executive Director of the department who reports to both the City Manager and Member of Mayoral Council of Environment and Infrastructure Service Delivery (MMC). The MMC then reports directly to the Mayor of the City. This organogram also displays the three units within this department that works closely with reclaimers and this will be unpacked later on in this chapter.

The organogram shown below is Pikitup's, this is a municipal owned entity. This entity is accountable the Member of Mayoral Council (MMC) for Waste Management and the City Mayor. As shown below, there is a board of directors that is appointed by the City that Pikitup reports to (Pikitup, 2017). Reports are given on a regular basis (monthly) to this board of directors which mainly look at the progress of certain projects as well as officials' key performance indicators and how these indicators have been met. Junior officials from Pikitup report to their directors within the different departments, who are all accountable to the Managing Director of the entity. The units under the Chief Operations Officer work closely with the private sector and the reclaimers that work in the landfills.

Since the year 2016 the City of Johannesburg has been under the Democratic Alliance and there are several adjustments that have been made on the budget and the City's priorities in terms of service delivery (Pikitup, 2017). The new priorities mainly affect Pikitup in relation to how waste management service should be delivered. Plans to change the structure of Pikitup have been proposed due to the new administration of the Democratic Alliance.

Figure 5.2. (right) Pikitup structure
Source: adopted from Pikitup, 2017.



5.2. ENVIRONMENTAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICE DEPARTMENT

The EISD has a core mandate: to

“Safeguard inaccuracy, coordination and management of the key environmental management policies, strategies, strategic plans, bylaws and regulations. The department has to make sure that the City provides effective, optimum and sustainable basic service delivery to all citizens of City of Johannesburg. The projects developed and overseen need to protect the City’s natural resources and be in line with the Waste Management System.” (CoJ, 2017)

The City of Johannesburg’s Integrated Waste Management Plan of 2011 does not clearly state how the City should engage with the reclaimers. The EISD then developed guiding document known as the Empowerment of the Joburg Reclaimers in 2013. This document acknowledges reclaimers and states that,

“The department has recognized the role played by Waste Reclaimers in terms of waste recovery and recycling. They form an integral part in waste minimization.” (EISD, 2013:1).

It is within this plan where CoJ and EISD discuss how to empower reclaimers (see strategies outlined in section 4.3.2. *The Reclaimer Empowerment Project*).

From these strategies, the City has only seen one area of need for the reclaimers, which is to educate them. The City considers that it is important to firstly educate the reclaimers, as this will better equip them to be better at what they do. However, this suggests that the City sees reclaimers as lacking knowledge and understanding of what they do. These interventions also suggest the City has a long term goal of seeing reclaimers becoming entrepreneurs, which is a limited understanding of what reclaimers should become.

EISD has various departments within it and the Policy and Monitoring department is the department that is being focused on for this research. As illustrated on the organogram, the Policy and Monitoring department has three units, namely: the Waste Policy and Projects Unit, the Waste Management and Regulations Unit that is mainly meant to develop the Waste Information Management System (WIMS), and the Waste Regulation and Permitting Unit that focuses on compliance. All these units report to the Director and the Deputy Director of EISD. These units also have managers which the rest of the officials in that particular Unit report to.

5.3. PIKITUP

Pikitup is a municipal owned entity and it is known as the implementing agent for the City of Johannesburg when it comes to waste management. It is 100% owned by the City of Johannesburg, and was established in terms of the Companies Act, on 1 November 2001 (Pikitup, 2015: 4). Pikitup's mandate is to provide waste management and refuse removal services to the residents of Johannesburg (Pikitup, 2015). As mentioned earlier, the Board of Directors is selected by the City of Johannesburg. This board is "authorised to manage and direct the business and affairs of Pikitup" (Pikitup, 2017: 4). The City of Johannesburg also uses the EISD to oversee the governance of Pikitup (Pikitup, 2017: 4). The core mandate of Pikitup as an independent entity owned by CoJ is to do the following:

- "Remain committed to the Polokwane Declaration of zero waste to landfill sites;
- Provide leadership, but the public needs to be part of the solution;
- Work on the implementation of Separation @ Source city-wide at large scale to increase tonnages of waste diverted from landfills;
- Motivate communities to sort waste at household level;
- Employ community to collect, transport and sort all waste streams including education and awareness and
- Prioritise on a clean city."

(Pikitup, 2015: 25; 2017: 18)

The mandate provided in the 2017/18 financial year is the very same was the one outlined in the 2015/16 financials year. The change in administration in 2016 from the African National Congress (ANC) to the Democratic Alliance (DA) brought about nine new political priorities set by the Mayor. These political priorities are different compared to those set in the 2015/16 business plan. In 2015, the ANC's final year in power, a set of principles were outlined, which are as follows:

- "Put people and their concerns first and ensure constant contact with communities through effective public participation platforms. This is the essence of the 'back to basics' approach.
- Create conditions for decent living by consistently delivering municipal services to the right quality and standard. This includes planning for and delivery of infrastructure and amenities, maintenance and upkeep, including the budgeting to do this. Ensure no failures in services and where there are, restore services with urgency.
- Be well governed and demonstrate good governance and administration - cut wastage, spend public funds prudently, hire competent staff, ensure transparency and accountability.

- Ensure sound financial management and accounting, and prudently manage resources so as to sustainably deliver services and bring development to communities.
- Build and maintain sound institutional and administrative capabilities, administered and managed by dedicated and skilled personnel at all levels.” (Pikitup, 2015: 10)

The new administration of the City led Pikitup to develop nine “political priorities” namely:

- “Promote economic development and attract investment that creates jobs towards achieving 5% economic growth
- Ensure pro-poor development that addresses inequality and provides meaningful redress
- Create a culture of enhanced service delivery with pride
- Fight crime and create a sense of safety
- Create an honest and transparent City that fights corruption
- Create a City that responds to the needs of residents
- Enhance our financial sustainability
- Use technology that encourages innovation and efficiency
- Preserve our resources for future generations” (Pikitup, 2017a: 10)

Looking at the mandate, reclaimers are not overtly mentioned in regards of how the City will work with them. Both administrations do mention how they could work with communities. Pikitup’s Business Plan of both 2015 and 2017 state that the City must “employ the community to collect, transport and sort waste” (Pikitup, 2015: 25; 2017a: 18). Pikitup aims to make sure that communities and entrepreneurs benefit from the recycling economy birthed within the City (Pikitup, 2015: 5; 2017: 5). One could argue that the ‘community’ could also include reclaimers as this is a group of people that is already involved in sorting out and recycling waste. However, Pikitup does mention reclaimers as a separate stakeholder. It recognises reclaimers in relation to the Separation at Source Programme as it also acknowledges that the City could partner with them in the implementation of the S@S Programme (Pikitup, 2015: 5; Pikitup, 2017a: 5). Pikitup constantly refers to reclaimers together with recyclers and cooperatives (Pikitup, 2017a: 27, 40). The role and attention of Pikitup has changed in the new administration whereby it aims to:

“...ensure that the Community Upliftment Programme (CUP) model is implemented and that co-operatives and SMMEs are used in providing services in communities such as collection of recyclable waste...education and awareness programmes(Pikitup, 2017a: 17).”

When the City of Johannesburg was under the ANC, the community had indeed taken preference over the integration of reclaimers. One could even ask whether the cooperatives and SMEs that will be

employed will have reclaimers. This is because most reclaimer cooperatives have failed within the City of Johannesburg.

Since the new administration of the City of Johannesburg has set new political priorities. The 2015 priorities were driven by the numerous protests on service delivery and the municipality is responding to the:

“...diminishing public confidence in municipal government as expressed through service delivery protests and quality of life data showing 30% confidence in local government.” (Pikitup, 2015: 10).

The priorities of the new administration are intrinsically linked to the City’s Integrated Development Plan (IDP) review of 2017/18 that aims at aligning the City’s programmes. The City’s administration aims to drive change (Pikitup, 2017b). The City aims to promote economic development, “mostly pro-poor development” (Pikitup, 2017b: 3) where programmes such as Separation at Source could be implemented. It also aims to eliminate corruption and encourage better governance. The Pikitup Business Plan of 2017 states that the priorities that are relevant for Pikitup are as follows:

- “Review current waste-to-energy Private Public Partnership
- Clean Up Inner City
- Clean and refurbish hostels
- Amend Supply Chain Management policies for transparency and break up big tenders to enable small companies
- Increase capital expenditure
- Clean Audit
- Skills audit and training for employees
- Strengthen change management
- Increase M&E and cost benefit analyses of projects
- Professionalise the City
- Improve customer relations
- Increase by-law enforcement” (Pikitup, 2017b: 3)

On top of the goals outlined above, the new administration presented their plans on the institutional arrangement of Pikitup – it was mentioned that the “re-integration” of Pikitup into the City should “be anticipated” (Pikitup, 2017b: 17). The mandates of every official would be revisited and clarified (Pikitup, 2017b). Furthermore, the aim is “to improve contract and project management to reduce non-compliance and third party contractual liabilities” (ibid.). This could lead to third party contractors

increasing and the City using the private sector to implement its waste management projects. The role of the private sector could be prioritised over reclaimers.

Pikitup has seven departments with smaller units as shown in the organogram above (refer to Figure 5.2). For the purposes of this research the Waste Management Strategy & Programmes, the Operations officer's (COO) and the Legal Compliance departments will be analysed. I noticed that these are the departments that mostly engage with the reclaimers. Within the Waste Management Strategy & Programmes Department, the Environmental Management Unit is one of the Units that have been focused on in this research. Officials that work in the landfills such as the landfill managers are part of this Unit. It is the landfill managers that work closely with the reclaimers and they engage with them occasional through a forum that will be discussed later. Under the Operations Department, the Contract Management Unit has been explored during fieldwork. This Unit is linked to the contracts that Pikitup made with private companies to assist with programme implementation. Another Unit that has been given attention in this research is the Legal Compliance Department which has the Environmental Compliance and Contract Management Units amongst others. Most of the Units mentioned here are linked to the management of the landfills. In essence, it is mainly the Waste Management Strategy & Programmes Department and the COO that work closely with the issue of reclaimer integration.

5. 4. EISD AND PIKITUP - HOW THE CITY WORKS

Each and every official has key performance indicators (KPIs) or performance scorecards that give the officials their specific mandate. The principal officials use these KPIs to assess senior and junior officials. Under the EISD's Waste Policy and Projects Unit, the officials have the mandate to develop and implement projects that are linked to the City's Waste Management system (EISD, 2017). During my internship I noticed that EISD officials from all the units have a connection to Pikitup. The Compliance officials work with the landfill managers from Pikitup. During my internship at EISD, I had the opportunity to visit Goudkoppies landfill with a junior official. The EISD junior official worked closely with the landfill managers who showed me how the landfill operates. The EISD Waste Policy and Projects officials work with the officials from under Pikitup's Chief Operations Officer. These officials have weekly meetings that focus on the Separation at Source Programme. They also work together with regards to the City's waste service delivery. Officials from EISD's Waste Management and Regulation Unit and Waste Policy and Projects Unit work together with Pikitup during reclaimer-City workshops. These units collaborated when the City hosted a City-reclaimers workshop from the 17th to the 19th of May 2017. The different EISD Units working with Pikitup strengthens the formal relations between both parties. Since the EISD is known as the policy making agent and Pikitup as the implementing agent, their collaboration could be effective in terms of service delivery. Nevertheless,

this collaboration is lacking with regards to reclaimer integration. Both the EISD and Pikitup work in isolation when it comes to integrating reclaimers and this will be further discussed in the next section on the officials' Key Performance Indicators.

Separation at Source as the City's priority

The Separation at Source Programme is one of the programmes that the City implemented with the aim of developing a sustainable waste management system that also includes reclaimers. The Waste Management Strategy and Programmes department of Pikitup and the Waste Policy and Projects Unit of EISD are the two main departments that deal with Separation at Source. During my internship at EISD there were events where communication was not clear between the two departments on what Separation at Source could do for the reclaimers. For example, there were times when meetings would be set up by Pikitup officials and the EISD officials would not know or would be told at the last minute. This led to some of these meetings being cancelled and no progress taking place in terms of how Separation at Source could enhance reclaimer integration. The reason why communication was adhoc was because of excessive administration City officials are faced with. Another reason why there is uncertainty with how Separation at Source should include reclaimers is because officials are tasked with other responsibilities that take precedence over reclaimer integration.

In relation to the state working with reclaimers, both departments work on the Separation at Source Programme. Pikitup officials are in the forefront of this Programme with the aim of implementing this of the programme throughout the city. In the years 2015 to 2016, Pikitup reports mention that the Community Upliftment Programme model will be used to implement S@S within low income areas. On the other hand, Pikitup will engage with the private sector to implement S@S in the high income areas (Pikitup, 2017). Pikitup contracted private companies to implement S@S in middle to high income areas. These contracts were made from July 2016. Since then there are weekly meetings held at the Pikitup offices to discuss matters concerning the implementation S@S in the high income areas. Pikitup and EISD officials meet with the sub-contracted private companies. The input of EISD officials is minimal – they guide Pikitup officials on how to implement S@S. Some EISD officials believe that S@S should be implemented by the private sector and this will be further explained in chapter 6. The agenda of these meetings are mainly to provide updates on the implementation process.

A Separation at Source meeting held on the 28th July 2017

The Pikitup Project Manager of Separation at Source called for a meeting at the Pikitup head offices, which was attended by junior officials from Pikitup, one senior official and junior from EISD and two private company owners. I also had the opportunity to be a part of this meeting.

The recent Separation at Source Programme was being implemented in the middle to upper residential areas of Johannesburg. The agenda of this meeting was mainly for the “S@S further roll out team”, to discuss SMME’s and reclaimers’ integration into the programme as well as the communication and education of the programme. During the meeting a senior official of Pikitup mentioned with concern that some reclaimers were unhappy with the presence of the private companies in these residential areas. In response, the senior official from EISD said assertively,

“Separation at Source is a state-run programme and the reclaimers have little to do in this case.”

While the other stakeholders around the table tried to find ways to deal with the point that was been raised a number of times, the senior official added,

“We are not going to be dictated to by the reclaimers.”

In as much the senior EISD official emphasised on his point the S@S Project Manager of Pikitup explained that the service providers needed to find ways for reclaimers to be integrated into the project. This was supported by another senior Pikitup official who maintained that the reclaimers needed to be considered in the implementation of this project. This became a dialogue between Pikitup and EISD officials and the issue of how the private sector was to involve the reclaimers unattended to.

Pikitup officials had the opportunity to discuss what their responsibilities were with regards to creating awareness on the programme in the residential areas. One of the officials was tasked with the responsibility to provide information on the implementation of S@S to a local newsletter, but this was not done. Other officials had the responsibility to work with Ward Councillors to find ways on how to create awareness and educate the residents on separation at source. Ward Councillors were supposed to be consulted for the education of Separation at Source to take place; however, not all Councillors were consulted. As a result, the education and awareness initiative had to be postponed. The communications official of Pikitup also disclosed that their plan to communicate with the residents via email could not be done. There was another initiative to provide bags to the residents that participated in the S@S programme. These bags were meant to be branded. When the time came to discuss the progress on the bags, it was not clear on who was responsible to do the branding between Pikitup and the private companies. Eventually, the company owners said that they would bring the

bags in the coming weeks for the officials to comment on them. In spite of all the slow progress and some deadlines not being met, it was mentioned the S@S would be implemented in Midrand on the 1st of September 2017.

When analysing this meeting it is clear that the City and the private sector are the key stakeholders for the S@S programme. The presence of the private sector is constantly interfering with the relationship between the City and the reclaimers. On the one hand, some of the City officials see the need to include reclaimers, which could be the beginning of integration. On the other hand, other officials believe the reclaimers should not be included. This illustrates that the City has different opinions on how reclaimers should be included in City projects. Looking at S@S strategy does state that reclaimers should be integrated but only if they are cooperatives. Looking at the senior EISD official's statement, it could be interpreted that reclaimers are not important to the way forward of S@S, this is a practical norm. A practical norm is the real behaviour or attitude of an official towards something. Here we see the senior EISD official's real attitude towards the idea of reclaimer integration and reclaimers themselves. This links a scenario that de Sardan (2009) illustrates to show officials' practical norms. He states that,

“On the one hand, there is an official language for external show and national political rites (...) founded on the basis of a legal model and a Western bureaucratic ideal-type. On the other hand, there is an everyday language which is, in fact, a language of tricks and favours, intrigues and negotiations.” (de Sardan, 2009: 52)

This is what he calls “double speak” and this is what we see in this meeting. Officially there have been meetings as well as documents such as the Separation at Source Strategy that state that reclaimers need to be integrated within S@S as cooperatives. However, the everyday language of some of the officials is that reclaimers are not supposed to interfere with the implementation of S@S in the middle to high income areas.

The Waste Policy and Projects Unit also works closely with officials from the Chief Operating Officer's department within Pikitup. The EISD Compliance Unit works closely with the Disposal and Treatment Unit in relation to landfills, which is under the COO department in Pikitup. There are different forums that exist in the landfills which are in the process of being restructured and this includes landfill managers and reclaimers.

The EISD Compliance Unit is responsible for conducting internal audits of what takes place within the different City owned and Pikitup managed depots, landfill sites buy-back centres and waste handling facilities (ESID Offices #4, 1/12/17). I had the chance to visit Goudkoppies landfill with one of the

Compliance officials. What is formally done here is that the Compliance officers visit these sites and verify if the appropriate waste is being taken to the right landfills. For instance, there are landfills that only have domestic waste. Landfill managers should ensure that domestic waste is taken to the right landfills. This unit also scrutinises whether the landfill managers or supervisors take all precautions and take care of the area such as the infrastructure - fencing of the premises, security and the collection of waste disposal tariffs (see annexure A) (EISD Offices #4, 1/12/17). The internal audits conducted by the junior officials are reported to the deputy director. It could be said that Compliance Unit acts as an inspector to make sure that Pikitup is doing the right job. The audit checklist does not mention reclaimers and there is no checklist that monitors the activities they do. There is no technique or instrument that is used to document the interactions and discussions City officials may have with the reclaimers.

The level of interaction between the two departments has been outlined and it has been stated that officially EISD is the department that works on policy and project monitoring and evaluation and Pikitup implements the several programmes and projects. However, EISD implements its own projects, such as waste minimisation and the production of biogas, such as the Waste to Energy Project. The department also has trained reclaimers and these training sessions are funded by Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) from the National Department of Public Works. From the fieldwork that was conducted it was determined that the training sessions funded by EPWP are only done by the EISD and Pikitup is not involved. The two departments working in isolation has caused a disconnection in terms of reclaimer integration. The disconnection is mainly found within the Key Performance Indicators of EISD and Pikitup officials, which will be further discussed in the following sections.

Meeting on Biogas held on the 18th of August 2017

This was a meeting that only had the EISD project manager and junior official responsible for the Biogas project. The waste to energy process started from the pulling of gas from the waste into a gas management compound that is then delivered into a flare where the gas is combusted earning Carbon Credits. This is then converted into Carbon Dioxide through the combustion process (CoJ, 2013). The gas then becomes fuel that generates electricity. Construction of the generators was completed at Robinson Deep in the year 2011 and at Marie Louise in 2012 (ibid.). This project led to the improvement in air quality in both landfills (Robinson Deep and Marie Louise). This project clearly responds to the requirements set out in the IWM Policy and Plan. It was mentioned in the meeting that this project was initially done by the Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA). It was then given to the City of Johannesburg to the EISD that will be assisted by the University of Johannesburg. The City would still have to get a service provider to work on this project. An amount of R3 million was assigned to this project and the project manager and junior official of EISD have to produce terms of

reference for the strategy that will be used for this project. Nothing about Pikitup was mentioned in this meeting.

In as much as EISD is known as the policy agent, the officials within the Waste Policy & Projects Unit are still responsible for the “development and implementation of various projects in line with the City’s Environmental Management System with respect to the City’s natural resources” as clearly outlined on their scorecards. However, such a project would require the presence of Pikitup officials that manage the municipal depots.

5.4.1. The Mandate Of The Municipality In Relation To Reclaimer Integration

This section explores the Key Performance Indicators that officials within the EISD and Pikitup follow as part of their mandate. Key performance Indicators are essential instruments that give officials instructions on how to do their work and how they will be assessed. These instruments will help determine how officials are or are not guided to integrate reclaimers. EISD and Pikitup’s mandates are outlined with the tables below. This section analyses the Key Performance Areas and goals of EISD and Pikitup in relation to the City’s Integrated Development Plan. It further also explores if the KPIs of both EISD and Pikitup have any connection to reclaimer integration. The purpose of this section is to show how the City embarks on reclaimer integration. It also illustrates how City officials utilise these instruments on a daily basis.

The mandate for officials under the Waste Policy and Project Unit in the EISD is as follows:

KEY PERFORMANCE AREA	KEY PERFORMANCE INDICATOR	TARGETS	EVIDENCE
1. Integration of Waste Pickers into Waste Management System.	1.1. No. of Waste Pickers empowered through EPWP No.: 224 for 2016/17 financial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selection of registered Waste Pickers from 7 Regions • Training waste pickers • Empowerment of Waste Pickers • No. of Co-operatives forms 	Service Level Agreement Closure Report
	1.2. No. of Waste Pickers provided with PPE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selection of registered Waste Pickers 	Appointment Letter /service

	No.: 224	from 7 Regions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confirmation of beneficiaries Sizes • Distribution of PPE to Waste Pickers 	level Agreement Closure Report
2. Develop Treatment Technologies for Waste	2.1. Appointment of the EAP for Environmental Impact Assessment Study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop a Terms of Reference • Work with the DBSA Supply Chain Management • Appoint a service provider 	Terms of Reference
	2.2. % Development of a 50 Ton Biodigester Pilot Plant	Feasibility study	Approved Service Level Agreement
3. Ensure integration of the City's waste management policy, plan, bylaws with national and provincial legislative requirements and other internal processes	3.1. No. of sessions/ stakeholder forums/ meetings/workshops attended/comment provided	Annually	Minutes /presentation/ comments
4. Effective management of department and transformation process	4.1. No. of monthly and quarterly report submitted		
	4.2. No of feedback sessions/ staff meetings		Minutes of meeting
	4.3. Completion of Scorecard and review process	Draft scorecard Completed ADBS report	All signed documents

Table 5.1. (above) EISD officials' KPIs in relation to reclaimer integration
Source: Adapted from EISD, 2017

This following table shows the mandate Pikitup officials:

GOALS	PROJECTS	KEY PERFORMANCE INDICATOR	TARGET 2016/17	PERFORMANCE
1. Integrated Waste Management, Waste Prevention and Waste Minimisation	1.1. Waste diverted to landfills, Reduce, reuse, recycle and reclaim	Tons of green waste diverted Tons of builders rubble diverted Tons of dry waste diverted through Pikitup interventions (paper, plastic, glass and cans)	60 000 tons 100 000 tons 500 000 tons	48 978 tons 62 032 tons 38 296 tons
	1.2. Separation at Source extended to other areas	% participation rate in targeted areas where Separation at Source is implemented.	30%	18%
	1.3. Climate change	Tons of carbon gas offset in GHG emissions (from waste diverted).	893 tons CO ₂	15 967 tons CO ₂
	1.4. Construction of new buy-back centres and upgrade garden sites	Number of integrated waste management facilities developed in the CoJ.	5 additional waste management facilities	2 sorting facilities constructed
	1.5. Upgrade landfill sites to comply to extend landfill airspace	% landfill compliance to GDARD regulations and permit conditions as issued by DEA.	95% landfill compliance	94. 84% landfill compliance
2. Realisation of Value throughout the waste value chain	2.1. Separation at Source and CUP/Jozi@work	Number of jobs created through cooperatives	1070 jobs 36 coops and SMMEs	1362 jobs created

		Number of cooperatives and SMMEs established		37 coops and SMMEs established
	2.2. Community cleaning programme (EPWP, CWP)	Number of community members employed to clean areas	1500 community members employed	5395 EPWP
3. Effective and efficient waste services	3.1. Regular domestic waste collection	% of Refuse Collection Rounds complete in time (1530h – 1700h)	98% completed rounds	98%
	3.2. Improve city's cleanliness levels of targeted areas (education and awareness)	Cleanliness level of inner city as determined by GDARD	Level 2	Level 2
		Cleanliness level in outer city based on street cleaning and determined by GDARD	Level 2	Level 2
	3.3. Cleaning of Hostels	Cleanliness level of Hostels determined by GDARD	Level 2	Level 3
3.4. Cleaning of illegal dumping spots	Number of illegal dumping spots cleaned	2000 illegal dumping sites cleaned	3916 (average visits carried out to clean the spots)	

	3.5. Performance of informal settlements services on a weekly basis	% informal settlements services on a weekly basis	100%	100%
4. Partnerships and stakeholder involvements	4.1. Waste campaign	Number of campaigns implemented	4 major waste campaigns to be delivered	4 major waste campaigns were delivered
5. Building an effective, efficient and valuable waste management company	5.1. Commercial Revenue collection	%collection from Pikitup's commercial customers	90% collection rate	67%
	5.2. Capital Budget expenditure	% Capital Budget spent	95% budget spent	55%
	5.3. Procurement spent of BEE and women owned companies	%BEE spent %women owed companies	75% BEE 25% women owned companies	98% 67%
	5.4. Ensure sound financial state of company related to all aspects	Audit opinion obtained from Auditor General	Audit opinion obtained from Auditor General	Awaiting AG audit outcome
	5.5. Promotion of ethics and integrity within the company	% Delivery on reported cases of corruption	100% delivery on reported cases of corruption	100%
	5.6. Query resolution	% queries resolved in 7 days	90% queries resolved	82.6%
	5.7. Compliance	Quarterly audits	4 quarterly audits completed	137 audits were completed

	5.8. Reduced number of accidents	% achievement of performance index	0.3 Disabling Injury Frequency Index Rate Ratio	0.04 DIFR
	5.9. Improved productivity	New Indicator	85% achievement of performance index	

Table 5.2. (above) Pikitup officials' mandate
Source: Adapted from Pikitup, 2017

Officials' Key Performance Indicators in comparison to the City's Integrated Development Plan

This section looks at whether the Key Performance Areas (KPAs) and Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) mentioned above relate to the commitments made in the City's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) related to reclaimer integration. It also explores if there are any reclaimer integration commitments made within the IDP. The IDP is one of the City's instruments that keeps all the different departments accountable on the priorities and allocation of resources for the development of the City. It is a five year plan that acts as a tool that is meant to guide the municipalities in the activities they do. This plan is meant to provide short-term and long-term planning. The City of Johannesburg's IDP of 2012 to 2017 has long term plans that are then translated into implementable programmes. These programmes are targeted to be implemented by 2040. These key flagship programmes are as follows:

- Financial sustainability
- Shift to Low Carbon Infrastructure
- Integrated Waste Management
- Green Ways and Mobility
- From Informal Settlements to Sustainable Human Settlements
- Urban Water Management
- Citizen Participation and Empowerment
- Strategic communications and marketing
- Human Capital Development and Management

- A safe, secure and resilient City that protects, serves, builds and empowers communities

The IDP of 2012-2017 sees integrated waste management as a key programme for the City. This is the one key programme that is related to the reclaimer integration process. The short term target is to have the Separation at Source Programme rolled out throughout the City. Its medium term target is to have education, awareness and recycling initiatives within the City (CoJ, 2012). The IDP makes reference to the Joburg 2040 Strategy that has one of its outcomes that focuses on sustainable service. The outcomes give the City the mandate to,

“Provide a resilient, liveable, sustainable urban environment – underpinned by infrastructure supportive of a low-carbon economy” (CoJ, 2012: 68).

One of the outputs is for the City to have a,

“Sustainable and integrated delivery of water, sanitation, energy and waste” (CoJ, 2012).

This is where the key flagship programmes of the Integrated Waste Management Programme and Shift to Low Carbon Economy Programme are found.

These programmes focus on the”,

“...development of integrated waste disposal and treatment systems, and solutions that simultaneously address waste issues and the city’s need for reliable, affordable energy.” (CoJ, 2012: 69)

In addition, the priority is for the City to encourage,

“...the use of alternative energy at scale, the existing electricity infrastructure still needs to be maintained and used in an efficient manner.” (CoJ, 2012: 69)

These statements show that the City prioritises on having an integrated waste management system. The question raised here is whether this form of integration entails reclaimer integration. When further analysing the IDP of 2012-2017, it shows the areas of priority for the City. It indicates the amount of money allocated to Pikitup for the 2012/2013 financial year. An amount of R54 200 000 was assigned to the entity, where R8 million was allocated to Separation at Source, R4.7 million was allocated to the glass recycling project, R10.5 million to composting projects and R5 million to waste to energy plant (CoJ, 2012). Looking at the budget allocation, it is an indication that the City’s focus is on the composting projects and Separation at Source which links to Pikitup’s priority of Separation at Source. When comparing the priorities in EISD’s and Pikitup’s KPIs, it is indicative that they both have different priorities. While Pikitup is focused on Separation at Source, EISD area of attention is on Waste

to Energy projects. Reclaimer integration is not a priority for both EISD and Pikitup and this could be the reason why there is no progress and clear indication of how reclaimers should be integrated.

The R4.7 million that was assigned to the glass recycling is an indication that the City is interested in this area of recycling alone (CoJ, 2012/16). Pikitup is mainly responsible for this project and it was proposed in the 2012 to 2013 financial year. It has a KPI that states that dry waste such as paper, plastic, glass and cans should be diverted through Pikitup interventions. However, there is no further detail on how Pikitup officials should include reclaimers with regards to diverting this particular waste. Whereas, the EISD Waste Policy and Projects Unit that works closely with the reclaimers do not have a KPI that states that the officials should focus on glass recycling. As explained earlier, a senior EISD official was requested by the Mayoral office to go visit a glass recycling shop. The official was requested to see how this form of recycling could benefit the recyclers. This Mayoral request is not connected to the officials' responsibilities that are stated on table 5.1. above. It is indicative that some officials are indeed given more responsibilities outside of their core mandates. Evidently, EISD and Pikitup have different priorities, but one thing in common is that both entities lack clear instruction on how they could work with reclaimers that are already part of the recycling industry.

One of Pikitup's projects (refer to table 5.2) is to extend Separation at Source into other areas, which justifies why an amount such as R8 million would be assigned to this programme. It is clear that the City's priority is to implement Separation at Source city-wide. The IDP Review of 2015/2016 states that the City's aim is to create energy using the Separation at Source Programme. It also points out that the City will,

"Divert organic waste to bio-digesters in order to harvest gas for fuel and energy, adding material from the sewerage system." (CoJ, 2015: 173)

This statement provides further evidence of how the Separation at Source project as well as the diversion of waste are important to the City and this reflects within EISD and Pikitup. It is interesting that reclaimers are not mentioned in the KPAs and KPIs that are related to Separation at Source. The focus is more on the number of places where S@S has been implemented. One of the targets set by Pikitup is to create jobs and establish cooperatives as well as SMMEs. There is no clear indication of how reclaimers could be involved.

The IDP Review of 2015 to 2016 mentions the Integrated Waste Management Programme as one of the IDP programmes. A key performance indicator under this programme is for the City to have 70% increase participation within targeted areas for Separation at Source (CoJ, 2015). Interventions that were to be prioritised are; Waste to Energy, office waste recycling and recycling by the private sector.

The third KPA of the Waste Policy and Projects Unit (see table 5.1.) has a KPI that focuses on the developing a bio plant. This shows that the City is focused on the diverting waste to energy and this has the potential to take away reclaimers' opportunities. From what is stated in the IDP, the City sees recycling as a priority; however the recycling will be done by the private sector. The relationship between the state and the private sector is interfering with the reclaimer integration. Recycling could be done by the reclaimers who are already doing this work, instead of the City prefers to work with the private sector as indicated in the IDP Review of 2015-2016. From what is mentioned within this IDP, the City also looks into one form of recycling, which is glass recycling. This is only one area of recycling and it could be argued that if the state worked closely with the reclaimers this would allow the City to explore other areas of recycling.

There is a current IDP Review of 2017/18 that was established when the Democratic Alliance (DA) took power in Johannesburg. The new administration placed 5 pillars within the 2017-2018 IDP, which are;

1. Grow the economy and create jobs;
2. Enhance quality of life by improving services and taking care of the environment;
3. Advance pro-poor development that provides meaningful redress;
4. Build caring, safe and secure communities; and
5. Institute an honest, responsive and productive government.

The second pillar focuses on the environment and this area of concern could include reclaimers, but it does not. This IDP Review highlights the challenges facing the City, which include slow economic growth, issues on service delivery, poverty and inequality, environmental decay, corruption, inadequate police visibility, social disconnect and the informal economy (CoJ, 2017). Under the issue of environmental decay, the IDP Review states that Johannesburg produces close to 1.8 million tons of waste each year and most of it goes to the landfills, making the City run out of landfill sites (CoJ, 2017). The IDP Review further outlines the City's priority implementation plans that include preserving resources for future generations. The priority implementation plan focuses on resource sustainability, mainly through the diversion of waste from the landfills and having tons of carbon gas offset in GHG emissions (CoJ, 2017). This links with the goals and KPIs set within Pikitup. Looking at both the EISD's KPA; Develop Treatment Technologies for Waste and Pikitup's goal of Integrated Waste Management, Waste Prevention and Waste Minimisation, it is clear that the City is mainly invested on the number of tons of carbon gas offset in GHG emissions and waste diverted from landfills. All in all, Pikitup's KPAs and KPIS are aligned with the IDP as they should be.

The IDP document also acknowledges the presence of the informal economy and this could imply that the work of informal reclaimers would be recognised by the City and how much they contribute to the City's waste management system. Though, throughout the Review, there is no indication of the City acknowledging the presence of reclaimers. Although the IDP acknowledges the presence of the informal economy, it does not acknowledge the presence of reclaimers. This is similar to Pikitup's goals and KPIs as shown in the table above.

The City's Priorities

The following section looks at how the KPIs relate to the KPAs and goals in relation of reclaimer integration. Tables x and xx above indicate all the KPIs the City officials need to achieve at the end of every financial year. Out of the four KPAs within the EISD Waste Policy and Policy Unit, there is one that overtly talks about the integration of reclaimers, which is the "Integration of Waste Pickers into Waste Management System". There is a KPA that requires the City officials to "Ensure integration of the City's waste management policy, plan, bylaws with national and provincial legislative requirements and other internal processes". This KPA talks about the City's waste management systems' integration which implicitly includes the participation of reclaimers in the City. These two KPAs will be discussed to further understand the practices of City officials and what the set KPIs mean for them.

Looking at the first KPA, which is to integrate waste pickers; it has two KPIs which are to empower the reclaimers through the EPWP and to provide them with protective clothing. The targeted number of reclaimers is 224. The City is also meant to appoint a service provider to be able to achieve this KPI. This target is to be met in the first and second quarter of the financial year. The service provider that is given the contract to train the reclaimers is responsible to give them protective clothing as well. As outlined in the targets, the officials must confirm reclaimers' sizes for the protective clothing. After the training session one of the junior officials made sure to get the shoe and body sizes for every reclaimer that is trained. The official was assisted by members of the Joburg Reclaimers Committee. Officials then give a report on what was done and how their KIPs were achieved. The third KPA states that officials should ensure the integration of waste management systems and the minutes of the meetings as the basic evidence. These meetings could vary where there are different stakeholders that are part of the waste management industry. These are two KPAs that will be extensively analysed to further understand how the City aims to integrate reclaimers in the waste management system.

According to what is stated in the KPAs and KPIs, the integration of reclaimers into the waste management system is determined by the number of reclaimers the City empowers as indicated in in the table above. The quarterly targets of this KPI are as follows:

- Service provider appointment

- Selection of registered Waste Pickers from 7 Regions
- Training waste pickers Empowerment of Waste Pickers
- No. of Co-operatives forms

It is stated within the quarterly targets that the City should select registered reclaimers. This means the City officials need to register reclaimers in order to train them and give them protective clothing (PPE). There are no specific targets that talk about the registration of reclaimers, which means that there is a gap within the KPIs as well as the targets. The internship allowed me to observe and analyse how the City officials navigated this process, particularly the empowerment of reclaimers. They worked with the Joburg Reclaimer's Committee to select reclaimers from the seven regions in the city. They also worked with the service provider awarded a tender for that financial year. After the service provider trained and issued out the protective clothing to the reclaimers, the reclaimers provided certified copies of the identification papers to prove that they were South African citizens. The officials would then add the reclaimers to the City's existing database on reclaimers. The registration process was the last phase that the City officials did in this case. Then again, as indicated on the KPIs, they had to select already registered reclaimers. It seemed as though the City was working backwards because the registration process was not done properly. The City failed to develop an approach that made reclaimers comfortable and willing to register and this will be discussed further in the following chapters.

As stated, the KPI dictates that the EPWP is to be used integrate the reclaimers, as discussed in chapter 4 this funding was designed for different purposes. The EPWP is meant to create jobs that are linked to service delivery (Public Works, 2011). Nevertheless, in the context of the EISD, the funds received go towards paying the service provider that will train the reclaimers, getting the protective clothing (PPE), the meals that will be served during the training sessions as well the stipend for the reclaimers. The reclaimers are given the stipend for attending the training sessions and because they would have missed close to a week of working and recycling. In this case the City officials used funding that is meant to provide employment for locals to train and provide clothing for the reclaimers. This shows that this funding is not used for its rightful purpose; instead it is used to benefit the private sector through the contracting of a service provider. City officials are also required to provide a form of evidence to their principals that they have done the work of empowering reclaimers. The evidence required is a Service Level Agreement, which is the contract between the state and the appointed service provider. Another form of evidence is a report that states that the training sessions were conducted. It could be argued that this evidence does not suffice to show that the reclaimers were empowered. A contract with the private sector is only an indication that the City gave money to the

private sector. Such evidence does not adequately show how reclaimers were empowered and whether the reclaimers benefited from the training.

Officials find themselves improvising with the funding that they receive in order to be able to achieve the KPI on empowering reclaimers. Looking at the purpose of this funding, it is meant to create jobs that are relevant to service delivery. However, the City saw it befitting for this funding to be used to train reclaimers; officials found a way to use the funds to train and give clothing to the reclaimers, which does not necessarily create jobs that contribute to service delivery. This practise shows how the City uses the funding it gets. It could be argued that service delivery is within the waste management sector is not a priority for the City. This raises the question of whether the officials find it practical to prioritise on the training sessions or whether the training achieves the City's plan to improve service delivery in the waste management sector. Is the City reaching this goal by taking the easy route to empowering the reclaimers? Table 5.1. shows the evidence that EISD officials should provide to their superiors. In the case of reclaimer empowerment, the City officials produce a report outlining how the City empowered reclaimers as evidence. The KPIs and the targets do not mention that the City should create jobs nor do they mention anything about reclaimer integration.

The Key Performance Area (KPA) about ensuring the integration of the different waste management by-laws, policies and other internal processes that the City uses is pertinent to reclaimer integration. This mandate is important because it provides spaces of engagement that are inclusive of all the stakeholders within the waste management industry. In principle the stakeholders in this case are individuals or groups of people that are part of the waste industry and that are affected by any waste management systems put in place. This would entail City officials, residents, reclaimers and private recycling companies or any other related industry. It is the City officials' responsibility to have stakeholder workshops, meetings and forums and these may be held weekly, monthly or annually. The minutes taken from the meetings are the evidence that is needed to show how different waste management policies and processes have been integrated. As mentioned earlier the City officials had weekly meetings for the Separation at Source Programme. These meetings only involved the officials from both departments as well as the service providers that were contracted by Pikitup. Reclaimers were not a part of these meetings and yet there were comments on some of the reclaimers' concerns on how this programme was being implemented. From this we see that stakeholder engagement and proof of this engagement is considered important in achieving this KPA. However, the engagement of reclaimers is not seen as important because there is no indication of whether the reclaimers are listed as stakeholders. The fact that the EISD (and Pikitup?) officials do not have a KPI relating to how they should engage and relate to reclaimers provides some insight into why this is not a priority for the officials.

Table 5.2 presents the mandate of Pikitup’s officials and there are no goals or projects that focus on reclaimer integration. The first goal is to “Integrated Waste Management, Waste Prevention and Waste Minimisation” and it implicitly suggests that the City aims to integrate stakeholders that play a role in the waste value chain. This could also include reclaimers. There are five projects under this goal and three of them overtly disregard the role that reclaimers play in terms of recycling and reclaiming waste. These projects are mainly about diverting waste from the landfills and that guarantees the loss of reclaimers’ work. The Separation at Source project has the potential to include reclaimers as mentioned in chapter 4. However, in terms of their KPIs, the officials are not mandated to work with reclaimers. It only focuses on the number of areas S@S should be implemented in. The project of the construction of new buy-back centres implicitly relations to reclaimer integration because reclaimers use these centres to sell their material. It could be argued that with more buy-back centres, the reclaimers will have access and proximity to some of them. Table 5.1 also shows that two sorting facilities were constructed, but the question is whether these facilities are accessible to reclaimers. What is known is that there are many reclaimers that still need sorting facilities.

The KPIs do not provide detailed instructions on how officials could engage with reclaimers. The second goal which is the “Realisation of Value throughout the waste value chain” looks into Separation at Source and community projects. The KPI’s centre of interest is the number of jobs created through cooperatives and SMMEs as well as the number of community members employed. This displays that the City is concerned with the number of cooperatives established and the number of community members that benefit from the jobs created. This KPI is specific on community members becoming beneficiaries of the implemented projects. The term “community members” is not restricted to reclaimers only, which means that the implemented projects are meant to benefit every member of society. This raises the question of why the City cannot or does not implement projects that are meant to benefit reclaimers alone. There is no mention of reclaimers and how City officials could work with them. This reveals that reclaimers’ existing contributions to the waste sector and recycling economy are not recognised, and the effects on them are not considered

The City’s commitment to reclaimer integration

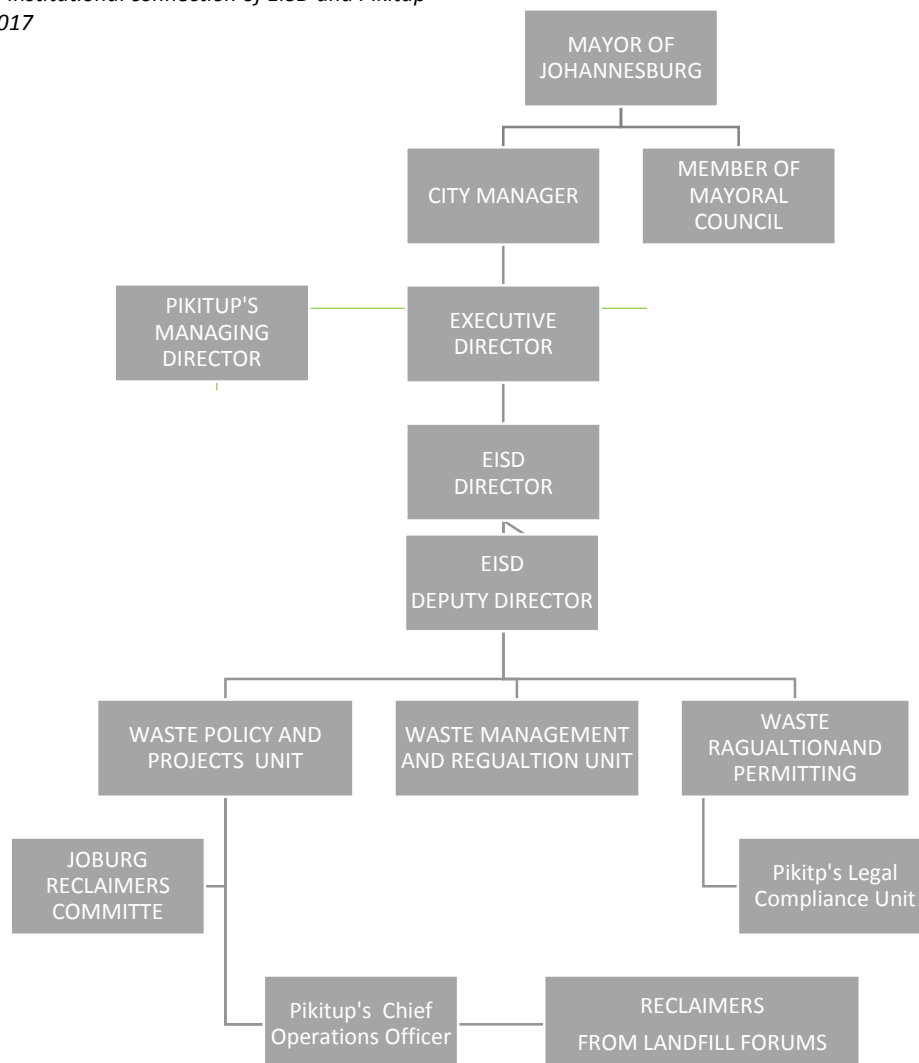
This section determines that the day-to-day instruments that the officials use do not link with what is discussed in the policy documents as analysed in chapter 4. In as much as the officials’ KPIs do correlate to the City’s IDP, there is a disjuncture between the KPIs and the policy documents. The policy documents also lack a detailed implementation plan on reclaimer integration and this is reflected within the KPAs and KPIs of the officials. Based on the tables presented above, the notion of reclaimer integration is not mentioned within the City’s IDP and Pikitup’s mandate. It is only the KPAs and KPIs for EISD that acknowledges reclaimers, where a KPI states that reclaimers should be

empowered. It could be argued that this is a reason why EISD and Pikitup work in isolation when it comes to reclaimer integration and this has been discussed in the previous sections of this chapter.

5.4.2. Communication Within The Municipality

This section will look at the formal and informal lines of communication between the two departments. Formally, the Compliance Unit reports to the Deputy Director, but it is the one unit that has a close communication link with Pikitup. The informal or unofficial lines of reporting are equally important to the formal lines of reporting and communication. All the units link with one another and there is a certain protocol where junior officials report to their principals and so on within each entity.

Figure 5.3. (right) Institutional connection of EISD and Pikitup
Source: Dladla, 2017



This diagram shows the link between both EISD and Pikitup. It illustrates that both the EISD and Pikitup are accountable to the City Manager and the MMC. There are units within the EISD and Pikitup that are linked to one another and this is further explained the following section. The EISD's Waste Policy and Projects Unit, works closely with officials under Pikitup's Chief Operations Officer. It also displays

how the EISD and Pikitup have connection to reclaimers as well. The relationship between reclaimers and officials will be analysed in the following chapters.

The Mayoral office has the ability to communicate to officials on certain matters that do not correspond with the officials' mandate. The addition of officials' responsibilities leads to what can be seen as unofficial lines of communication. For example, the case of the Mayoral Monthly Clean-up Campaign had caused EISD officials to add this on top of the work they have to do with regards to waste management. From the KIPs that have been analysed it is indicative that Pikitup is responsible for any waste campaigns that the City proposes.

The Mayoral clean-up Campaign

This campaign is called *A Re Sebetseng* and it was launched by the Executive Mayor Herman Mashaba, in Yeoville Recreation Centre on the 14th of August 2017, where residents were encouraged to work with local government and other stakeholders to keep the city clean (The City of Johannesburg, 2017).

Officials from different departments including EISD and Pikitup, residents and other stakeholder were present during the launch. The City's first city-wide clean-up was on the 30th of September 2017. *A Re Sebetseng*, means "let us work" and it based on a ward clearing initiative that will be held on the last Saturday of every month (Vilakazi, 2017).

In as much as the clean-up campaign could be seen as part of education and awareness (which will be discussed in the following chapter), the line of communication used was directly from the Mayor's office down to the implementing agent, which is Pikitup. The EISD did not have the opportunity to place this campaign as one of City's major strategies or plans. An EISD senior official expressed uncertainty about the campaign:

"I don't see South Africans on the month end, Saturday, leaving their shopping and going to clean... it can be any other day. I think the model is good, but it needs to be sustained. And behavioural change initiatives they take a long time because we need to clean up to a stage where we don't need to clean because people are aware that they do not need to litter or dump illegally. So cleaning every day is not going to help if you're not educating the people to stop that habit and if you want to change that behaviour you're going to have to invest resources and time" (EISD Offices #2, 28/11/17).

This comment reveals the lack of confidence in the success of the campaign. Officials from EISD found themselves in a position where they had to add the campaign within this year's priorities together with other priorities that were set in the beginning of the financial year. Linking this to the integration of reclaimers, officials agreed that they needed to find a way in which this campaign could empower

the reclaimers and not further exclude them. The officials had to find a way because in a meeting, reclaimer representatives asked whether the clean-up campaign had a plan that involved the reclaimers. A junior official from Pikitup replied with a level of uncertainty:

“We are not sure what your role is, but this is a campaign that aims to involve all stakeholders in the waste management stream.”

From this statement we see that the involvement of the reclaimers was not an immediate concern for the officials, until they were asked about it. It was a concern of the reclaimers which meant that the officials had to respond to this concern. There was a gap in communication with regards to campaign. In this case, EISD as the policy and monitoring agent needed to catch up with the implementation agent in relation to this campaign. One could argue that this was an unofficial way of communication. Looking at the official’s statement, the term “stakeholders” are still not clear whether it includes reclaimers as well. As pointed out in chapter 4, the policy documents did not have a clear definition of who the stakeholders are and this is reflected in the way the officials speak. The role of reclaimers is still not clear to the officials even within the way the clean-up campaign. The fact that the officials only thought of what the reclaimers could do after they were asked about the reclaimers’ role reveals how much reclaimers are not yet seen as key stakeholders. This again links to the attitude that officials have towards reclaimers. The Clean-up campaign was framed in a way that did not include reclaimers and this is contradictory to the City’s aim of integrating these reclaimers into the waste management sector.

There was another instance where the Mayoral office had requested a senior official from EISD to visit a businessman that had a glass recycling and manufacturing company. In this case the official had to leave some of his office responsibilities and attend to this duty of visiting the recycling company in order to give a report back to the Mayoral office. This was on the 17th of July 2017 which happened to be the first day of my internship. I had the opportunity to accompany the official who was joined later by a junior official from EISD and Pikitup. During this visit, the businessman showed us what he produces and the machinery that he uses. The task of the official was to find a way on how this is business could assist reclaimers. The official explained that the City has contracted the company before to produce awards for an event. Therefore, the Mayoral office wanted EISD to get information on how reclaimers could be involved. The senior official saw that the only way that reclaimers could be involved is by the businessman training reclaimer cooperatives to gain the skill of producing products using recycled glass. The officials decided that the City would get back to the businessman once they find out if there are reclaimers that are interested in learning. He also explained that the only way reclaimers were to benefit from this was by them working as cooperatives. The official specified that the beneficiaries should be South Africa citizens.

This example gives evidence that the Mayoral office does assign officials to explore other waste recycling industries that could benefit reclaimers. Empowering reclaimers may not be the Mayor's primary goal as indicated in the priorities, but it shows that the Mayor is aware of the presence of reclaimers. This line of communication could be regarded as official, as the Mayoral office liaised with the policy and monitoring agent (EISD) to see what else could be done for the city to empower reclaimers and for their skills to be used in the industry. Looking at the structure of EISD and Pikitup, the Mayoral office communicated with the right department – a department that has the mandate to explore, develop and implement projects that are in line with their waste management system and are aimed at waste minimisation.

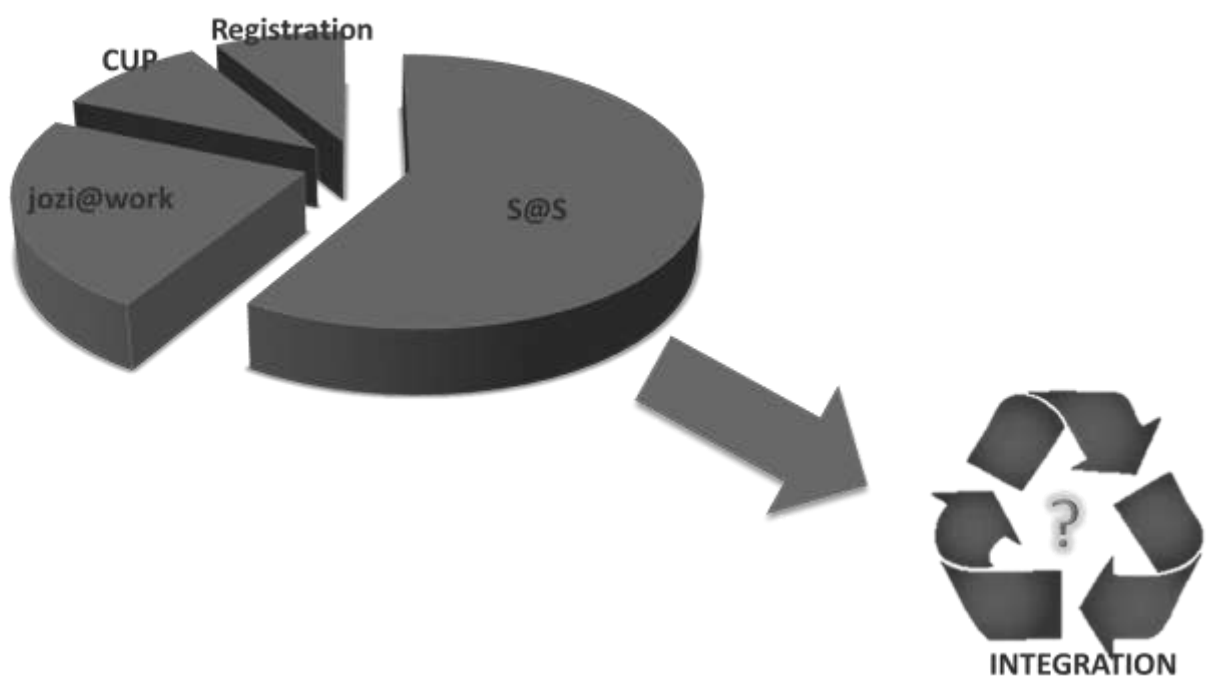
These three examples illustrate how communication varies within the EISD, Pikitup and the Mayoral office. They also show that the Mayoral office has the ability to make decisions that add up to the mandate of the officials.

The Integrated Waste Management Plan of 2011 had the aim of to minimise waste within the City (CoJ, 2011). The plan states that this would be achieved through the Separation at Source Programme and through the formation of a reclaimers' committee to establish formal communication lines between the CoJ and the reclaimers (IWMP, 2011: 9). As a result, CoJ would have to establish a platform for communication between EISD and Pikitup that only deals with reclaimer integration.

5.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter aimed to answer the second part of the first research sub-question: ***What are the instruments and practices of City officials and how do they influence their relationship with reclaimers?*** This chapter discusses and analyses how the EISD and Pikitup work together and gives an account of how the structures are linked. What is important here it that the departments do have mandates to empower reclaimers; however these entities often work independently when it comes to projects that are linked to reclaimer integration. In addition, the officials' practical norms, such as the unofficial lines of communication between EISD and Pikitup and "double-speak" of the officials is what has also led to reclaimer integration being delayed. The chapter also demonstrates that the officials' KPIs (official norms/instruments) are ambiguous in explaining the objectives, activities and the extent of reclaimer integration. As a result, reclaimer integration is not completely catered for.

The next chapter discusses the instruments that City officials use to engage with reclaimers. It also shows the opinions of officials on the implementation of the instruments. The challenges faced by the City officials are also discussed.



CHAPTER SIX

STATE INSTRUMENTS IN PRACTICE

The main focus of this study is to look at the construct of the state and its engagement with reclaimers. Chapter six contributes to answering the first and second research sub-question: ***What are the instruments and practices of City officials and how do they influence their relationship with reclaimers?*** And ***To what extent have the practices of City officials and policy instruments supported or hindered their approaches to “integrating” of reclaimers?*** Looking at the state’s instruments in practice will help contribute to answering this question, as instruments are what guide, instruct and define the roles of City officials.

This chapter firstly discusses the platform of engagement between the City and reclaimers. Communication between the City and reclaimers is explored in order to give a better understanding of the position of both parties in relation to reclaimer integration. The second section also explores the instruments that the EISD and Pikitup use that are linked to the formation of a sustainable integrated waste management system and to the integration of reclaimers. It further analyses Jozi@Work, the training workshops that are funded by the EPWP and the Separation at Source Programme. These are programmes that are closely linked to the integration of reclaimers. The Separation at Source Programme is further implemented through the ward by ward implementation and the Community Upliftment Programme, which are discussed in this chapter. The chapter provides an in-depth analysis of how the instruments have been framed. It also explains how the officials use these instruments and the challenges they experience when they implement them.

What the chapter mainly argues is that there are a number of challenges that City officials face in relation to the implementation of different projects. Officials also experience limitations with regards to resources when it comes to the integration of reclaimers. The projects implemented within the City of Johannesburg acknowledge reclaimers, but national and provincial policy does not deal with reclaimer integration. Therefore, the City officials are in need of a “good policy environment from national government” (Pikitup Offices #3, 30/11/17).

During the first few days of my internship I had the privilege to work closely with a senior official in EISD who explained to me the dynamics between the state and reclaimers. I had the opportunity to talk to the official on many occasions where I came to understand that state officials found working with reclaimers a difficult process. In relation to my visit to the glass recycling businessman (as mentioned in the previous chapter) the officials reached to the conclusion that reclaimers could be assisted if they formed cooperatives. Having had prior knowledge about the difficulty of reclaimer cooperatives in Johannesburg that has been discussed in research conducted by CSIR (Godfrey *et al.*, 2015), I then asked if this was going to work. The official pointed out that the City could only help cooperatives. The reason for this is because working with individuals would be too “time consuming”

he said. I was then led to question officials on a few occasions about what the City was doing about the issue of cooperatives.

“This is why we are training reclaimers to be business minded and to learn to work in cooperatives.” said one of the officials from EISD.

The issue of the state working to help only South African reclaimers propelled me ask how the foreign nationals would be empowered. The official explained to me,

“The department must adhere to the requirements of national and provincial government and other departments that help fund us.”

This statement deciphers that the officials are limited due to the funding they receive. As local government they are dependent on other departments to meet their KPIs. They do not have the liberation to work freely because of the conditions set by other national government and other funders. Such limitations are what could cause demotivation and low productivity among the City officials as argued by de Sardan (2009). De Sardan (2009) argues that the civil servants become demotivated and do their professional work either very slowly or quickly, which indicates a lack of enjoyment. He further articulates that officials in management positions are then burdened because all of the work tends to be focused on them (2009: 52). Critically analysing the case of EISD and Pikitup officials, it could be argued that the lack of funding and poor budget allocation is one of the reasons that they could be demotivated to come up with innovating ways to work with reclaimers.

For example, EISD had its projects funded by Expanded Public Works Programme to help empower and educate reclaimers. The EPWP requires that all beneficiaries should be South African citizens only. The EPWP Integrated Grant Manual of 2014 states that the EPWP target group has to be,

“Unemployed, local, low skilled South Africans willing to work on EPWP projects for a wage rate above the EPWP minimum wage rate.” (National Department of Public Works, 2014: 5)

It could be interpreted that the working environment of the officials is limiting because of the funding received and the City’s budget allocation. This excludes foreign national reclaimers in Johannesburg, making reclaimer integration a difficult process. This is because only a fraction of reclaimers is benefitting from what the state is doing and this does not improve the entire reclaimer community.

I had another opportunity to sit with the senior official and I asked why the state preferred to work with the private sector instead of helping reclaimers – a group of people that started the work of sorting out and recycling waste.

The senior official then asked me a rhetorical question. The senior official asked,

“If you had to get sugar for your coffee and you had two options, the one option being a bowl of sugar and the second where you would have to take sugar cane that needs processing first, which option would you take?”

Before I answered, I realised that the senior official meant to show me that the officials preferred to work with the private sector because they were more organised – that is the bowl of sugar ready to be used unlike the reclaimers (the sugarcane that needs to be processed). The senior official further highlighted that working with reclaimers has resulted in “vicious cycles because the cooperatives that they develop do not last for a long time”. The City is determined to deliver the Separation at Source Programme with or without the reclaimers. The official here expresses that engaging communities or individual reclaimers is far more time consuming than contracting a private company. Engaging with the community or reclaimers would be more progressive, but working with the private sector has its efficiency logic (getting the work done). What this official articulates echoes what Stone (1993) says; that it is somehow easier to engage in a market relationship, where there are clear contracts and clear rules than in a community partnership, where there are issues of training, politics, blurred boundaries and rules (Stone, 1993).

I followed by asking why the state does not find another way of working with the reclaimers because they are already on the ground doing the work. The official’s reply was an attempt to convince me that cooperatives work, as the official emphasised that there are some cooperatives that are still operating and EISD has found ways to work with them. However, the irony is that there are only two cooperatives that are functioning in the city that are known by the City officials (EISD Offices #1, 28/11/17).

6.1. THE JOBURG RECLAIMERS’ COMMITTEE

The City has a forum of engagement with reclaimers for the purposes of empowering reclaimers. The analysis done here is drawn from the workshops and meetings that Pikitup and EISD have had with reclaimers from the 17th of July to the 30th of November 2017. There is a reclaimer representative body called the Joburg Reclaimers Committee that was established and has been working with the City, particularly the EISD since 2012/13. Joburg Reclaimers Committee has been in existence for years and has been working with EISD. This committee entails reclaimer representatives from the different regions in Johannesburg. There are originally seven regions within the City of Johannesburg and the reclaimers have different representatives from all the regions. There are also reclaimer representatives from the four main landfills within Johannesburg, which are Robinson Deep, Goudkoppies, Marie Louise and Ennerdale. Officials from EISD have regular meetings with this

committee to discuss issues that are brought up by reclaimers. Every meeting I have attended was facilitated and chaired by a junior EISD official from the Waste Policy and Project Unit. These meetings were held every month and more regularly when the EPWP projects were running. From these meetings I observed that the City and the reclaimer committee members had a fairly good relationship and they had a form of a partnership. The reclaimers raised topics on how various organisations help reclaimers, resulting in the establishment of different reclaimer representatives. This was challenging for the officials and they would always propose that the reclaimers needed to be organised and form a holistic representative body that the state could work with. The reclaimers' committee assisted EISD by providing information on reclaimers within Johannesburg. The committee is also involved in organising reclaimers to attend the EPWP funded training workshops.

There were some occasions when EISD worked with reclaimers without the involvement of Pikitup units, especially with the EPWP training workshops. In addition, there were times when CoJ involved the private sector to work with reclaimers. This led to reclaimers being uncertain about their role and future in the waste management system. In meetings organised by the reclaimer community, reclaimers would point out that they did not trust the Joburg Reclaimers Committee, yet this is the committee that was seen to work closely with EISD. To some of the reclaimers, the establishment of this committee was influenced more by the state rather than the reclaimer community.

6.2. THE CITY'S INSTRUMENTS FOR RECLAIMER INTEGRATION

Firstly, this section discusses the progress of Jozi@work and how City officials have used this model in practice. Secondly, it looks into the EPWP funded programmes and which include training the reclaimers and the contracting of the private sector. Thirdly, the analysis of the Separation at Source Programme is also given.

6.2.1. Reclaimer Training

City officials have the mandate to empower and educate reclaimers (as explained in chapter five) and this was done through EPWP funding. The City had a project for the 2016/17 financial year, which was to educate reclaimers on how to treat their work as a business and how to start cooperatives. As mentioned earlier, there are officials that are given the mandate to empower and educate reclaimers through EPWP funding. In the interim of working with the officials from EISD, I had the opportunity of observing the workshops they hosted for the reclaimers. The workshop was funded by EPWP and the City had to comply with the process of procurement and adhere to the EPWP Grant Manual. The EPWP Grant Manual states the following about what EPWP projects or programmes should do:

- “They employ large numbers of local, low skilled, unemployed persons who are willing to work for an EPWP wage (referred to as the EPWP target group)

- They are highly labour intensive: a large percentage of the overall project costs are disbursed in wages to the EPWP target group
- They provide a service to, or develop an asset for, the community."

(Department of Public Works, 2014:17)

Throughout the manual there is an indication that EPWP projects should benefit South Africans,

“EPWP Target group: Unemployed, local, low skilled South Africans willing to work on EPWP projects for a wage rate above the EPWP minimum wage rate.” (National Department of Public Works, 2014: 5)

The City then procures a private company and the company that is awarded the tender is given certain deliverables. A senior EISD official presented at workshop that R 3 million was allocated for the 2013 – 2014 financial year. This amount included the amount of money awarded to the private company to train and provide PPE and a stipend to 224 reclaimers (EISD, 2017). For the 2016 – 2017 financial year R 2 500 000 obtained from the EPWP fund and EISD manage to train 220 reclaimers (EISD, 2017). Out of the 2 500 000 the reclaimers were given a stipend of R1680. This stipend covered three days of training in three different months; meaning that the private company that would be procured would have to take three days in each month for three months. Unfortunately, the EISD procured a company that did not meet the City’s requirements to train reclaimers and to provide protective clothing. Therefore, the private company that was procured for the financial year 2016/17 had to complete the work of the previously procured company. This company had a much more to do beyond its mandate. The private company also requested to remain anonymous in this research.

This company only had three days to train the reclaimers on six modules. The company was also required to provide Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) for the reclaimers that they trained as well as those that never received clothing from the previous training sessions. These workshops were to empower the reclaimers. EISD acted completely on their own when they decided the workshops were necessary. Most officials justified in their interviews that the reclaimers needed to be educated on the City by-laws. It seems there was no consultation process with Pikitup officials or with the reclaimers. This is contradictory to what the Joburg Reclaimers Empowerment Plan states; that the City would conduct a needs-analysis (EISD, 2013: 1). To conduct a needs-analysis will require a regular consultation process with the reclaimers.

In all the EPWP funded programmes the reclaimers that are allowed to attend the workshops have to be South African citizens. All reclaimers that attend the workshops should provide certified copies of their identification. At the beginning of the workshop the reclaimers also have to register and provide any form of banking details to receive their stipend. This stipend is meant to compensate the

reclaimers, because they stop working and attend the workshop for three days. The fact that only South African reclaimers are meant to benefit from the EPWP Programme is a point of contention amongst the reclaimers. A junior official explained in an interview that the reason for contention is because the process excludes the majority of the reclaimers that are foreign nationals (EISD Offices #1, 28/11/17). The junior official also stated that,

“The way these training sessions are done make seem like the state doesn’t care about reclaimers.” (EISD Offices #1, 28/11/17)

Consequently, empowering and educating only a few people will not help the reclaimers’ community to be organised nor to be aware of the different rules that have to be followed in the City. Only 220 reclaimers were trained by the company that was procured in the 2016 – 2017 financial year and this does not begin to accommodate half the reclaimers’ population in Johannesburg, as the number of reclaimers in Johannesburg is approximately 3000 (EISD, 2017). This illustrates that only a small number of reclaimers were included in the training. In workshops and meetings, reclaimers note that the City is spending a lot of money to train them to do work they are already doing. Even though a few reclaimers are trained in the different financial years, the City goes through with this process because it believes that these sessions will enable reclaimers to start cooperatives (EISD Offices #3, 28/11/17).

I was able to attend two out of the three days’ workshop together with 2 EISD officials. Although the officials attended the workshop, all training was done by the company. The officials may have been present in these sessions to see how things were done. The City assigned the private company to train the reclaimers on the following: Occupational health and safety, City of Johannesburg Waste-management By-laws, Environmental Management, Integrated Waste Management, Business Management and Entrepreneurship. However, the City did not provide the company with a guide on what content to use. As mentioned before, this was the first time this company was contracted to train the reclaimers. This led to the private company using their own discretion on the material used to train the reclaimers.

Within the workshop, the facilitator talked to the reclaimers like business people. This was good in the sense that he spoke to them with respect. But this was disadvantageous because the content of the work was at a high level. Since the procured company was left to compiling the content to be used at the workshop, the information provided was too dense. Some of the sessions went for longer than an hour due to the facilitator wanting to meet his goal in three days. The content of all the concepts and ideas presented were clear in the English language, but some things were then lost in translation to Zulu and especially Sotho. Since the presentation was in English, the facilitator would translate the content for the reclaimers. This left the reclaimers who mostly speak Sotho distraught because of the

language barrier. One could argue that these workshops tended to be intimidating for the majority of the reclaimers because of their level of education. Some of the concepts were very theoretical even for me and they were hard to apply in the context of what reclaimers do. For example, the workshop facilitator talked about how businesses are classified according to the profit gained. At this point I could hardly tell where this was part of what felt like an economics lecture was leading and what the connection was in terms of empowering reclaimers. During one of the breaks, I spoke to some of the reclaimers and one of them was open enough to share how he found the training. He spoke in English and said,

“This is helpful for less than 3 per cent of us and some of the stuff is hard to understand for my colleagues.”

I asked him why this was the case and he pointed out that most of his peers were illiterate and they had difficulty understanding all that was taught. For example, the content on how reclaimers should treat their work as a business was very wordy and included economical terms that were hard to break down in vernacular. This feedback could lead to a conclusion that the workshops were not coordinated and relevant to the reclaimers. It also shows how the reclaimers are excluded from the planning process of these programmes. Therefore, the state needs to adequately frame the modules and the activities that facilitators must use in workshops. It is clear that a needs-analysis still needs to be conducted in order for the state to know exactly how to empower reclaimers. This demonstrates why it is necessary for reclaimers to be involved in planning all activities that are for their benefit. The fact that the private sector was given the freedom to compile the workshop material linked back to what was discussed in chapter two on Harvey's (2005) debate on the presence of the private sector. He argues that governments have created domains of capitalism and this allows the private sector to have control over how services should be delivered. The private sector's presence has influenced the waste management sector in the City of Johannesburg, whereby the City depends on this sector's expertise. This leads to the exclusion of other stakeholders, in this case reclaimers.

After the workshop was done, the City officials had meetings with the Joburg Reclaimers Committee that has been working with them since 2013. The purpose of these meetings was to evaluate the training workshops and to make sure that all the trained reclaimers received their stipend and protective clothing. It was interesting to note that the committee members never mentioned that most reclaimers did not understand the content of the training and could not apply much of it to their work. What was being raised in the meetings was the fact that some reclaimers never received their stipend. Another issue that was raised was that foreign national reclaimers could not benefit from this programme. City officials tried to explain that EPWP has a target group that the City should work with.

They also mentioned that they could not do much because they depend on funding as local government. A senior official stated that,

“The City needs money to do various things so it is hard to implement certain things without money. And if the City is not given a subsidy it has no money to improve the waste management services.” (EISD Offices #3, 28/11/17)

During the further evaluation of this training, officials realised that the training material needed to be revised. A senior official determined that the City needs to provide the contracted companies with a guide on the content that should be used to train the reclaimers. From this we gather that the officials are aware of the constraints and the issues that arise due to these training workshops. Nonetheless, they can only do certain things based on the availability of resources. When analysing this scenario, it links to Von Holdt’s argument on how officials may be restricted in their line of work as discussed in chapter two. One of the key features of post-apartheid bureaucracy that he discusses is the rituals of budgetary discipline. Von Holdt states that budgets are drawn up in national and provincial government and these budgets do not usually fit the reality of local government’s costs (2009: 20). This is what the local government of Johannesburg is experiencing; where they can only work with what national and provincial government provides towards reclaimer integration. Von Holdt further gives an example of how budget allocations within the healthcare sector prioritise more on healthcare at a basic level (primary care) instead of the specialised level (2009: 19). He continues to argue that such poor budget allocations lead to officials working under pressure. Officials in managing positions then tend to question the decisions made by their principals instead of fighting for better budget allocations that would improve service delivery. Using this theory, EISD officials are restricted because they are mandated to educate, empower and work with reclaimers, yet the funding they receive only allows them to train South African reclaimers. It was articulated by a senior official from Pikitup within the task team that they are limited to do efficient work on reclaimer integration,

“As local government we are limited to do certain things because we need other government departments to intervene.”

The official here was trying to let the reclaimers understand that local government works with the other spheres of government. Local government also depends on national departments for funding, such as the EPWP funding. The official’s statement further emphasises how limited local government is, leaving little room for them to come up with alternative ways to include all reclaimers in the waste management system. However, there is no evidence of City officials challenging the issue of budget allocations.

When it came to giving the reclaimers their stipend, the City officials and the contracted company went out of their way to make sure each reclaimer received their money. Officials also saw to it that the reclaimers had their protective clothing in the right sizes. This demonstrates that the officials were committed to making the project a success.

6.2.2. Jozi@Work

This programme has been mentioned earlier. The purpose of this section is to look into how Jozi@Work as an instrument shaped the practices of the City officials. Jozi@Work worked as an instrument to empower reclaimers. It was a technical device meant to help City officials to work with reclaimers and communities to use the skills they have (Pikitup, 2016). A Pikitup document mentions that Jozi@Work is a co-production project (Pikitup, 2016). It is interesting that the officials from Pikitup never referred to it as a co-production project. Instead they see Jozi@Work as a project that was meant to benefit “communities, the youth and reclaimers” (Pikitup, 2016: 264). An official that was closely linked to the implementation of this programme explained how the programme worked in different communities:

“You find people have organised themselves as cooperatives where they have followed the processes and have registered. Then we empowered those people, as we are also making an impact on the unemployment and we are encouraging people that they can employ themselves... they can employ others.” (Pikitup Offices #3, 30/11/17)

This statement demonstrates that Jozi@Work was more committed to addressing the unemployment issue within the City (Pikitup, 2016). It also shows that the reclaimers were not a priority in this programme. This statement further illustrates that communities benefited more from this programme. Jozi@Work did not guide the officials in terms of providing criteria to use for this programme. They had to work with the people that managed to establish cooperatives. This programme is a good example that indicates that officials are limited with the programmes they have to implement. Officials work with what they are given. They are left with little room to improvise in some cases. This instrument could have been the beginning of the integration process; however, it did not benefit the already existing reclaimers. From a meeting with the reclaimers it was directly stated that the reclaimers saw Jozi@Work as a failed project for them. They also disclosed that the fact that communities benefited more from this project made them not to trust the City. However, the way this project was framed could not allow the City to have criteria for selecting reclaimers to be the only beneficiaries of this project. The Resource Recovery & Logistics Plan Final Report states that,

“The programme is designed to create an opportunity for communities to partner with the City in the delivery of municipal services in their own neighbourhoods (Pikitup, 2016: 263).”

The question here is why the reclaimers did not take up the opportunity that Jozi@work offered. Some reclaimers reported that they were not aware of the Jozi@work workshops and that they would find new cooperatives collecting waste where they had already started collecting. This raises another question of how the different groups of society (that being cooperatives) were able to get the Jozi@Work packages and to successfully deliver waste management services. In order to know exactly what took place one would have to have a deeper understanding and scrutiny of the waste management system at large. After the Mayor of CoJ, Herman Mashaba took office, he announced his intention to get rid of Jozi@work along with other City based projects that were implemented by his predecessor Parks Tau in 2014 (Raborife, 2017). Jozi@work was a programme that was implemented in the different City departments; therefore the Mayor's position would not only affect the waste management sector, but would affect other sectors as well. The Mayor stated that this programme only serves a selected few and Ward Councillors contributed to the "mess" by being involved in the selection of who could benefit from the programme (Raborife, 2017). He argued that this programme did not have a formal "list to work off", meaning that there was no criteria from which to select beneficiaries (ibid.) There were a number of protests that took place after the Mayor's announcement because the public claimed that the removal of Jozi@work would jeopardise the jobs of many Joburg residents (ibid.). This illustrates how implemented projects contribute to political and economic factors of society. This is an evolving project and one could only hope that the challenges faced by both officials and reclaimers will be addressed.

6.2.3. Separation at Source

The programme has been in progress since the year 2009 as mentioned earlier. At first, the state prioritised on implementing this programme for reclaimers to be integrated into the waste management system and for residents to learn more about the work that reclaimers do. Separation at Source is mainly about separating waste into its various categories (IWMP, 2011). Practically the implementation of S@S uses the Jozi@work model in low income areas (Pikitup, 2015: 46). The 2017-2018 Pikitup Business Plan states that the S@S programme is to be implemented through the Community Upliftment Programme for in the low income areas (Pikitup, 2017: 11). This means that communities should establish cooperatives and take responsibility for the implementation of S@S. On the other hand, private companies were to collaborate with Pikitup officials to roll out S@S in middle to high income areas (Pikitup, 2015).

A senior EISD official reported at the 2016 SACN workshop that the intention was to change the mindset that residents have towards reclaimers (SACN, 2016). This programme was prioritised within the IWMP. Separating waste from its source was an idea mainly brought up by the fact that waste is

initially not separated from the source and this creates a health hazard for the reclaimers that collect the different types of waste in the landfills and on the streets. This programme was also initiated by the City to help train reclaimers on the different types of waste. Most reclaimers did not have the ability to participate in this programme. The reason for this is because most of them work as individuals, yet S@S mainly works with reclaimer cooperatives (SACN, 2016). Therefore, through S@S, the engagement between reclaimers and the City was still not well defined as the idea of cooperatives naturally excluded many other individual reclaimers. A number of reclaimers have reported that they could not participate in Separation at Source, as they had not received any information on it (Sekhwela, 2017).

CSIR argues there is a need for a national Separation at Source Programme that will hopefully reach many more reclaimers (CSIR, 2016). CSIR (2016) notes that as separating waste diverts waste away from the landfills, it can be a threat to reclaimers who work in the landfills. What the CSIR report highlights was supported by a senior EISD official, who said,

“By 2055 there will be no landfills in Johannesburg, and this is why we have introduced separation at source.”

The official is saying that because the landfills will be closed, as they will have reached capacity, they are implementing S@S. The senior official pointed out that reclaimers should organise themselves and create cooperatives in order to access waste as part of the mainstream waste economy. CSIR however argues for the S@S programme to accommodate reclaimers that will eventually have no work once all waste is diverted away from the landfills (CSIR, 2016).

Reflecting on whether separation at source has worked, one official pointed out that:

“This one is the very big, weakest link, because one of the things we have picked up is that the reclaimers are collecting a lot of waste and for us to show that the separation at source project is working, we need to know how much is being done, but unfortunately our system is losing those tonnages through the tonnages collected by reclaimers. So for me if the reclaimers are really part of this programme then I think the City would be able to show the real impact of the project.” (Pikitup Offices #3, 30/11/17)

What is being said by the official here is that the City does not have a system to keep record of the work that the reclaimers are doing, and that as a result they are under-reporting the tonnages of recyclables diverted from landfills in the S@S areas. This quote presents a different side of the officials; which is their acknowledgement of role reclaimers' play in the waste management sector. This official also expresses that the approach taken by the City does not reflect the work done by reclaimers.

On August 10th 2017, there was a workshop hosted by Pikitup for City officials and reclaimers. One of the senior officials from Pikitup presented the department's goals for S@S and its current endeavours. The senior official stated that Pikitup aims to make S@S a city-wide programme. This is one of the reasons why the City increased the budget for this particular programme, from R49 072m during the financial year of 2015/16 to R55 189m in the 2017/18 financial year (Pikitup, 2015: 17).

When analysing this programme as an instrument or technical device, its effects have produced poor results. Looking at how this programme was framed, reclaimers were encouraged to participate in the programme and be trained on the work they are already doing as explained earlier. In the case of implementing S@S in middle to high income residences in Johannesburg, the presence of the private sector acted as a threat to the reclaimers that collected waste in those high income residences. Therefore, the participation of the private sector in this programme led to the further exclusion of reclaimers— the group of people the state wants to integrate into its system. The Resource Recovery & Logistics Plan Final Report (Pikitup. 2016) states that the role of reclaimers should be formalised to achieve S@S. However, the role of the reclaimers has not been clear in practice. When a senior EISD official was asked why the City decided to collaborate with the private sector, the official said,

“I do not want to lie to you, I do not think that they are at the stage where they can render a competitive service.”

The senior official further explained in detail how hard it is to work with reclaimers because of the level of dependence they have on the state:

“They say they are entrepreneurs on their own, but again if you open the tender for everybody, they will not be able to compete with the formal businesses. But at the same time, they don't want to be subcontracted under the formal businesses. So, it leaves us as government in a very tight situation because if we were to say to them ok, fine, we are rolling out separation at source go and collect, here are the areas; they don't have a truck, they don't have storage facilities for that, do you understand? Where do you expect them to store because now there's going to be volumes and volumes of material, you see? They don't have no resources, its individual people. You put them together they start fighting because they have been working without anybody telling them to do this, don't do that and be at work at this time and knock off at this time, they are not used to that. So, we say to them 'form a cooperative or work under a company for a certain time'.” (EISD Offices #2, 28/11/17).

This narration illustrates the frustration of an official with regards to the way S@S is being implemented and the way reclaimers work. The official has concluded that the City cannot support reclaimers to build their capacity to tender, or to provide equipment. The official also believes that

S@S could work if the reclaimers establish cooperatives, which is what the S@S Programme advises reclaimers to do. In addition, the real issue is that Pikitup made a policy decision in the Business Plan that all services in middle to high income areas will be rendered by private business. The official thinks that the City can only provide the service by contracting cooperatives or companies.

This quote illustrates that City officials have only thought of one way to solve the issue of reclaimer integration, which indicates a lack of innovation. This links to de Sardan's argument on the lack of motivation of civil servants. De Sardan provides reasons why civil servants lack the motivation to do their work and one of the reasons is that there is a lack of recognising officials' professional competencies (de Sardan, 2009: 51). Not recognising the skills that are necessary within a certain department is the main cause for the lack of innovation. The waste management sector in the City of Johannesburg may have the right officials that can deal with waste management, but the notion of reclaimer integration may require much more than expertise in waste management. There may be a need for other expertise to propose innovative ways to reach reclaimer integration.

The Bogota model is a good example that illustrates how the state can work with individual reclaimers. It should be acknowledged that the individual reclaimers were organised in the case of Bogota. In as much as the City of Johannesburg needs to think of other approaches to work with reclaimers, from what the official is saying, the reclaimers themselves need to be more organised. This quote also demonstrates how the reclaimers contradict themselves – as they claim to be entrepreneurs on their own, but they do not have the ability to compete with the private sector. The question is if the reclaimers were more organised, would the approach of cooperatives work?

The Bogota Model

Reclaimers in Bogotá, Colombia were organised and they had a representative body called Bogotá's Waste Pickers Association, the ARB (Asociación cooperativa de Recicladores de Bogotá). This association challenged the government's policies and approaches used in the waste management system. Because the reclaimers were organised the constitutional court ordered the integration of reclaimers as well as payment for the service they provide. Through the Asociación cooperativa de Recicladores de Bogotá, the reclaimers initiated the recycling model and the value chain (Parra, 2013). The reclaimers are are paid individually for the services they provide which include the collection, transportation and recycling of waste. They need to provide an ID card, a bank account and be within the reclaimer census (Parra, 2013).

Some reclaimers did establish cooperatives. In the year 2012 there were four cooperatives that were formed by reclaimers from Robinson Deep landfill. Later in the same year the four merged into two cooperatives in order to be contracted in the Separation at Source Programme (Sekhwela, 2017). Eventually, the reclaimers left these cooperatives. According to Sekhwela some of the reasons reclaimers left cooperatives were because the earnings they received were insufficient, they considered this work a temporal job and they would leave whenever they obtained permanent employment and the S@S Programme incurred loss rather than gain for them (Sekhwela, 2017: 60). Unfortunately, the number of cooperatives has not increased since 2012 (SACN, 2016). Another reason why cooperatives are failing is because most reclaimers prefer to work individually (De Kock 1986: 103-4). Other researchers have also found that reclaimers do not want to be formalised and prefer to have their own independence (Ngoepe 2007: 42). The Separation at Source Programme has proven this to be true. This means the officials first need to work on the mind-set of reclaimers to enable them to work in groups. An EISD official in an interview mentioned that,

“Some of the reclaimers seem to understand the vision of working as a group but others prefer to work alone because they want to be their own boss (EISD Offices, #1 28/11/17).”

This is a clear indication that officials know that most reclaimers work as individuals and that the goal of encouraging cooperatives through the Separation at Source Programme has not been a success. Officials are aware of the problem; however there seems to be a difficulty in innovatively solving it. The lack of betterment for reclaimers as well as the involvement of the private sector causes one to question if the state is able to work with reclaimers and if the programme is in line with the integration process. It also raises the question of why this approach is not working. Is the state not doing enough or are the reclaimers a fragmented group that is hard to work with?

The Ward by Ward Plan

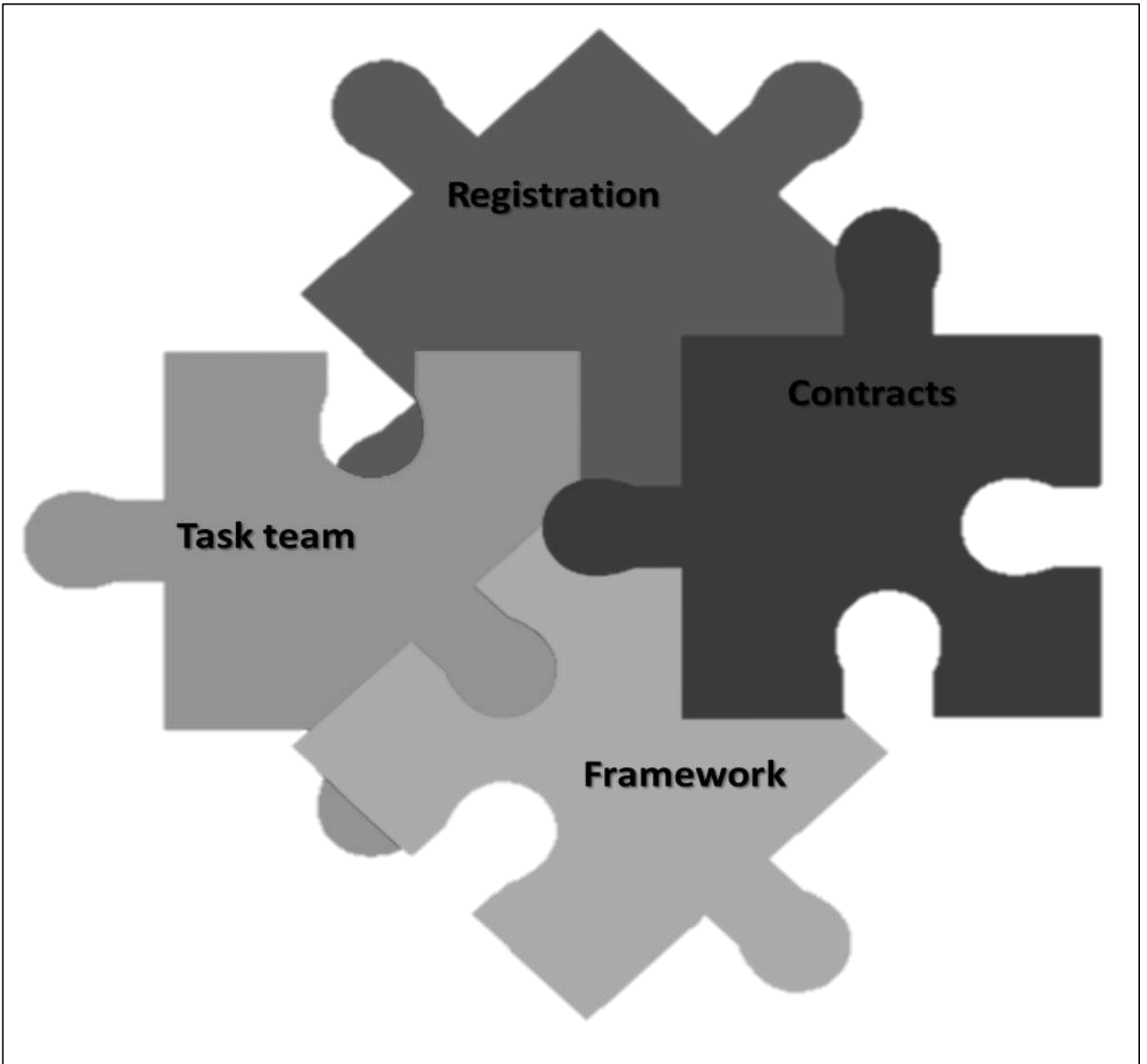
This new plan is an extension the S@S Programme, where it is implemented within the different wards in Johannesburg by Pikitup. This plan was introduced in the middle of the year 2017. The purpose for implementing the ward by ward plan is to try and “fence” the City’s budget, as elucidated by one senior official from Pikitup. The word ‘fence’ here means to control the City’s budget. Areas selected were classified according to demographics and specific characteristic, such as density, ward-waste profile, street furniture and building typology (Pikitup, 2017). Originally, seventeen wards were identified which included 23 informal settlements from Orange Farm, illegal dumping sites and building sites (left with rubble) where waste needs to be collected. Pikitup also identified 2 hostels, where reclaimers and the City could educate the residents on separating waste at the source. Through this project general waste will be collected and the City aims to explore different waste materials that can be recycled. To achieve this, alternative collection methods will be used. Clean-up campaigns and

the elimination of illegal dumping sites will be promoted (Pikitup, 2017). The way this plan had been framed includes alternative ways in which waste can be collected. This plan was only proposed in the year 2017 and it is still to be implemented. Ward by ward implementation will be incorporated into official's Key Performance Indicators to measure the effectiveness of customer-centricity (Pikitup, 2017). Reclaimers and other relevant stakeholders will be a part of this project. Since this is a fairly new project that Pikitup aims to prioritise on, there is not much that has been researched on it. The implementation of this plan could have negative or positive outcomes. It could go well if the state works closely with the reclaimers that work in the selected areas; or it could go wrong if the state does not include reclaimers. Most Pikitup officials see the ward by ward plan as similar to Jozi@work. Nothing could be said about this plan because it has not yet been implemented. Since this plan is an extension of the S@S Programme, the involvement of the residents and reclaimers could provide better results towards reclaimer integration.

6.3. CONCLUSION

The discussion of the programmes and initiatives that have been proposed and implemented illustrate that there is a need for some of them to be improved. These programmes have been analysed as instruments used by the state to engage with reclaimers. Most of the instruments have led to uncertainty and further problems. The analysis of the instruments has unveiled gaps and highlighted what has caused ambiguities in terms of the roles that different stakeholders must play in the implemented programmes (particularly reclaimers and the private sector). The ambiguity is that the reclaimers do contribute to keeping the City clean and City officials are aware of this; however, implemented programmes lack explicit instructions on how the officials should integrate reclaimers and this affects the City's effectiveness. As local government, the City of Johannesburg is limited in terms of budget and their capacity to integrate reclaimers. This shows that there is a gap between local and provincial government when it comes to budget priorities.

In as much as these programmes allowed a level of interaction between the reclaimers and the state, it seems there was a need for a better platform of engagement. The existence of the contracts between the private sector and the state was eventually contested and this will be further analysed in the following chapter.



CHAPTER SEVEN

THE REDEFINITION OF STATE INSTRUMENTS

This chapter explores how the instruments used by the state have been transformed by the mobilisation of the reclaimers. This chapter contributes to answering; ***To what extent have the practices of City officials and policy instruments supported or hindered their approaches to “integrating” of reclaimers?*** This chapter gives an account of how different platforms of engagement between the state and reclaimers have been established. Firstly this chapter provides an analysis of the contracts made between Pikitup and the contracted companies: as these contracts are what triggered the protest of reclaimers in Johannesburg. The chapter then analyses the transformation of some units within the EISD department and Pikitup entity that resulted in a different space of engagement between the state and the reclaimers: a task team was created, that includes EISD and Pikitup officials as well as reclaimer representatives. This change resulted in the City taking a different approach with regards to the implementation of its instruments. Thirdly, the chapter looks into how the task team has scrutinised the instruments used by City officials. The diagram below illustrates what this chapter discusses. This diagram mainly provides the dates and events that are relevant to the discussions made in this chapter.

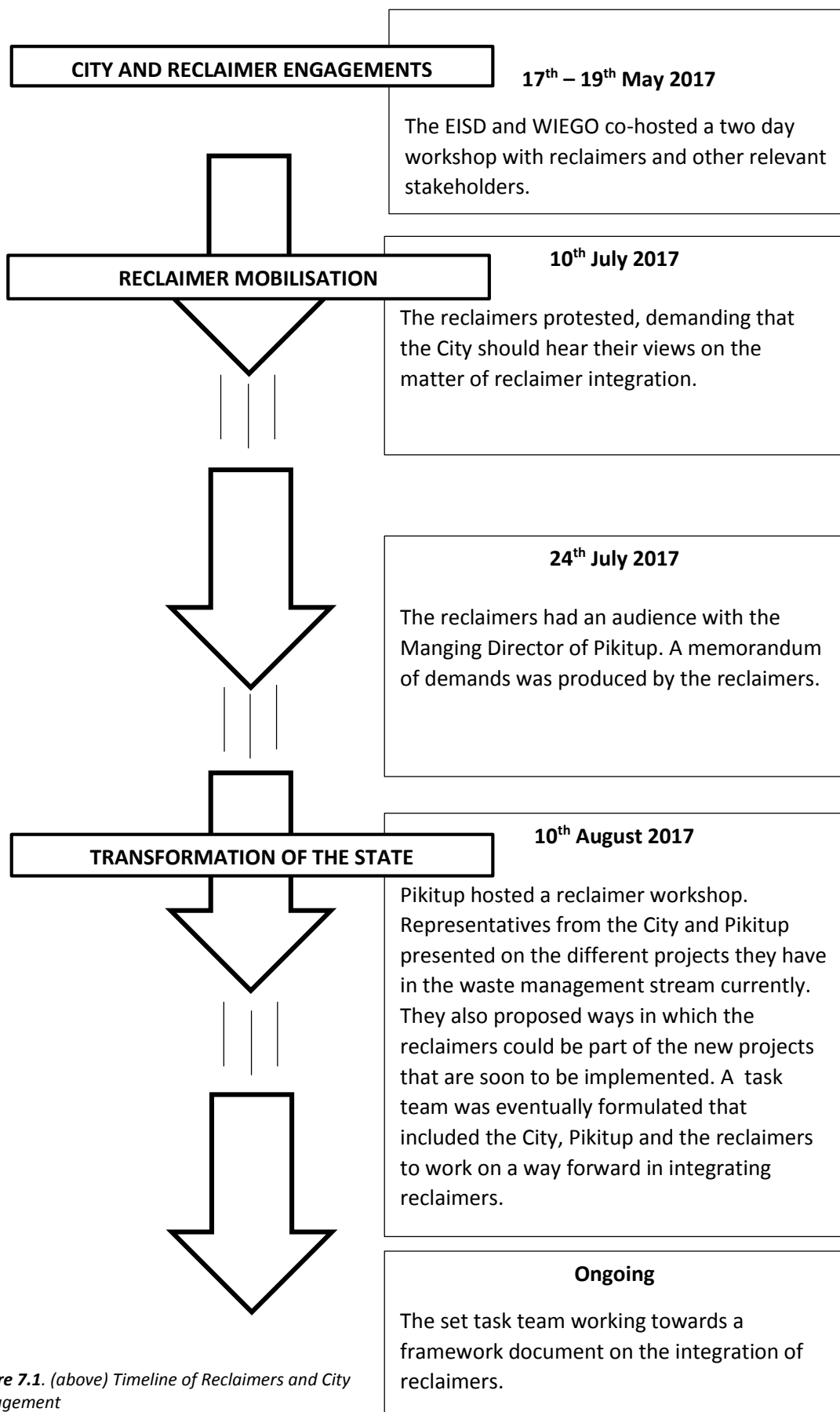


Figure 7.1. (above) *Timeline of Reclaimers and City engagement*
 Source: Dladla, 2017

The main argument of this chapter on how the EISD and Pikitup were transformed – how the practices of some of the EISD and Pikitup officials changed due to the protest of the reclaimers and the intervention of the Pikitup Managing Director. This chapter argues that the mobilisation of the reclaimers is what has led to change and triggered the involvement of senior officials that managed to establish a task team. The establishment of the task team is unique because it included the reclaimers and it influenced the redefinition of the instruments used by the City. This chapter demonstrates officials were too afraid to move beyond existing policy or make any real decisions. It also shows how the reclaimer representatives were still demanding to be consulted when the City makes new decisions. The theory on state practices is also explored here to illustrate how the City officials engage with reclaimers within the task team meeting meetings.

7.1. SCRUTINIZING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR

This section analyses the triangular relationship of the state, the private sector and the reclaimers. It mainly looks into the contracts made between Pikitup and their private service providers for the implementation of the Separation at Source Programme in middle to high income areas in 2016. It explores the position of City officials with regards to contracting the private sector. The analysis made here determines that the involvement of the private sector interfered with the reclaimer integration process, and this is why reclaimers protested.

7.1.1. The Presence Of The Private Sector In The Process Of Reclaimer Integration

Pikitup made contracts with a number of private companies within the 2016/2017 financial year. These companies were awarded a tender for the implementation of the Separation at Source Programme in middle class residential areas such as Midrand. These contracts were different from the contracts made between EISD and the companies that were procured to train reclaimers. The contracts between Pikitup and the private sector were for companies to roll out S@S in residential areas. During my time as an intern I had no access to the tender documents but some officials would mention what was in the documents during meetings.

However, reclaimers were already working in those areas. The presence of the private sector was bound to interfere with their work. As a result, the reclaimers contested this arrangement because of their previous experiences with private companies that were involved in rendering waste management services. Within a City-reclaimer workshop held in May 2017, reclaimers pointed out that the contracts the City made with private companies were excluding them. One of the reclaimers mentioned that:

“The big companies that Pikitup is integrating into the system are further exploiting us.”

Another reclaimer commented:

“...since Separation@Source programme is introduced we are being chased away by the security, because big companies have come in.”

It was not mentioned how reclaimers would be empowered and included in the Separation at Source Programme in the residential areas where the project was being rolled out. The uncertainty of how reclaimers were to be involved perpetuated their exclusion. In response to the reclaimers’ comments, a senior EISD official stated that the local government is not the only decision-making body in the privatisation of waste management services. The official further explained:

“There are also other policies being implemented such as those under the auspices of the Department of Trade and Industry. The City operates within a wider policy framework, and therefore they consult with other government departments.”

The official here expresses how limited they are as local government. One could argue that this official is frustrated on how they have to wait on other departments to get things done. This then led a reclaimer representative to argue that the state should consider the context when establishing policy:

“The policy should not only be punitive because people formulate it, but it should also take their context into consideration.”

For a long time, the reclaimers requested for the City to make available the contracts between Pikitup and the companies. The officials would justify that they could not show reclaimers the contracts because these were private documents between the state and the businesses. This justification is contradictory of what the state, that being national (DEA) and local (City of Johannesburg) government is working towards, which is having an integrated solid waste management system. During the discussions of the May 2017 workshop, reclaimers argued that the decisions made on waste management should be made accessible to all relevant stakeholders – the state, the private sector, and reclaimers. They gave examples where the City made decisions without consulting them and projects failing as a result. For example, they were not consulted in the design of trolleys and therefore the designs failed. This part of the workshop was very tense as the reclaimers made known that they felt that there is no respect for the work they do. On that regard reclaimers requested the City to consult with them and involve them in the decisions made that would affect their livelihood. A decision was made during the workshop that the City would consult with reclaimers going forward.

7.1.2. The Mobilisation of The Reclaimers

In a reclaimers' meeting after the 17th to the 19th of May 2017 workshop, the Interim Joburg Reclaimers Committee had initially asked to have a meeting with the MMC, however it was not a success. The reclaimer representatives narrated that they had not received any response from the City with regards to their request to have a meeting. After the May workshop with the City, no action was taken on what the reclaimers had pointed out. Instead the City went ahead to implement S@S with the contracted service providers. Eventually, the reclaimers protested on the 10th of July 2017 and they produced a memorandum of demands to the City. This memorandum stated that reclaimers wanted all waste management contracts and projects that were taking the reclaimers' work away from them to be stopped immediately (see figure 4.6). The Managing Director of Pikitup accepted the memorandum and he honoured the reclaimers, recognised their contributions and committed to engaging with them. This response surprised everyone, including City officials.

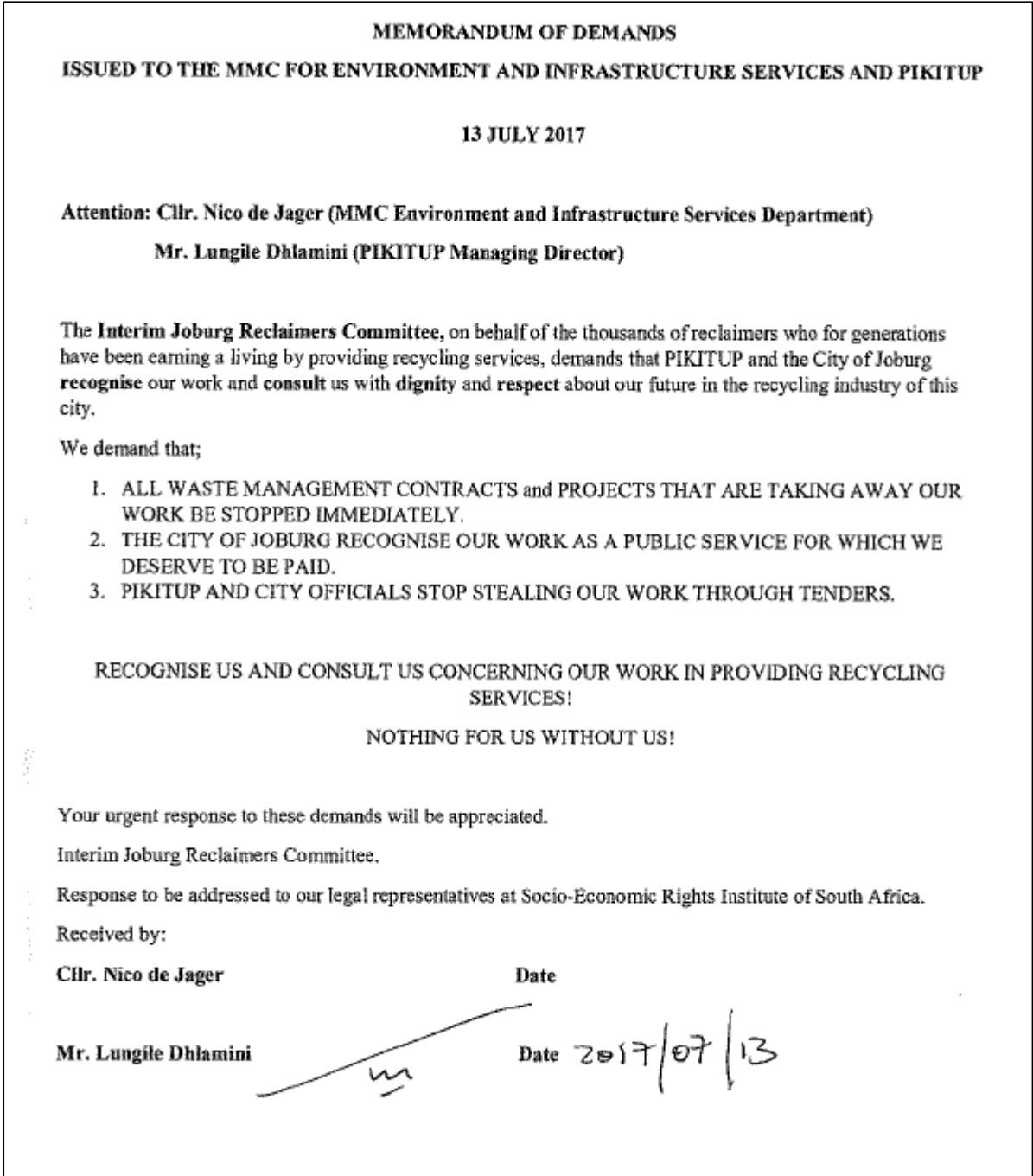


Figure 7.2. (above) Memorandum of Demands made by Reclaimers
Source: City of Johannesburg, 2017.

Through this protest, the reclaimers responded to a need for survival. Reclaimers do have power and this was demonstrated by their mobilisation and protesting – which shows that there is power in mass mobilisation. In the context of Johannesburg, reclaimers acted as civil society and played the role of keeping the state accountable. This links to what Houtzager and Lavalley (2010) discuss on how organised civil society lay claim to political representation. Houtzager and Lavalley (2010) posit that civil society actors have now been in the very front of democratic experiments that initiate structures

of participatory governance. In the context of this study, reclaimers are an organised civil society that managed to catch the state's attention, resulting in the establishment of the task team (which will be discussed in the following sections). They wanted to know why the private sector was involved in S@S and how this would enhance their integration. Besides, the population of reclaimers entails what Chatterjee (2004) calls "civil and political society". Chatterjee (2004) posits that these populations are very important because they create political legitimacy. Civil society is a group that is recognised by the state and as citizens their rights must be prioritised (ibid. 2004). Political society is a group of people that are not seen as citizens and they are not always legible (ibid. 2004). This is also a population that lives in the realm of informality where they survive by negotiating favours and having temporal solutions to their problems. In as much as reclaimers have both civil and political society, it is the civil society this is what makes them have power because when they mobilise the state must uphold their rights. This illustrates the power of the masses and how it has the potential to shape the political context of the reclaimer integration.

After the protest there were several engagements between the state and reclaimers. In spite of the resistance of senior Municipal officials, as it is said that he never met the reclaimers. The Managing Director of Pikitup accepted the memorandum of demands at the march. He agreed to sit with the reclaimers and hear their grievances about the state and the contracts made with the private sector. The MD then proposed to have a workshop with Pikitup and EISD officials and reclaimers, in order to have an extensive engagement on the issues of reclaimer integration. This workshop was held on the 10th of August 2017 and there was a complete turn of events and the birth of a task team.

The long-awaited meeting

The 10th of August 2017 workshop took place and there were a lot of Pikitup officials and few from the EISD. This workshop took the whole day and the agenda was on finding a way forward in relation to the City engaging with the reclaimers. The workshop began with senior officials and project managers presenting on the different programmes that Pikitup had implemented as well as proposed programmes. The officials also talked about how reclaimers could be involved in the implementation of these programmes by collecting other recyclable materials. The time came for questions and discussions among the stakeholders. This session was meant to provide clarity for the reclaimers as their representative pointed out that the ward by ward plan was presented very fast during the same meeting (the 10th of August 2017), so they did not have the ability to grapple with it at that moment.

The reclaimer representative also said that the various activities that the officials presented should not be privatised, but these activities should be done by the state. In an investigative tone the representative asked,

“What are the key performance indicators for these service providers?”

This seemed to fuel the energy of the reclaimers to ask more and point out their grievances. Before any responses could be given, another reclaimer said that the S@S was not beneficial for them and he said that the training was not helpful. He also emphasised that the decisions the City makes never include them and this was a cry for help made very clear during the picket.

In his attempt to answer all the questions asked, the Managing Director shot up from his seat and began to respond, becoming the facilitator of the day’s event. He then apologetically said that they went ahead of themselves as Pikitup. Without any restraint he claimed that it is the nature of government to impose because they have the power and the means to do and say things and make decisions. It ceased to be a facilitation of a discussion between two parties, but it was more of the MD explaining how the structure of the City works as he emphatically and repeatedly stated that,

“The City is trying to create an environment for equitable competition not to give people things for free. I will not defend the structure of the contracts made with the service providers... there are gaps. Therefore I have to put the contracts on hold.”

This and more was said in an authoritative poise that commanded the attention of the whole room. He further went on to make an analogy of a jackrussel and a bull.

In this analogy it was mentioned that the City will try to remove barriers to entry and empower the “small guys” to have a chance to participate in the economy. It was also said that they were going ahead with the ward by ward model because it was their mandate as Pikitup, but being mindful of the reclaimers. He said that he would be committed to work for reclaimers. In spite of his commitment, he made mention of the fact that the state is faced with a difficult situation with regards to issues such as informality, job creation and creating equitable spaces of competition, yet it tends to take all this lightly. He also admitted that there was indeed a need to have a robust engagement between the City and the reclaimers.

In his analysis of the triangle between the state, reclaimers and the private sector, it was acknowledged that there was a need to have the affected service providers present in the workshop. This observation links to the reality of how that state operates in isolation where various departments work in separate processes that aim to solve one issue. Despite, admitting to the importance of the private companies’ presence in the meeting he confessed that they could not give off all the information between the service providers and the state contracts. But he informed that the state’s contractual framework was being questioned.

He continued to say that in as much as he was willing to help the reclaimers the state could not deal with what he called “this culture of entitlement”. He also highlighted that the information on tenders is publicised and this information is made known for those that are interested. So in a way this hinted that the information demanded by the reclaimers was available to the public. He defended that Jozi@work was not privatised, but it was a form of coproduction. Looking at what happened with Jozi@work it was meant to provide jobs but most of the jobs were received by individuals that were not originally reclaimers.

Throughout his extended assessment it was concluded that both parties must come to an agreement and that reclaimers should not be their own enemy by lack of organisation. It was pointed out that the state could not wait for the reclaimers, instead they should organise themselves. What stood out was how he admitted that change starts with every affected stakeholder and that there was a need to deliberate.

The reclaimer representative presented on what they wanted to see happen and how they could contribute to the way forward. The representative confidently and assertively talked about the Bogota model (as presented in chapter six) that they wish to follow to achieve an integrated system. He also provided a number of principles that could be followed to achieve this goal. The representative stated that,

- “1. There should not be any models (approaches) that will exclude what exists without giving alternatives.
2. The City should be aware that there is an existing system – that is the reclaimers. There should be a way to strengthen this system.
3. Any model that is considered should make sure that there must be an integration of what already exists.”

As the representative continued, he explained that the Bogota model is based on the recognition of reclaimers and this was the foundation of recycling. Reclaimers in Bogota are also registered and given incentives. He then proposed that there should be an environmental levy at the end of every month. He continued to elucidate on how the Bogota model would work in the context of the City of Johannesburg. It was mentioned that if all reclaimers are registered, the rate of waste collection would increase and the City would be able to get accurate statistics on waste collected. He also stated that there should be infrastructure support such as storage facilities and trucks that are made available for the reclaimers. He spoke about the funding used by the City, where he said;

“The money used for the EPWP training is too much. There is a need to re-imagine where money is being spent.”

This statement emphasises what some of the reclaimers expressed about the EPWP training and how it is at times not helpful for most of them.

Throughout this presentation many things that were pointed out by some officials were corrected and up to date statistics were given. Practical scenarios of what the reclaimers go through on a daily basis were posited. This illustrated the various gaps in the state and it has dealt with the process of integration.

When the MD took the platform again there was a sudden change of perception and understanding of what the reclaimers have been fighting for. He mentioned that he was very concerned about the issue of reclaimer integration. It was also stated that there was an “oversight” with the formalisation of reclaimers – meaning that there were certain things there were overlooked in the attempt to integrate reclaimers. The MD then proposed that the information collected from the different workshops should be used to compile the principles that could be used to guide the integration process. This led to the request of a representative task team to be formed. This team would have officials from EISD and Pikitup as well as reclaimer representatives. Explicit details of its mandate and deadlines were given by the MD. The task team were meant to submit a proposal by the end of August. They would have to meet regularly to formulate a document that defines things well and discusses the way forward on the integration of the reclaimers. The mandate of the task team was to have short and longterm goals on the integration process. Most importantly, he pointed out that the information that the City has on the reclaimer integration process is not documented and the formation of the task team should look into this.

This takes us back to the rationale of this research – that there is a lack of documentation when it comes to what has been done in relation to reclaimer integration. Therefore, this transformed engagement between the City (particularly Pikitup) and reclaimers has acted as a building block for the purposes of this research. This turn of events has also contributed a rich content on how state officials and reclaimers have reacted. The involvement of the MD led to a drastic change with regards to the state practices – where a lot of procedures pertaining to an integrated waste management system have been assessed.

The reaction of the state

What the reclaimers were demanding was that City should acknowledge them and the work they do and for the contracts between the state and the private sector to be stopped. During my research the contracts have been a mystery. Officials claimed that the contracts were private documents. No

matter how secretive these contracts were, one thing was clear; these contracts were not explicit on how the companies were supposed to work with reclaimers that collect and recycle waste in the selected residential areas. This information on the contracts was discussed in a meeting that is presented below. Pikitup and EISD officials had weekly meetings with the contracted companies to discuss progress on the Separation at Source Programme. After the protest and the 10th of August workshop, the Separation at Source Project Manager called for a meeting with the contracted companies that had already started implementing S@S. I was also present during this meeting where a number of things were discussed.

A Separation at Source meeting held between EISD, Pikitup and private companies, on the 21st August 2017

This meeting was called by the S@S Project Manager (Pikiutup official). The people that attended were two service providers and EISD and Pikitup officials. When the meeting commenced, the Project Manager informed the companies that she had a meeting with the MD and instructed that they should wait with signing the Service Level Agreements (SLAs). Service Level Agreements are a memorandum of understanding or an official commitment between a service provider and a client (in this case the client is the City). The MD had indeed instructed the Project Manager that there is a need for him to meet with the companies to make amendments on the SLAs.

One of the service providers said with frustration:

“This is a constraint and it is a lot of strain on our part. We do our part. We have already made commitments and now this halt is going to be a problem.”

The Project Manager explained that the MD wanted to “tighten certain things within the SLA”. The manager then announced that:

“Instead of the project starting on the 1st of September, it will start on the second week of the month.”

It was also mentioned that the service providers would meet with the MD on the 4th of September. As the Project Manager conveyed this information, she would make reference to the 10th of August workshop, specifically about the reclaimers wanting to see the contracts. One of the company owners asked with a frown,

“May we see the minutes from this workshop?”

A junior Pikitup official responded that they did not give the contracts to the reclaimers. The official also mentioned that the contracts seemed to be “open-ended” and the MD wanted to give detail on how the service providers should work with reclaimers (as this was left to this discretion of the service

providers). The service providers then asked if they could be part of the task team that was established during the workshop. There was no clear answer about whether or not the service providers could be a part of the task team. It was only mentioned by a senior Pikitup official that the MD had suggested that all key stakeholders should be a part of the task team.

Officials then asked the service providers how they had planned to involve reclaimers in their work. The service providers did not have an answer for this, but they asked for a meeting to get back to the City officials with a proper plan.

As the meeting continued, the companies were constantly asking questions for clarity and trying to find out when the City would meet certain deadlines.

This meeting leads one to conclude that the contracts were not detailed on how reclaimers would become a part of implementing Separation at Source. The misunderstanding of the state's intentions to create an integrated waste management system led to the incapability to clearly outline the responsibilities of both the City and the private sector within the contracts created. This fallout could be due to policy not giving clear details of the roles and responsibilities of all key stakeholders, that being the state, reclaimers and the private sector. Pikitup indeed does not have a policy to refer to, when developing the SLAs that could help define the role of every stakeholder. Over time, the involvement of the Managing Director of Pikitup and his awareness of the needs of reclaimers resulted in some of the contracts being put on hold. These contracts were between the state and companies that had not yet started implementing S@S. These contracts were put on hold due to the demands made by the reclaimers to the City. The service providers were not part of the task team meetings, it was therefore impossible to follow up on the meeting they had with the MD.

7.2. THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE STATE

The major turn of events was when the Managing Director of Pikitup requested for City officials to work together with reclaimers, establishing the task team. This section introduces the task team and it shows how the City has been working with the reclaimers since this task team was established. Approximately two meetings per month took place from August to November 2017. Based on my research approach (ethnographic approach), I had access to all these meetings and I attended most of them based on availability. I also had the privilege to attend City officials' caucuses before the task team meetings. The section further discusses the reclaimer registration process, which has been one of the most important debates of the task team.

There has been a shift in the way the City has worked together with reclaimers and this shift has been driven by the intrinsic involvement of Pikitup's Managing Director (MD). Various state departments have had complaints from the public about service delivery. Public protests have occurred due to the poor delivery of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses (Mail and Guardian, 2017). These never ending protests show that there is nothing that changes in the delivering of houses. However, in the case of reclaimers in Johannesburg, their protest sparked the attention of a senior official that has influence in his department. A senior official of the EISD stated that,

“The MD's involvement is a good thing. It is not an interruption but an intervention. This will benefit the reclaimers in the long run” (EISD Offices, #3, 30/11/17).

In conversations with the officials, others deny that the MD's involvement is what made a difference. They say that the change was mainly driven by the reclaimers taking matters into their own hands. However, change occurred mainly because of the influence of one individual – the Managing Director of Pikitup. From a sociological point of view, the senior official used agency to oppose and reform the structure (Archer, 2003), where he challenged the system that has been void of instruments that could guide City officials on how to integrate reclaimers. In this process, the MD legitimised another set of discourses that are in favour of the reclaimers such as the importance of having a platform for both parties to deliberate on the issue of integration; the importance of registering reclaimers and their role in the waste management system. This resulted in the formation of a task team.

7.2.1. The Task Team

The task team was mandated to find a way forward for the integration of reclaimers (as explained earlier). The team included a reclaimer representative body called the Interim Joburg Reclaimers Committee, senior officials from EISD and Pikitup, and representatives from WIEGO. The first task of the team was to develop a framework document that unpacks how the City and reclaimers will work towards reclaimer integration as well as an implementation plan. When the task team was at its initial stages of development, it was indicated on the 15th of August that the team should welcome any other credible reclaimer representatives, officials from DEA and owners of private landfill sites. One could assume that the private companies were also welcome to participate in task team. During my fieldwork, the private sector was not a part of the task team meetings.

The task team experienced challenges in terms of the existing relations between the different groups. There were many times when senior officials were not part of the work done by the team. Reclaimers that were part of this team insisted on working with senior officials, which led to junior officials leaving the team. Some of the officials that left felt that reclaimers were undermining their work as officials:

“I love working with reclaimers, but these people forget you once they see another person who wants to help them. They make us look like you are the bad guys.” (EISD junior official, personal conversation, 18th of August 2017)

The official further explained that the reclaimers did not want to work junior officials. However, it is the junior officials that have been working closely with the integration process and know what has been happening on the ground.

A lot of information was revealed in the task team. Some of the information showed that reclaimers were still disorganised. For example, there were many reclaimer representative bodies that were emerging. In as much as these representative bodies claimed to represent the constituency of reclaimers, their legitimacy was questionable. When different reclaimer representatives were part of the task team meetings, it was evident that they had disagreements and prejudices about each other. They were not united.

Moreover, information also disclosed that EISD and Pikitup officials were not completely working together in relation to the integration of the reclaimers. For example, it emerged that EISD has been working closely with the Joburg Reclaimers Committee since it was established in 2013, as explained in chapter 6. What is interesting is that some Pikitup officials lacked information on the relationship between the EISD and this committee. All this transpired in one of the meetings where a member of the Interim Joburg Reclaimers Committee stated that EISD has been working with the Joburg Reclaimers Committee and these members have their own agendas that benefit them individually. A junior EISD official that was present in that meeting was surprised to hear such feedback about Joburg Reclaimers Committee members. The junior official defended this committee and said that the members were faithful and worked hard to mobilise reclaimers in the city. The committee members were available when the officials needed them. The EISD officials were more concerned about getting the work done with a smaller group of people. One could argue that the relationship between the EISD and this committee is somehow undermined and questioned by other reclaimers. This proves that the reclaimers still do not trust the intentions of the City.

The task team also experienced challenges with the development of the framework document. There were a number of times when the two parties would not agree on certain things, such as the definition of integration. Both parties had agreed that the document should have a section on what integration means, since the purpose of the document was to provide a guide on how the City and reclaimers will work together in relation to reclaimer integration. The reclaimers asked if the task team could define integration using the following words; recognition, consultation, inclusion and registration. The time came for the team to define what integration is, but the City had different definitions compared to

the reclaimers' definition. After extensive deliberation, the City officials agreed on the reclaimers' definition of registration. Officials mentioned that some of the things the reclaimers had stated were outside of the City's mandate, but the reclaimers did not compromise. As a result the reclaimers' representative decided to compile a table to show the two parties did not agree, as shown in Figure 7.3.

Waste picker inputs	Concerns from the City
<p>5.1.1 Recognition – when there is no privatization of waste, we are recognized as workers and our work is recognized as a public service.</p> <p>5.1.2 There are forums for collective bargaining and representation where we can participate freely and fully through our elected representatives on the terms and conditions of our work.</p> <p>5.1.3 We are not restricted from accessing recyclable material, harassed or having our materials taken away from us by city officials and the JMPD.</p> <p>5.1.4 We are supported to end the stigma of being a <i>reclaimer</i> and to be included as full citizens of the city.</p>	<p><i>privatization of waste</i> – in carrying out the municipal service, the city will from time to time identify and source stakeholders with the necessary expertise to achieve its mandate;</p> <p><i>recognized as workers</i> – outside of the City mandate;</p> <p><i>public service</i> – outside of the City mandate</p> <p><i>collective bargaining</i> – outside of the City mandate;</p> <p><i>terms and conditions of our work</i> – outside of the City mandate</p> <p><i>not restricted</i> – unreasonable as the laws, regulations and by-laws pose limitations on what waste management activities can happen where;</p> <p><i>harassed or having our materials taken away</i> - the alleged act or activity should not be against the law;</p> <p><i>full citizens of the city</i> – outside of the City mandate;</p>
<p>5.1.5 Consultation – being part of decision-making that will impact on our livelihood and not to be informed after decisions that will affect us have been taken.</p>	<p><i>decision making</i> – too broad since the forums are not meant to usurp decision-making powers delegated to relevant city officials in terms of the law (MSA, MEMA, etc.);</p>
<p>5.1.6 Inclusion – when we are fully registered and included in the current system of collection, sorting and selling of recyclable material and in the future we will be included when;</p> <p>5.1.7 We have proper identification and uniforms to show dignity and respect for our work</p>	<p><i>uniforms</i> - outside of the City mandate but could be pursued through partnership with other stakeholders where possible;</p> <p><i>our health and safety is protected and we have access to regular health checks, personal protective equipment e.g. dust masks especially at the landfill where we are exposed</i></p>

Figure 7.3. (above) Key words that define integration

Source: City of Johannesburg, 2017.

This is an extract taken from the framework document to show what the reclaimers expect integration to be and the areas where the City officials pointed out their limitations (see annexure B for complete document). This section also shows that reclaimers and City officials still disagree on what integration really is. It also demonstrates the inability for both parties to negotiate even when they have to act as a team. One could ask whether this dynamic exists because both officials and reclaimers have a certain mind-set about one another. It could be argued, that such tensions are the reason why the state prefers to work with the private sector.

In as much as the City officials had opportunities to engage with reclaimers through the different programmes that were implemented, the task team created a platform for intense engagement. Both parties had the chance to deliberate on decisions made on the integration process. Discussions within this team have made officials more aware of their practices and how their practices affect reclaimers. For instance, some officials would think of different ways on how to improve the registration process (this will be further explained in the next section). Becoming a part of this engagement allowed me to see how critical the officials were about the work they presented to reclaimers and how they became more involved in what needs to be done. This was seen by City officials making it a habit to meet before having a formal meeting with reclaimers in the task team. During the caucuses, the officials would make it a point that they had proper explanations for why certain decision should be made. In some cases they would try to put themselves in the claimer's shoes. For example, one of Pikitup's officials within the caucuses stated that,

“We could have mobile clinics at the landfills for reclaimers to have medical check-ups and this will benefit our workers as well.”

The junior official suggested this because she worked in one of the landfill sites as a landfill manager and knew the working conditions for both Pikitup workers and reclaimers. Having incentives would encourage reclaimers to work better with the City.

The task team has enabled better communication between the two parties. This space allowed the officials to talk more about their restraints as the local government as well as their limited capacity to improve their waste management system. For instance, City officials constantly expressed that they receive limited funding that requires them to work with South African citizens only in the case of claimer integration. The officials also informed reclaimers that the City cannot even provide facilities such as toilets for their own workers.

In as much as the two parties were communicating well, discussions were somehow stuck because the officials were not free to commit to some of the demands made by the reclaimers. There was a need for officials from provincial and national government to be involved in order to give proper responses to the reclaimers.

7.2.2. The Registration Process

The registration process is an instrument used by the City. This is whereby information on the reclaimers is collected and a database is created by the City to keep record of these details. The City is then meant to issue out identity cards that hold information of the reclaimer and the reclaimer can use this card when required to reveal their identity when working. It is a process that reclaimers believe will help them to be recognised by the state. Reclaimers have been requesting for this process to be done properly for a long time. The registration process is the main element of the implementation plan that task team was working on within the framework document (see extract below). Therefore, the task team created a platform for this process to be discussed further.

#	Theme	Action	Responsible	Term
A	Registration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Registration launch ○ Deployment of human and technical resources to expedite registration from application to completion. ○ Create a database of Waste Pickers ○ Training of Waste Pickers on City by-Laws ○ Issuing of Identity Card to Registered and Trained Waste Pickers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pikitup & EISD All Stakeholders EISD EISD EISD 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Short term and Ongoing Short term and Ongoing Short term and Ongoing Short term and Ongoing Short term and Ongoing

Table 7.1. (above) High level Implementation Plan.

Source: table adapted from City of Johannesburg, 2017.

The Reclaimers Empowerment Plan of the financial year 2010/11 is divided into two phases. The second phase states that all reclaimers in the City need to be profiled for the City to have information on reclaimers within Johannesburg (EISD, 2013). In order for the profiles to be made, there is a need for the registration process. The City, particularly EISD officials already started this, where 716 reclaimers were registered (EISD, 2013). During the task team meetings, officials from Pikitup and the reclaimer representatives asked to see the registration process that EISD has been using. EISD officials

presented the following procedure, more detail is provided in annexure C - the reclaimers' registration process:

- “1. Identify all buy back centres (both City owned and private owned).
2. Communicate with buy back centres for them to give the City all reclaimers within the different regions.
3. Arrange meeting with reclaimers and explain the registration process (awareness).
4. Reclaimers should nominate their representatives within the different regions.
5. Application forms should be issued to the reclaimers.
6. Completed application forms must be accompanied with certified copies of identified cards and passports.
7. Develop a database that has all the information from the registration application forms.
8. Train the reclaimers on City By-Laws.
9. Issue out accreditation cards (identification cards).
10. Provide a register that reclaimers will sign upon receiving accreditation cards.” (EISD, 2017)

This was established by EISD and there has been an attempt to implement this approach. This process serves as an instrument used by the state to help recognise reclaimers and to create a database that informs the state on the number of reclaimers that work in specific areas in Johannesburg. Within this process reclaimers need to fill in a form and provide identification documents – that could be a South African identification or a passport. The City plans on creating a database for all reclaimers within Johannesburg. This database will help in giving the state statistics on the number of reclaimers, the demographics, their educational level and how many of the reclaimers are part of cooperatives. The City is planning to collect information on how many tonnages the reclaimers collect. This is a process that is mainly driven by the EISD, and the officials have a challenge due to the limited resources. The City only has one machine that prints out the identity cards and this is time consuming. Officials that are assigned to this work are very few, so this becomes a strenuous job.

Since the development of the task team the process and purpose of the registering reclaimers has been discussed in depth. Reclaimers do want this process to work because this will be the beginning on their integration into the system. They also believe that this process acknowledges them as key

role players in the waste management system. In the process, they suggested a number of issues to be reviewed.

Firstly, the registration form that was initially used by EISD lacked a number of things, such as providing information of the reclaimers' next of kin, whether or not they are part of a cooperative. I was honoured to be asked to make an input on the form and to assist in improving the form (see annexure D). I had stated that there was a need to request information of the reclaimer's next of kin in case they got injured while working. This could help the state in terms of updating their database, to find out if the registered individual is still a reclaimer or if they are deceased. The purpose of having this information could help the state in the long run for statistics. This is very important because there are reclaimers stop being recyclers and there have been cases where some reclaimers have died.

I also noticed that the form did not request information on whether reclaimers are part of a cooperative. This is very important because the City only knows of two functioning cooperatives. There is a need to find out if reclaimers have established other cooperatives that are not yet known by the state. This is similar to the case of reclaimer representative bodies that are still mushrooming and are not yet known by the state. More comments were made by members of the task team, such as the declaration section of the form (see annexure A). Reclaimers debated that the registration process should not be coupled with the training process because the training sessions have been only open to South African reclaimers. This meant that the City officials would have to create a different forum where all reclaimers would be present for them to be trained on the City By-Laws. This will require more money and time spent on one thing that could be done once.

Secondly, the registration process led to reclaimers receiving what EISD officials call identification cards. A lot was discussed about the card, which raised questions of its true purpose and how the different parties saw the function of this card. Officials from Pikitup questioned how long the card will be valid. This led to reclaimers asking what would happen after the card expired. This put a question mark on the reliability of the card. The number of questions that were raised indicates that there is a need to reframe the purpose of the card once it is received by reclaimers.

Lastly, this progress of registration seemed haphazard. The task team is responsible for making sure that this process takes place and involves every reclaimer. Since 716 reclaimers were registered, some of the reclaimers asked,

“Will the registration process be started afresh?”

This was asked because the registration process now included the issuing out of identity cards. This meant that the 716 registered reclaimers would have to be called to receive the cards. In addition, the registration form was amended, therefore the City would have to find other means of notifying the

registered reclaimers to provide other details and receive the cards. While the task team was in the process of making the registration inclusive, the EISD officials were registering the South African reclaimers that were trained through EPWP. The EISD officials registered the reclaimers after they were trained. This database is accessible to the EISD. One could say the City was killing two birds with one stone. The fact that the reclaimers were available, the City officials took advantage of this and decided to start with the registration. When this was mentioned by the reclaimer representative in the task team, the reaction from the officials from Pikitup showed that they were not aware of this development. The instruments that the City initiates are meant to help Pikitup and EISD work together, but this case shows that both departments are working separately.

The registration of reclaimers is indeed an instrument for recognising reclaimers. The information received could be used by the state to know reclaimers better and their expertise. Members of the task team have realised the gaps within this process and have worked towards making it better. There is a need however, for both EISD and Pikitup to implement this together. Analysing how this instrument has been implemented, there is still a lack of communication between EISD and Pikitup in relation to reclaimer integration. It could be argued that the state is under pressure to show results in the process of reclaimer integration, as a result EISD officials decided to register the reclaimers they had already trained through EPWP. The action taken by EISD made the reclaimers not to trust what the state plans to do with them because some of them were not informed that the City was registering reclaimers again. However, one could argue that this action is a sign of an innovation from the officials' side, who took the opportunity reclaimers availability to register them. Eventually, this was discussed in the task team meetings and Pikitup officials mentioned that they would love to be a part of the registration process and they would asked the MD to request for another machine to be able to print out the cards.

The engagement of the task team with regards to the registration process illustrates a shift in the set of norms and practices that frame the behaviour of the City officials. This links to the concept of governmentality which is the "art of governing" (Burchell, *et al.*, 1991). This art of governing could be further explored in the way Roy (2009) analyses the concept "citizenship". Roy talks about how grassroots organisations "seek to construct and manage the civic realm" (2009: 160). She further analyses the establishment of participatory citizenship which creates regimes of "civic governmentality". These grassroots organisations actively shape the conduct of the state. In the context of the City of Johannesburg, the reclaimers could be seen as the grassroots organisation that influenced the conduct of the state (particularly EISD and Pikitup). An argument could be made that this change of the officials' norms and practices (art of governing or conduct) is mainly to win the trust of the reclaimers.

7.3. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the events that took place before and after the reclaimers protested highlights what caused uncertainties in terms of the roles of different stakeholders. The already existing programmes allowed a level of interaction between the City and reclaimers, but there was a need for a better platform of engagement, which was provided through the task team. This task team was meant to create neutral space— not controlled by state officials or reclaimers; however this was a space riddled with power relations, contestations and prejudices. Since the task team has been operating, both parties have managed to communicate more about the bigger picture – that is, reclaimer integration. This space has allowed reclaimers and officials to scrutinise the instruments that have been used. Officials are also becoming more aware of their practices and how the instruments have influenced their work (as discussed in earlier). As a result, their “art of governing” has been shaped by the participation of the reclaimers. Despite the differences between the two parties, it is for certain that the state is experiencing a form of transformation in the waste management sector. This has made both parties more aware of what needs to be addressed, which takes us to the concluding chapter.



CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: THE WAY FORWARD

8.1. KEY CONTRIBUTIONS

Having looked at practices of state officials in relation to claimer integration, this study shows how there has been transformation in the solid waste management system of Johannesburg. This study mainly focused on the construct of the state practices, particularly the EISD and Pikitup and how these two entities have been engaging with reclaimers. The research report determines that the presence of the private sector also caused complexities in the relationship between the state and reclaimers.

During my fieldwork, the engagement of the City with reclaimers was very fluid at first and it eventually became clear after the formation of the task team. This study proves that there are indeed different levels of engagement and there are various levels of power achieved within those engagements. What I learnt from the task team meetings is that the engagement of the City with the reclaimers became more of a partnership. The reclaimers exercised their “citizen power” (Arnstein, 1969) in the sense that they had a platform where they could question the City’s actions and be given answers by the City.

City officials are faced with a number of challenges. One of the challenges is that the City has limited funds assigned towards the claimer integration process. They have limited resources to empower all reclaimers in Johannesburg. The City officials are also limited in their capacity to enhance this process. Policies that have been developed from national to local government have not given explicit guidance on how officials should engage and include reclaimers into the waste management system. There is no policy that explicitly acknowledges reclaimers and the work they do in the city. Other challenges are that the City finds it much simpler to work with private companies, but it is not developmental. Moreover, officials have been finding it difficult to work with thousands of individual reclaimers.

What is also demonstrated in this study is the way in which the EISD and Pikitup work together. This research discusses the gaps in communication between EISD and Pikitup. It illustrates that in as much as these entities were designed to work together; they work in isolation when it comes to the implementation of projects or programmes. One could argue that policy instruments do not clearly outline what EISD and Pikitup should do, as a result these entities do not exactly know how to work together in the development and implementation of waste management programmes. For example, the fact that the EISD proceeded to register reclaimers without involving Pikitup proves that some departments and entities within local government do not work together.

Most importantly the findings chapters give two important narratives on the key instruments that the City officials use and on the mobilisation of the reclaimers. The first narrative is about the key instruments that are linked to the integration of reclaimers. It discusses and analyses what the City

officials think of the instruments. Some officials think that the Separation at Source Programme is the “weakest link” because it does not keep record of the amount of waste collected by the reclaimers. Other officials believe that the instruments used have the potential to work, however, they seem not to work because the reclaimers are disorganised. This brings to our knowledge that the officials think that the instruments being used are clear and allow them to do their work with regards to waste management, but they are not clear on how officials should incorporate reclaimers into the system.

The narrative further articulates the officials’ perspective of reclaimers, where officials consider reclaimers as a disorganised group. They perceive this fragmentation as one of the reasons for the reclaimer cooperatives not working, resulting in the failure of reclaimer integration. What officials have recently done about this situation is to allow the different reclaimer representative bodies to engage with the City to find a way forward. From the analysis made, it was determined that officials find it hard to work with the reclaimers because they are a dependant group, as they do not have facilities for sorting waste or trucks to collect the waste. City officials argued that reclaimers need to establish cooperatives and learn how to sustain them in order for the City to give them the opportunity to provide waste management services.

The second narrative is on the mobilisation of the reclaimers. The chapters that discuss and analyse this narrative show that the reclaimers were reacting to a situation that has not been prioritised by the state. They tried to reach out the City a number of times in the year 2016 and there was no success. In the year 2017 the City ended-up hosting a workshop from the 17th to the 18th of May 2017, where they invited all the relevant stakeholders, except the private sector. The workshop had a series of debates between the state and the reclaimers, but there were times when both parties would agree on a way forward. The City mentioned that they would consult with the reclaimers when decisions need to be made on programmes that affect them as stakeholders. This workshop showed the promise of progress. However, there was one thing that left the reclaimers despondent after the workshop, which was the presence of the private sector in the rolling out of the S@S Programme. As a result, the reclaimers mobilised and challenged the City to terminate the contracts made with the private sector. In a nutshell, the mobilisation of the reclaimers led to a different response from the City.

On top of this change, the influence of Pikitup’s Managing Director also made a difference. The MD used agency instead of structure where he decided to be intrinsically involved in the integration process. The protest is not a unique form of action in South Africa; however the action taken by the MD is something that is unique. This is why the intervention of Pikitup’s MD is seen as the main reason for change in this context. For the MD to be pro-reclaimer is something that both the City officials and reclaimers saw as beneficial for the integration of reclaimers. This was a positive change for City officials because the MD as a senior official would be able to assist them to obtain the resources they

need to make integration a reality. The confluence of the reclaimers mobilising as well as the Managing Director's involvement led to the formation of the task team that was assigned with the responsibility of developing a framework that guides the City on how to work with reclaimers. This shows that it is possible for the City to work with the reclaimers and for the reclaimers to organise themselves.

This task team created a unique platform of engagement that kept the officials accountable. It also propelled the reclaimers to further organise themselves. The discussions from this team showed the City its weaknesses such as working separately when it came to reclaimer integration. The discussions also showed the reclaimers that local government is limited and it needs the other spheres of government to be involved for the integration of reclaimers to be a success. Key instruments used by the City such as the registration of reclaimers, were extensively analysed. The City officials had already started registering reclaimers and this sparked the conversation of how to better implement this process. Inputs were proposed by both the City and reclaimers on this instrument. This illustrates the example of an innovative and constructive instrument being built practically by officials and then amended and adapted in co-production with reclaimers. As mentioned in chapter 2, there are different approaches that cities in the Global South have used to integrate reclaimers. One of the approaches discussed is co-production. Whitaker provides different definitions of co-production which are; Citizens requesting assistance from public agents; Citizens providing assistance to public agents and Citizens and agents interacting to adjust each other's service expectations and actions (Whitaker, 1980: 242). Whitaker's second and third definitions define the case of City officials and reclaimers in Johannesburg. Reclaimers being a part of the task team could be interpreted as the public assisting the state in finding better ways to implement programmes such as S@S. This brings to our knowledge that the delivery of services could be made better through co-production – where the public is more involved in how services could be delivered.

8.2. THE NEXT STEP

From the analysis made in this research report there are still a number of areas where the state will need to work better with the reclaimers. Looking at the implementation of the S@S Programme, City officials are still of the opinion that reclaimers should establish cooperatives for them to benefit from the programme. A senior EISD official presented during the May workshop that out of the S@S and Jozi@work programmes 42 cooperatives were established, but it is not clear how many of these are reclaimer cooperatives. In a conversation with the same official, he mentioned that the number of cooperatives has decreased. The approach of reclaimers starting cooperatives seems to be failing. Therefore, S@S could be framed in a manner that allows all three stakeholders to learn from one another (the state, the reclaimers and the private sector). There also needs to be a structure to deal

with and mediate with individual reclaimers. Reclaimers should be allowed to participate as individuals and the development of cooperatives should be done towards the end of the S@S programme based on their individual performance and participation. The established cooperatives could then undergo mentorship which could be done by either the state or the private sector.

Going back to the development of the Integrated Waste Management Plan and the Industry Waste Management Plan, it has been clear that these plans do not explicitly include the reclaimers. It is important that reclaimers should be acknowledged and included in the development of these plans. The plans must give clear details on the roles and responsibilities of the state, reclaimers and industry. The plans also need to elevate the integration of reclaimers. The main policies and plans that the City of Johannesburg uses need to avoid interventions that may later become a hindrance for the City to integrate reclaimers into the system. For example, the National Waste Management Strategy, the IWM Policy, and IWM Plan all mention that the Industry Waste Management Plans should have the Extended Producer Responsibility Initiatives. These initiatives are mainly for industries to take responsibility for the lifecycle of their products, which includes recycling, re-using and recovering waste. Once the industries take up this responsibility, it means that most reclaimers will no longer have the purpose of collecting and recycling waste. It is such initiatives that need to be re-framed in a way that will avoid displacing key stakeholders within the recycling industry.

The main purpose of the state is to integrate reclaimers into the solid waste management system, then the overarching policies must clearly define what this integration means. All spheres of government should work together. The DEA has been working on integration guidelines. The next step is to have other national departments that can contribute in areas where the local government or the DEA have experienced challenges. As it has been discussed, there are many foreign nationals that are reclaimers in Johannesburg and the City cannot empower them. If the system does not recognise reclaimers only because they are foreign nationals, then integration has not been realised.

8.3. CONCLUSION

What has been determined in this study is that the state mainly prioritises on the efficiency of service delivery in as much as the approaches they use are not developmental. The state prefers to work with the private sector to deliver services because of their limited capacity within local government. From this study we also see that the reclaimers do contribute to the cleanliness of the City and they have found a way to create jobs on their own. Reclaimers have always preferred working as individuals, but we see that their mobilisation (coming together) influenced change. The concept of integration is one that has different interpretations by the state and reclaimers. This study has shown that until these parties have a common understanding of what integration is, reclaimer integration will not be achieved. Reclaimer integration cannot be achievable by having a common understanding of

integration alone, but there is also a need for the development of policies that have an intent for reclaimer integration. What I have learnt on the making of policy and practice is that policies are the guiding instruments for officials. Policies determine the practices of officials. The existing policies in the context of Johannesburg are not clear on what needs to be done to achieve reclaimer integration and this is why the City continues to work with the private sector. I have also learnt that there are different approaches to reclaimer integration and one that is beginning to materialise in the context of Johannesburg is co-production. It would be interesting to see how coproduction is further practiced and experienced in this context.

This research paints out the story of the relationship between the state and public, which is an ever evolving phenomenon. Therefore, the struggle goes on as reclaimers continue to fight for their rights and the City tries to find a way forward in the midst of politics and bureaucracy.

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LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Environment and Infrastructure Service Delivery Department Officials:

Environment and Infrastructure Service Delivery Department Official #1 Interviewed by Nomathemba Dladla, on 28th November 2017, at the EISD offices in Traduna Building

Environment and Infrastructure Service Delivery Department Official #2 Interviewed by Nomathemba Dladla, on 28th November 2017, at the EISD offices in Traduna Building

Environment and Infrastructure Service Delivery Department Official #3 Interviewed by Nomathemba Dladla, on 28th November 2017, at the EISD offices in Traduna Building

Environment and Infrastructure Service Delivery Department Official #4 Interviewed by Nomathemba Dladla, on 30th November 2017, at the EISD offices in Traduna Building

Pikitup officials:

Pikitup Official #1 Interviewed by Nomathemba Dladla, on 30th November 2017, at the Pikitup offices as Jorrisen Place

Pikitup Official #2 Interviewed by Nomathemba Dladla, on 30th November 2017, at the Pikitup offices as Jorrisen Place

Pikitup Official # 3 Interviewed by Nomathemba Dladla, on 30th November 2017, at the Pikitup offices as Jorrisen Place

ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE A: CITY OF JOHANNESBURG LANDFILL AUDIT CHECKLIST

LANDFILL AUDIT CHECKLIST

Name of landfill: _____

Date of audit: _____

Persons present during the audit:

Name	Organisation	Telephone	Fax	Signature

Green – heading

Blue – To be noted as a comment but also a Requirement

FC = Full Compliance

PC = Partial Compliance

NC = Non-Compliance

1. Access and controls

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
1.1	Signs			
1.1.1	Signposting (MR)	R		
a.	<p>Are signs in the appropriate official languages erected in the vicinity of the landfill, indicating the route and distance to the landfill from the nearest main roads?</p> <p>Do these signs conform to the requirements of the Road Ordinance?</p>	R		
b.	Are suitable signs erected on site, to direct vehicle drivers appropriately and to control speed?	R		
c.	Is a general notice board erected at the site entrance?	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
	<p>Does the general notice board state the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - appropriate official languages - name, address and telephone number of the permit holder and responsible person - hours of operation - emergency number - class of the landfill - type of waste that can and cannot be accepted - that the disposal of non-acceptable waste is illegal and can lead to prosecution? 			
1.2	Road access			
1.2.1	All weather roads (MR)	R		
a.	Is road access to the site maintained at all times in a manner suitable for vehicles normally expected to utilise the facility?	R		
b.	Are all roads surfaced and maintained (including grading) as to ensure that waste can reach the working face with minimum of inconvenience in all weather conditions?	R		
c.	Is two-way traffic possible in all weather conditions?	R		
d.	Are unsurfaced roads and ungrassed or unpaved areas watered regularly to restrict dust to levels that do not pose a nuisance to workers?	R		
e.	Is mud prevented from being tracked onto public roads?	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
1.3	Access control			
1.3.1	Fencing (MR)	R		
a.	Is the site adequately fenced and / or secured?	R		
b.	Is the fence 1.8m with an overhang? Is the fence constructed of galvanized steel wire, or of other suitable sturdy and durable material?	R		
c.	Where normal fencing is removed, or is not practicable because of continued theft despite security measures, barbed wire fences, earth berms and / or shallow trenches must be used to prevent vehicle access	R		
1.3.2	Control of vehicle and pedestrian access (MR)	R		
a.	Does the site have a single controlled entrance, to prevent the unauthorised entry and illegal dumping of waste on the site?	R		
b.	Does the site entrance comprise a lockable gate? Is the entrance gate manned during hours of operation and locked outside the hours of operation?	R		
c.	Are site boundaries clearly demarcated?	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
	Are suitable measures taken to prevent unauthorised entry?			
d.	Is squatting on the site discouraged?	R		
1.4	Security			
1.4.1	Site security (MR)	R		
a.	In addition to access control, is suitable security provided to protect any facilities and plant on site?	R		
b.	Is additional security available after operating hours where appropriate?	R		
1.5	Waste acceptance			
1.5.1	Waste acceptance procedure (MR)	R		
a.	Prior to acceptance, is the incoming waste inspected by suitably qualified staff to confirm that it is general waste?	R		
b.	Prior to acceptance, does the transporter confirm that the incoming waste is general waste?	R		
c.	If there is any doubt if industrial waste is general waste, it must be considered as potentially hazardous until proven otherwise (see MR for the handling, classification and disposal of hazardous waste)	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
d.	Does the operator at the working face ensure that no hazardous waste (e.g. hazardous liquids, sludge, solids or even sealed drums) are disposed of?	R		
e.	In the event of hazardous waste being intercepted, what is the procedure followed ? NOTE: It must be diverted to a hazardous waste landfill)	R		
f.	In the event of hazardous waste being intercepted at a general waste landfill site, what is done? NOTE: The source, vehicle registration and a description of the waste must be reported immediately to the Department	R		
g.	In the event that medical wastes are intercepted at a general waste landfill site, does the responsible person or permit holder immediately contact the Department for a directive in this regard?	R		
1.6	Tariffs			
1.6.1	Collection of waste disposal tariffs (MR)	R		
a.	Are waste disposal tariffs levied and collected?	R		
b.	Are tariffs displayed on the notice board?	R		
c.	Are tariffs based on mass where a weighbridge exists, or on estimated volumes?	R		

2. Resources

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
2.1	Infrastructure			
2.1.1	Is there sufficient infrastructure to ensure that the landfill operation is environmentally acceptable and conforms to both the permit conditions as well as the MR relating to operation?	R		
2.1.2	Does the site have services such as water, sewerage, electricity, telephones, weighbridges, site offices and plant shelters?	R		
2.1.3	Weighbridge (MR)	R		
2.1.4	Site office (MR)	R		
2.2	Plant and equipment			
2.2.1	Adequate plant and equipment (MR)	R		
a.	Are there sufficient plant and equipment and back-up to ensure that the landfill operation is environmentally acceptable and conforms to both the permit conditions as well as the MR relating to operation?	R		
b.	Are there a combination of purpose-built landfill compactors, bulldozers, front-end loaders and trucks to transport cover material?	R		
c.	Is the plant and equipment maintained in good order, so as not to cause nuisances such as noise and air pollution?	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB*	FC PC NC	Comments
2.3	Staff			
2.3.1	Responsible person (MR)	R		
a.	Is the operation of the site carried out under the direction of a landfill manager with a post-matric or tertiary qualification?	R		
b.	Does the landfill manager ensure that the MR for the operation of the site is applied to the degree commensurate with its class and to the satisfaction of the Department?	R		
2.3.2	Sufficient qualified staff (MR)	R		
a.	Is there sufficient qualified staff and back-up (i.e. depending on the size and type of operation as well as the infrastructure and plant and equipment involved) to support the landfill manager in order to ensure that the landfill operation is environmentally acceptable and conforms to both the permit conditions as well as the MR relating to operation?	R		

3. Operation

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
3.1	Operating Plan & Response Action Plan			
3.1.1	Operating Plan (MR)	R		
a.	<p>Does the site have an Operating Plan?</p> <p>Does the Operating Plan include everything pertaining to the site's operation? For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Excavation sequence ii. Projected / progressive development of the landfill with time (i.e. phasing of operations) (note - design included here to a certain extent) iii. Daily cell construction iv. Provision of wet weather cells v. Site access vi. Drainage vii. Operation monitoring procedures, including the role of the Monitoring Committee viii. A plan of mitigatory actions in response to problems detected by monitoring 	R		
3.1.2	Response Action Plan (MR)			
a.	Does the site have a Response Action Plan as part of the Operating Plan?	F		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
	Does the Response Action Plan: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Detail the procedures to be followed in case of failure in the design or operation; b. Include an emergency evacuation plan? 			
3.2	Site development and cells			
3.2.1	Two week's cell capacity (MR)	R		
A	Is there sufficient cell capacity on site to accommodate at least two week's waste?	R		
3.2.2	Is the construction of cells always done in accordance with the original design parameters and the Operating Plan (i.e. the general layout must be in accordance with the Operating Plan, including the Development Plan)?	R		
3.2.3	Is waste deposited at the bottom of the working face and worked up a 1 in 3 slope (i.e. the 'Ramp Method')?	R		
3.2.4	Is cover material deposited and spread on top of the cell during the day and extended to cover the working face at the end of the day?	R		
3.2.5	Is the working face kept as small as possible for control and covering purposes, as dictated / determined by the manoeuvring requirements of the vehicles depositing waste, in order to be wide enough to avoid traffic congestion?	R		
3.3	Site development and trenches			

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
	Note: trenches are usually used at GCB & GSB sites			
3.3.1	Two week's trench capacity (MR)	R		
a.	Is there always sufficient trench capacity on site to accommodate at least two weeks waste?	R		
b.	Are trenches excavated on an ongoing basis during the operation?	R		
c.	Is the excavation of trenches always done in accordance with the original design parameters and the Operating Plan (i.e. the general layout of the trenches must be in accordance with the Operating Plan, including the Development Plan)?	R		
3.3.2	Protection of unsafe excavations (MR)	R		
a.	Are trenches always suitably fenced or protected to ensure that no persons accidentally fall into the excavation?	R		
b.	Is off-loading into trenches such that no persons or vehicles accidentally fall into the excavation?	R		
c.	Is waste deposited into the trench, spread and compacted as much as possible, until it reaches a depth of between 0.5m and 1.0m?	R		
d.	Is all waste covered daily with spoil from the excavation?			
3.4	Principles of sanitary landfilling			
3.4.1	Compaction of waste (MR)	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
a.	Is all waste spread in thin layers and compacted by a purpose-built landfill compactor?	R		
3.4.2	Daily cover (MR)	R		
a.	Is waste fully covered at the end of each day's operation, unless otherwise agreed with I&APs and the Department?	R		
b.	<p>Is the daily cover sufficient to isolate the waste from the environment?</p> <p>Is a minimum thickness equivalent to the effective covering of 150mm of compacted soil applied?</p> <p>Is the thickness of cover increased in the case of poor quality cover?</p>	R		
c.	If an area is to be left for an extended period, but ultimately to be covered again with waste, the compacted thickness of this intermediate cover must be increased to 300 mm (this is not as thick as final cover, but affords the additional protection required in longer term)	R		
d.	<p>Is soil or builders rubble used for cover?</p> <p>If not, has the material that is being used for cover (e.g. ash, tailing etc.) been approved by the Department?</p>	R		
e.	Are suitable resources made available to ensure that the daily cover requirements can be achieved?	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
3.4.3	Three day's stockpile of cover (MR)			
a.	Is a strategic stockpile of cover, enough for at least three days, maintained close to the working face for use in emergencies?	R		
3.5	Excavation for cover			
3.5.1	<p>Is the separation between the floor of the excavation and the wet season high elevation of the ground water maintained, as specified in the design?</p> <p>NOTE: This is necessary to ensure that an adequate separation between the future waste body and the ground water will be maintained, should the excavation be used for waste disposal in future.</p>	R		
3.5.2	<p>Are all excavations properly drained to avoid ponding of accumulated surface water, especially near the waste body?</p> <p>Where the base of an excavation forms the base of the landfill, is it sloped to direct leachate to a control point?</p>	R		
3.6	Wet weather cell			
3.6.1	One week's wet weather cell capacity (MR)	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
a.	Is an easily accessible wet weather cell constructed close to the site entrance or close to an all weather road, for use under abnormally wet conditions?	R		
b.	Does the wet weather cell have the capacity to accommodate one week's waste?	R		
c.	Is the wet weather cell constructed in the same manner as the standard cell, but with a well drained gravel type base in order to ensure vehicle access in wet weather?	R		
d.	Is the wet weather cell operated in the same manner as the standard cell as far as possible?	R		
3.7	Putrescible waste			
3.7.1	Immediate covering of putrescibles (MR)			
a.	<p>Are putrescible general wastes, food or restaurant waste disposed of in one of the following two ways (i.e. special cells or at the base of the working face)?</p> <p>Is the waste covered immediately in both cases?</p>	R		
b.	Where special cells are used, is the waste deposited and covered immediately with a layer of soil at least 0.5 m thick in order to prevent odours and to discourage uncontrolled salvaging?	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
c.	Where the waste is deposited at the base of the working face, is it covered immediately with other waste?	R		
3.8	End-tipping or area method (i.e. where cells or trenches are not used)			
3.8.1	End-tipping prohibited (MR)	R		
a.	Is end-tipping, which is not allowed, taking place at the site?	R		
b.	Is the area method, which is only allowed at certain waste disposal sites where large volumes of non-putrescible dry waste are disposed of and where compactions is not critical, used at the site?	F		
3.9	Progressive rehabilitation			
3.9.1	Are all final slopes in accordance with the landfill design and the End-Use Plan? Are all slopes not steeper than 1 in 2.5 in order to avoid erosion?	R		
3.9.2	Final cover (MR)	R		
a.	Is final cover and capping applied immediately on completion of an area (i.e. an area where no further waste deposition will take place)?	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
b.	Is the thickness of the final cover and capping in accordance with the site's design and Appendix 8.2 of the MR (page A8-15)	R		
c.	Is the top layer of the final cover able to support the vegetation in the End-Use Plan?	R		
3.9.3	Rehabilitation and vegetation (MR)	R		
a.	Does vegetation commence on all capped areas as soon as possible in order to prevent erosion and to ensure improved aesthetics?	R		
b.	Is vegetation established on screening berms first so that waste disposal takes place behind vegetated berms, which are extended upwards in advance of the disposal operation, to ensure continued screening (i.e. rising green wall approach)?	R		
3.9.4	Monitoring of progressively rehabilitated areas (MR)	R		
a.	<p>Is there ongoing inspection and maintenance of completed areas and established vegetation?</p> <p>Are cracks and erosion gullies, which allow water to access the waste and from which malodorous gasses escape, repaired?</p> <p>Are settlement depressions and / or cavities caused by fire filled-in.</p>	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
3.10	Control of nuisances (burning, litter, odours, noise, vermin and disease vectors, dust)			
3.10.1	Ongoing general site maintenance (MR)	R		
3.10.2	Control of nuisances (MR)	R		
a.	Is all litter contained within the site?	R		
b.	If the site is characterised by high winds, does it have a moveable litter fences?	R		
c.	Is wind blown litter picked up and removed from fences and vegetation on a daily basis?	R		
d.	Is malodorous waste covered promptly?	R		
e.	Odour suppressants such as sprays curtains may be required in extreme cases	R		
f.	Does all equipment used on-site conform to local authority's by-laws concerning noise levels and hours of operation? In the absence of by laws, is compliance achieved with national regulations on noise control?	R		
g.	Is the landfill site kept free of vermin?	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
h.	Are appropriate measures taken to eliminate or minimise disease vectors such as rat or flies?	R		
3.10.3	Waste burning prohibited (MR)	R		
a.	Was the burning of waste, which is strictly prohibited, noted at the site?	R		
3.10.4	Are accidental fires on the landfill extinguished immediately? Does the operational procedures followed in the event of a fire involve, for instance, the spreading and smothering of burning waste, rather than through the application of water	R		
3.11	Waste reclamation			
3.11.1	Waste reclamation prohibited (MR)			
a.	On account of the risks to health and safety, waste reclamation must preferably be prohibited at general waste disposal sites. Is this the case?	F		
b.	If reclamation is taking place on site, has permission been obtained as part of a permit application or permit amendment?	R		
3.11.2	Is reclamation formalised and controlled by means of the following?			
a.	Including the activity in the Operating Plan (MR)	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
b.	Forming a committee and identifying leaders with whom to communicate	R		
c.	Registering all reclaimers (MR)	R		
d.	Assigning the day to day control and overall management of the reclaimers to the committee and its leaders, who will then be accountable to the permit holder. Alternatively, proper contracts can be set up	R		
e.	<p>Separating waste reclamation from waste compaction and covering activities. To achieve this the following can be done:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. An area can be set aside within the site fence, but outside the disposal area. In this area, the public can dispose of bulky wastes such as lounge suites, cupboards and appliances, so that waste reclamation can take place away from the disposal operation. Such an area would, however, have to be controlled and unwanted waste would have to be cleared ii. Where reclamation has to take place on the landfill itself, it must be operated using two working areas or cells. In one, waste can be deposited and spread for reclamation purposes, whilst in the other, waste remaining after reclamation may be compacted and covered. The size of the working areas and the frequency with which they are alternated would depend on numerous factors and would have to be optimised on a site specific basis. 	R		
f.	Having regular meetings between the landfill operator and the reclaimers or their representatives, in order to educate them (with respect to the system in operation at the landfill and health and safety issues) and to negotiate with them where applicable.	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
3.11. 3	Protection of reclaimers (MR)	R		
a.	Does the operator ensure that the reclaimers, as a minimum, wear suitable protective clothing, in particular industrial gloves and boots with protective soles as well as highly visible tunics?	R		
b.	Where reclamation is permitted, does the permit holder have an indemnity agreement with the Department, as the responsibility for the health and safety of the reclaimers on the site vests with the permit holder?	R		
3.12	Medical waste			
3.12. 1	If the site accepts medical waste, is it approved by the Department?	R		
3.12. 2	In the event of an emergency, and in the interests of public health and the environment, the Department will consider applications for the disposal of medical waste into a specifically constructed dry cell within an approved site	R		
3.12. 3	Where an application for the disposal of medical waste is approved, such disposal must take place under controlled conditions and for a limited period of time in accordance with directives from the Department	R		

4. Drainage

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB ⁻	FC PC NC	Comments
4.1	Stormwater diversion measures (i.e. for water adjacent to the site and clean water that arise on the site) (MR)	R		
4.1.1	Is upslope runoff and stormwater diverted away from the waste, to prevent water contamination and to minimise leachate generation?			
4.1.2	Is all clean water that has not been in contact with the waste allowed to flow off the site into the natural drainage system under controlled conditions?			
4.2	Draining water away from the waste (MR)	R		
4.2.1	Is all run-off and storm water that arise on the waste body always diverted around one or both sides of the waste body by a system of berms and or cut-off drains?			
4.2.2	Are all drains maintained and kept free from silt and vegetation?			
4.2.3	Are the bases of trenches and cells so designed that water drains away from the deposited waste?			
4.2.4	Are trenches and cells so oriented as to facilitate drainage away from the deposited waste?			
4.3	Sporadic leachate reporting (MR)	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB	FC PC NC	Comments
4.3.1	Is any sporadic leachate generated on account of unusual circumstances reported to the Department?			
4.4	Contaminated run-off and leachate contained (MR)	R		
4.4.1	Is dirty water and leachate that arise on the site, including drainage from wash bays, stored in a sump or retention dam?			
4.4.2	Is stored dirty water and leachate recycled? If yes, has approval been obtained from the Department?			
4.4.3	Is stored dirty water released from the site into the environment? If yes, does it conform to the Special, General or Specific Effluent Standards in terms of the permit (Government Gazette No. 9225 of 18 May 1984)?			
4.5	0.5m freeboard for diversion and impoundments (MR)	R		
4.5.1	Do the retention dams have 0.5 m freeboard (designed for the 1 in 50 year flood event) and is this freeboard maintained at all times?			
4.6	Grading cover / avoiding ponding (MR)	R		

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB ⁺	FC PC NC	Comments
4.6.1	Are all temporarily and finally covered areas graded and maintained so as to promote run-off without excessive erosion and to eliminate ponding or standing water?			

5. Monitoring, record keeping & auditing (including landfill operation monitoring and water quality monitoring)

No.	Minimum Requirement	GLB ⁺	FC PC NC	Comments
5.1	Gate or weighbridge recording			
5.1.1	Waste stream records (MR)	R		
a.	Are records of all waste entering the site kept, both on a daily as well as a cumulative basis?			
b.	Is a database established and maintained at the landfill site for accumulated data?			
c.	Is waste categorised by the number of loads (defined by volume or mass), the type of waste and the source?			

5.2	Landfill volume surveys			
5.2.1	Landfill volume surveys (MR)	R		
a.	In order to give an idea of the remaining volumetric capacity, are surveys performed with the appropriate instruments and accuracy?			
b.	Was the entire site surveyed prior to the commencement of waste disposal? Is the site surveyed on an annual basis?			
5.3	Collection and processing of other data			
5.3.1	Appropriate records and data collection (MR)	R		
5.4	Leachate and water quality monitoring			
5.4.1	Water quality monitoring (MR)	R		
a.	Are regular sampling and analysis of leachate, ground and surface water undertaken? Are the results interpreted? Are the above done in accordance with section 13 of the MR and the conditions of the Permit?			

5.5	Gas monitoring			
5.5.1	Gas monitoring and control (MR)	R		
a.	Is the risk of landfill gas continually monitored?			
b.	Are gas monitoring systems monitored at three monthly intervals?			
c.	If methane concentrations in the soil exceed 1% by volume at STP, the Department must be informed			
d.	Methane concentrations in the atmosphere inside buildings on or near the site must not exceed 1% (by volume) in air. If the methane concentrations are found to be between 0.1% and 1%, then regular monitoring must be instituted. If methane concentrations above 1% are detected, the building must be evacuated and trained personnel consulted			
e.	Methane concentrations in the atmosphere on landfill boundaries must not exceed 5% in air. This must apply to the air above the surface and also to the air in a hole dug into the earth on the boundary. If the methane concentrations are found to be between 0.5 and 5%, then regular monitoring must be instituted			
f.	Where significant volumes of landfill gas are detected through monitoring, it may be necessary to install properly engineered passive or active gas venting and flaring systems			
g.	Where a site does have a gas management system, it must be correctly operated, maintained and monitored to ensure that any landfill gas emanating from the site is properly managed			
h.	Landfill gas contains a wide range of volatile organic compounds. Where significant landfill gas is present, samples must be taken at various positions at the landfill site, and characterised for volatile organic compounds			

i.	Sampling for volatile organic compounds must be directly in gas wells, or using the techniques described in section 11.5.6 of the MR			
j.	The volatile organic compound compositions of the landfill gas must be subjected to occupational and environmental health risk assessments. This must be done to the discretion of the Department to ensure against unacceptable health risks to workers or communities			
5.6	Air quality monitoring & bufferzone			
5.6.1	Air quality monitoring (MR)	F		
a.	Hazardous air pollutants may be dispersed from a landfill site as dust, or as gaseous substances. These must be monitored separately, specifically at hazardous landfills, in accordance with the requirements stipulated in section 11.5.6 of the MR			
b.	Air quality monitoring may also be requested by the Department at small, medium and large landfills if considered as necessary, in accordance with the requirements stipulated in section 11.5.6 of the MR			
5.7	Health of workers			
5.7.1	In terms of the Occupational Health and Safety Act, 1993 (Act 85 of 1993), the employer is responsible for the health and safety of the people under his or her jurisdiction (inclusive of waste reclaimers). The Responsible Person must use his or her discretion in applying the Act and monitoring the health of workers. In the case of hazardous waste landfills this will involve medical examinations	R		

5.8	Landfill monitoring committee (MR)	R		
5.8.1	<p>Does the site have a monitoring committee?</p> <p>How often does the monitoring committee meet and when was the last meeting.</p> <p>Are the outcomes of all meetings recorded (i.e. minutes) and submitted to the Department?</p> <p>Does the monitoring committee comprise of representatives of the Department, the operator and representatives of those affected by the facility?</p>			
5.9	Landfill site auditing			
5.9.1	<p>Does the site have an audit committee?</p> <p>If yes, was the audit committee set up in consultation with the Department?</p> <p>Who forms part of the auditing committee (e.g. the Permit Holder, the Responsible Person, the Department, relevant consultants and the monitoring committee)?</p>			
5.9.2	Conduct internal audits (MR)	R		
a.	Are internal audits done every three months to ensure the maintenance of acceptable standards?			

	Are records kept of internal audits and are these available to the Department on request?			
5.9.3	Conduct external audit twice per annum (MR)	R		
5.9.4	<p>Are external audits done twice per annum and when was the last external audit?</p> <p>Are external audit reports, which provides a record of any identified problem areas as well as recommendations for rectification, compiled and submitted to the Responsible Person for implementation?</p> <p>Are copies of external audit reports forwarded to the Department and what is the date of the last external audit report?</p>			
5.9.5	Are all audit reports made available to I&APs through the landfill committee?			
5.9.6	Are records of complaints received and action taken kept and included in the audit reports?			

ANNEXURE B: FRAMEWORK FOR THE INTEGRATION OF RECLAIMERS IN THE CITY OF JOHANNESBURG INTO THE SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM OPERATED BY PIKITUP

1. Introduction

- a. This framework document is a culmination of a participatory process between the City of Johannesburg (CoJ), herein represented by Pikitup SOC Limited and the Environment and Infrastructure Services Department (EISD) and reclaimers herein represented by the Interim Joburg Reclaimers Committee (IJRC) and the Johannesburg Reclaimers Committee (JRC).
- b. At the outset, the aforesaid parties acknowledge that the waste management environment is dynamic and thus this framework shall not be a static document but shall be reviewed from time to time in order to adapt with the changing operating environment and also in line with the changing legal landscape.
- c. The parties also acknowledge the reclaimer community is currently fragmented and as such there could be other organizations (in existence currently or in the future) who may purport to be representatives of reclaimer interests. In the event that such organizations wish to participate in the City's waste value chain this document shall be the basis through which such participation is coordinated.

2. Role Players and their Core Mandates

2.1 EISD

- a. The main purpose of EISD is to ensure oversight, coordination and management of the key environmental management policies, strategies, tactical plans, bylaws and regulations, and to ensure effective, optimal and sustainable basic service delivery to the citizens of Joburg. This responsibility goes hand in hand with the accountability to protect the city's natural resources and to achieve continual improvement in overall environmental performance, whilst developing and maintaining sustainable human settlements.

2.2 PIKITUP

- a. Pikitup Johannesburg (SOC) Limited was established in 2001 as an independent municipal entity, wholly owned by the City of Johannesburg (the City), to serve and provide waste management services for the Johannesburg area. Pikitup vision is "to be the leading integrated waste management company in Africa".
- b. Pikitup provides two categories of services, viz. council services and commercial services. The council services which the City of Johannesburg has mandated Pikitup to provide exclusively, currently comprise of the collection and disposal of domestic, business and putrescible waste, street cleaning, lane cleaning, area cleaning, the management of litter bins, the collection of illegally dumped waste, the collection and disposal of animal carcasses found in a public place and the operation of garden sites.
- c. The commercial services which Pikitup provides in competition with other private waste management companies, comprise of the collection and disposal of commercial waste

- (bulk services), composting, recycling activities, providing services for special events and the operation of landfill sites.
- d. The City, by means of the service delivery agreement that is monitored by the Environment, Infrastructure and Services Department (EISD) of the City, regulates and monitor how Pikitup fairs against its service delivery mandate.

2.3 RECLAIMERS

- a. Reclaimers play an important role in the waste value chain of diverting waste through collection, sorting and selling to buyers of recyclables.
- b. In order for the reclaimers to meaningfully engage the City in matters that affect them, reclaimers recognize the need to organize themselves in order to participate in the various forums for the following purpose:
 - i. To ensure that they have an organized voice that is able to negotiate with the City to secure and improve their livelihoods in local solid waste management.
 - ii. To promote the interests of reclaimers working on landfills, in the streets and elsewhere across the City of Johannesburg.

3. Background

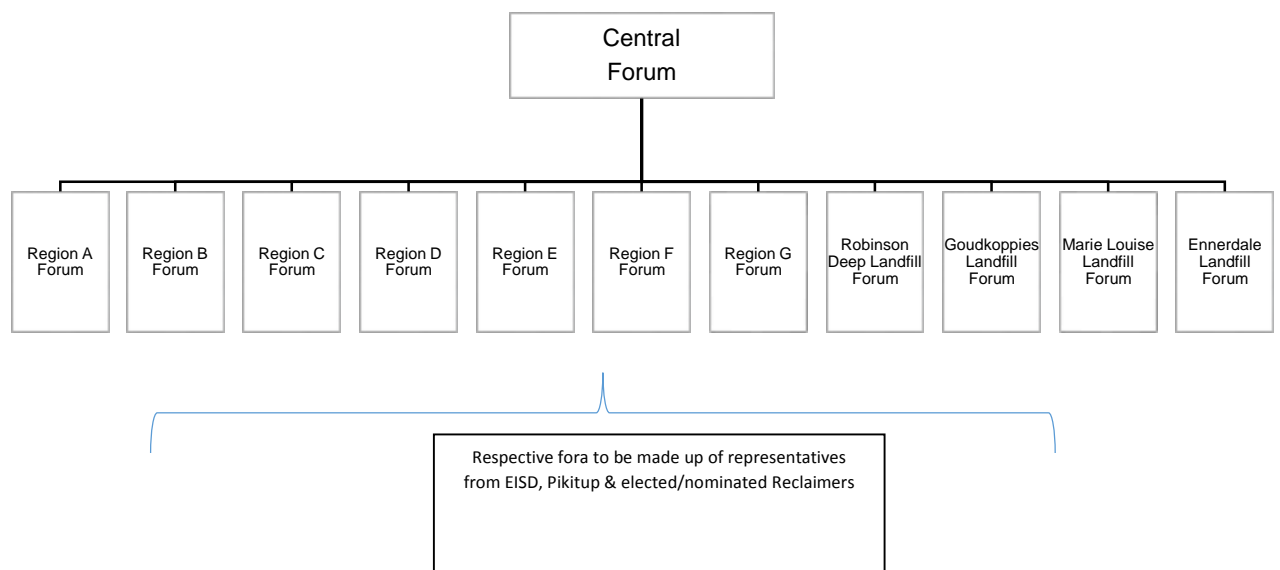
- a. According to the International Solid Waste Association (ISWA) in many cities around the world, and especially in the rapidly developing ones, a considerable number of people sustain themselves and their families by reclaiming reusable and recyclable materials from what others have cast aside as waste. There are many different terms to refer to them, some of which are rag picker, reclaimer, recycler, salvager, reclaimer, waste collector and others, usually depending on the type of material they collect. As high as 1% of the world population sustain their livelihoods through these activities.
- b. South Africa, and the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) in particular is no different from the rest of the world with an active pool of reclaimer activity who operate at the various landfills and at kerbside. According to a recent study by the Department of Environmental Affairs (i.e. DEA: Report on the determination of the extent and role of reclaimers in South Africa) there are approximately 62 147 reclaimers in South Africa, with about 25 467 operating at the kerbside as “trolley pushers” and 36 680 operating at landfills.
- c. The National Waste Management Strategy (2011) recognizes the need to grow green jobs emanating from the waste value chain and allocates the responsibility for the development of guidelines for reclaimer integration on the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA). As a consequence, DEA has commenced the process of developing these guidelines and has partnered with the South African Cities Network (SACN), and various stakeholders to craft them. The City of Johannesburg (through EISD and Pikitup), various stakeholders, and reclaimer representatives participated in the SACN workshop of the 12-14th April 2016 to share experiences, challenges and explored opportunities for the integration of reclaimers into the waste value chain.
- d. However, recent developments in the quest to increase the rollout of the separation at source recycling programme of the CoJ through a private sector collection model have resulted in unintended consequences – pitting the City against the reclaimers, who see the model as a threat to their livelihoods.

- e. This culminated with a protest march by reclaimers, represented by the Interim Joburg Reclaimers Committee (IJRC) who delivered a memorandum of demands on the 13th July 2017 (Annexure A). Pikitup MD subsequently hosted meeting with the aforesaid committee on the 24th July 2017 and followed this up with a workshop between the committee, Pikitup management and EISD on the 10th August 2017 (Appendix B). The workshop resolved that a Task team be formed to develop a Framework document for the Integration of reclaimers into the City's waste value chain. The task team comprises of representatives from CoJ (i.e. Pikitup and EISD) and representatives from the IJRC supported by Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO).
- f. At the inaugural Task team meeting of the 15th August 2017, it was decided that additional participants from private landfill sites in Joburg, buyback centres and DEA will be invited to participate once the framework document has been flashed out by CoJ and IJRC.
- g. This document therefore, seeks to outline the broad framework for the integration of reclaimers into the City's waste value chain.

4. Engagement Forums and their Constituency

4.1 FORUMS OF ENGAGEMENT

- 4.1.1 There shall be two levels of engagement:
- a. **Level 1** – Central Forum which will be made up of regional constituency representatives from reclaimers, Pikitup and EISD.
 - b. **Level 2** – Eleven (11) Regional Forums which will be made up of reclaimer representatives from the seven City regions within which they operate as well as the four City operational landfill sites. Pikitup and EISD will also be part of the regional forums.
 - c. The representatives shall fully participate in good faith to discuss and resolve issues of mutual interest in the Central and Regional forums with a mandate received from their respective constituencies.



4.2 PURPOSE OF THE FORUMS

- 4.2.1** The purpose of the reclaimer forums is to ensure there is a platform for reclaimers and city officials to meaningfully engage:
- a. On issues of mutual interest that affect relations between reclaimers and city officials;
 - b. On building and strengthening relations with interested and affected stakeholders and citizens of the city as all co-exist in the extraction of value from waste.

4.3 REGIONAL FORUMS

4.3.1 Participants

- a. For the four operational landfills, the following minimum representation is required for each meeting: Landfill management representative, Security representative; Reclaimer representatives drawn from their respective constituencies;
- b. For the other seven regional forums, the following minimum representation is required for each meeting: Pikitup management representative, representative from the Regional Director's office, Reclaimer representatives drawn from their respective constituencies;
- c. It is the duty of reclaimer organization that sit at the forums to ensure they are duly constituted, have legitimate representation at the various city regions, and have the necessary local structures to get mandates and feedback to their members.
- d. Additional participants shall be invited on a need basis. Some of the additional stakeholders include City departments (incl. EISD), Buyers, etc.
- e. Each regional forum shall determine its own requirements on the number of participants to form a quorum for its meetings.
- f. **Interim arrangements** to ensure reclaimer representation at the various forums **for a period of one year** of implementation of this framework will be as follows:
 - i. Minimum of **4 x representatives from IJRC** and **1 x representative from the JRC** per regional forum.
 - ii. The representation shall be reviewed after a period of one year of implementation of the framework

4.3.2 Chairperson

- a. There shall be joint chairpersons as follows: 1 x Pikitup management and 1 x reclaimer representative. The regional forum will discuss and agree on how the chairmanship will be rotated amongst the joint chairpersons.

4.3.3 Secretariat

- a. Pikitup shall arrange for the fulfillment of the secretariat function.

4.3.4 Meeting venue

- a. Pikitup shall arrange meeting venues for regional forums.

4.4 CENTRAL FORUM

4.4.1 Participants

- a. For the central forum, the following minimum representation is required for each meeting: EISD management, Pikitup management representative, and the two co-chairpersons from each regional forum.

- b. Additional participants shall be invited on a need basis. Some of the additional stakeholders include City departments (e.g. Environmental Health, JMPD, etc.), Buyers, S@S service providers, CIDs, etc.
- c. The central forum shall determine its own requirements on the number of participants to form a quorum for its meetings.

4.4.2 Chairperson

- a. There shall be joint chairpersons as follows: 1 x Pikitup management and 1 x EISD management. The central forum will discuss and agree on how the chairmanship will be rotated amongst the joint chairpersons.

4.4.3 Secretariat

- a. EISD shall arrange for the fulfillment of the secretariat function.

4.4.4 Meeting venue

- a. EISD shall arrange meeting venues for the central forum.

4.5 FREQUENCY OF MEETINGS

The central forum shall meet at least once a quarter (i.e. four times per annum), whilst the regional forums shall meet at least once a month.

5. The meaning of ‘integration’ of reclaimers in the City’s Waste Value Chain

5.1 For reclaimers, Integration means:

- 5.1.1 Recognition** – when there is no privatization of waste, we are recognized as workers and our work is recognized as a public service.
 - a. There are forums for collective bargaining and representation where we can participate freely and fully through our elected representatives on the terms and conditions of our work.
 - b. We are not restricted from accessing recyclable material, harassed or having our materials taken away from us by city officials and the JMPD.
 - c. We are supported to end the stigma of being a reclaimer and to be included as full citizens of the city.
- 5.1.2 Consultation** – being part of decision-making that will impact on our livelihood and not to be informed after decisions that will affect us have been taken.
- 5.1.3 Inclusion** – when we are fully registered and included in the current system of collection, sorting and selling of recyclable material and in the future we will be included when:
 - a. We have proper identification and uniforms to show dignity and respect for our work
 - b. Our health and safety is protected and we have access to regular health checks, personal protective equipment e.g. dust masks especially at the landfill where we are exposed to a lot of dust.
 - c. We are recognized and actively involved in environmental campaigns such as educating the community about the benefits of separation at source to the environment and to us.
 - d. We have access to dedicated sorting and safe storage facilities with decent toilets and showers.

- 5.1.4 Registration** - To record all reclaimers in the system to have accurate records of the number of reclaimers that can be used for planning programmes, selection of people to access different opportunities such as training etc. Individuals and cooperatives will be registered. This will ensure that the process is fair and transparent and it can be properly monitored to make all opportunities equitable
- 5.2 For the City, Integration means:**
- 5.2.1 Recognition** – Where all reclaimers are identified as role players within the waste value chain. Recognition of reclaimers shall be demonstrated as follows:
- a. Where their role is acknowledged as an activity that is part of the waste management system of collecting, sorting and selling of recyclable material;
 - b. By registering reclaimers, providing the necessary training, and issuing of reclaimer identification cards;
 - c. Where applicable, providing them with necessary support mechanisms that may be available at the City’s disposal.
- 5.2.2 Consultation** – Consultation means - interact with, listen to and engaging meaningfully on matters pertaining to reclaimers. This will be demonstrated by:
- a. Meeting with reclaimers at the regional and central forums to discuss matters of mutual interest;
 - b. Dissemination of relevant information on matters affecting reclaimers.
- 5.2.3 Inclusion** – The process of providing better forums that will enable all reclaimers to voice out their opinions on matters affecting them. Inclusion of reclaimers shall be demonstrated by recognizing current and future reclaimer organizations for participation in regional and central forums.
- 5.2.4 Registration** - To record all reclaimers in the system to have accurate records of the number of reclaimers that can be used for planning programmes, selection of people to access different opportunities such as training etc. Individuals and cooperatives will be registered. This will ensure that the process is fair and transparent and it can be properly monitored to make all opportunities equitable. Registration of reclaimers shall be demonstrated as indicated in section 8.
- 5.3** Whilst noting the inputs of reclaimers on how they perceive integration in sections 5.1.1 to 5.1.4, the table below unpacks the areas that are of concern for the City. These areas are thus flagged for further engagement and dialogue either through revision of reclaimer expectations or as more clarity emerges from DEA-led national reclaimer guidelines. In the interim, the City will take all reasonable steps to put in place action plans to effect the elements of integration as unpacked under sections 5.2.1 to 5.2.4 above, within budgetary and resource limitations of the City.

Table 1: Summary of the City’s concerns about reclaimer inputs on integration

Reclaimer inputs	Concerns from the City
------------------	------------------------

5.1.1 **Recognition** – when there is no privatization of waste, we are recognized as workers and our work is recognized as a public service.

5.1.2 There are forums for collective bargaining and representation where we can participate freely and fully through our elected representatives on the terms and conditions of our work.

5.1.3 We are not restricted from accessing recyclable material, harassed or having our materials taken away from us by city officials and the JMPD.

5.1.4 We are supported to end the stigma of being a reclamer and to be included as full citizens of the city.

privatization of waste – in carrying out the municipal service, the city will from time to time identify and source stakeholders with the necessary expertise to achieve its mandate;

recognized as workers – outside of the City mandate;

public service – outside of the City mandate

collective bargaining – outside of the City mandate;

terms and conditions of our work – outside of the City mandate

not restricted – unreasonable as the laws, regulations and by-laws pose limitations on what waste management activities can happen where;

harassed or having our materials taken away - the alleged act or activity should not be against the law;

full citizens of the city – outside of the City mandate;

5.1.5 **Consultation** – being part of decision-making that will impact on our livelihood and not to be informed after decisions that will affect us have been taken.

decision making – too broad since the forums are not meant to usurp decision-making powers delegated to relevant city officials in terms of the law (MSA, MFMA, etc.);

5.1.6 Inclusion – when we are fully registered and included in the current system of collection, sorting and selling of recyclable material and in the future we will be included when;

uniforms - outside of the City mandate but could be pursued through partnership with other stakeholders where possible;

5.1.7 We have proper identification and uniforms to show dignity and respect for our work

our health and safety is protected and we have access to regular health checks, personal protective equipment e.g. dust masks especially at the landfill where we are exposed to a lot of dust - outside of the City mandate but could be pursued through partnership with other stakeholders where possible;

5.1.8 Our health and safety is protected and we have access to regular health checks, personal protective equipment e.g. dust masks especially at the landfill where we are exposed to a lot of dust.

5.1.9 We are recognized and actively involved in environmental campaigns such as educating the community about the benefits of separation at source to the environment and to us.

access to dedicated sorting and safe storage facilities with decent toilets and showers – where legally possible, whilst being mindful of resource constraints and in partnership with other stakeholders;

5.1.10 We have access to dedicated sorting and safe storage facilities with decent toilets and showers.

5.1.11 Registration – to record all Accepted reclaimers in the system to have accurate records of the number of reclaimers that can be used for planning programmes, selection of people to access different opportunities such as training etc. Individuals and cooperatives will be registered. This will ensure that the process is fair and transparent and it can be properly monitored to make all opportunities equitable.

6. Principles underpinning the Framework

The acceptance and implementation of this framework by all stakeholders involved will be underpinned by the following principles:

- 6.1 Obstacles should not be put in the way of access to officials.
- 6.2 Having a collective voice of reclaimers with recognized representatives in all forums of engagement.
- 6.3 Rules of engagement/recognition agreement between reclaimers and municipality should be agreed and put in writing through the terms of reference.
- 6.4 Through the forums, Reclaimers will have dedicated City and Pikitup officials to liaise with.
- 6.5 There should be flexibility on both sides to change ideas and approaches.
- 6.6 Attention must be paid to the language of engagement and the listening process, to allow people to express themselves in the language they feel comfortable with.
- 6.7 Engagement is that of equal partners through the forum and laws of the city must be followed.
- 6.8 Laws and regulations applicable to the City must be respected by all stakeholders.
- 6.9 There must be no displacement of reclaimers by any new models that destabilize what exist without providing proper alternatives.
- 6.10 Recognition that there is an existing system of collection, sorting and selling of recyclable material in operation started by reclaimers. Any new system of solid waste management must allow for the greatest number of informal workers that are currently there to participate in the system.
- 6.11 The reclaimer integration process is based on **meaningful engagement** of all stakeholders which requires:
 - a. **Respect** – Respectful engagement between all stakeholders
 - b. **Awareness of power relations** – Stakeholders are cognizant of unequal power relations based on race, gender, occupation, nationality, ability etc. and actively work to redress these inequalities in the engagement process.
 - c. **Transparency** - Dissemination of relevant information openly and honestly to all stakeholders in forms that everyone can understand.
 - d. **Support** – ongoing support to be provided by all stakeholders on a range of aspects, whilst being mindful of limited resources and limited scope of mandates of each stakeholder.
 - e. **Commitment** - Commitment of all stakeholder representatives to the collective process.
 - f. **Accountability** - Stakeholders report back to constituencies and receive mandates.

- g. **Consistency** - Consistent participation by representatives, however noting that constituencies reserve the right to recall representatives who are no longer representing the constituency mandate.

7. Key Issues for the Implementation of the integration process

7.1 Registration

- 7.1.1 The purpose of registration is to achieve the following:
 - a. To recognize reclaimers who are currently in the system for integration into the city's solid waste management system as stakeholders.
 - b. To verify, record and quantify reclaimer contribution to waste minimization by collecting statistics of recyclable materials collected by reclaimers.
 - c. To have accurate records of the number of reclaimers that can be used for planning programmes, selection of people to access different opportunities such as training etc. This will ensure that the process is fair and transparent and it can be properly monitored to make all opportunities equitable.
 - d. To allow for new reclaimers to be registered and recognised when they enter the system.
- 7.1.2 All Reclaimers (i.e. South Africans and documented Foreign Nationals) will be registered and issued with a Reclaimers Identity Card.
- 7.1.3 The registration process and the associated verification processes shall be determined at the Central Forum.
- 7.1.4 The Registration will occur regionally at locations as determined by the Central Forum.
- 7.1.5 The registration process recognizes that there is an existing system of registration which is linked to the City's Waste Information Management System (WIMS). Currently, WIMS has limitations in terms of how much additional reclaimer information can be added and has no ability to link remotely to buyback centres and other data sources. Thus, in the interim, the current WIMS system shall be used for registration with additional fields added where possible, whilst a new WIMS system is being conceptualized and developed.

7.2 Facilities

- 7.2.1 A Joint effort must be made by all Stakeholders to explore the possibilities of using existing facilities for the sorting and safety of recyclable material.

7.3 Legislation

- 7.3.1 Laws and regulations must be upheld by all stakeholders.
- 7.3.2 Where there are short comings that may impede on the work done by reclaimers the stakeholders shall raise them for immediate intervention by CoJ officials while laws and policies are being reviewed.

7.4 Training and Development

- 7.4.1 General Training and development programs aimed at improving current systems and processes will be provided to all Reclaimers.
- 7.4.2 Skills Development that will enable reclaimers to progress from the bottom of the value chain where they are currently located.
- 7.4.3 Skills training for the youth, the elderly and reclaimers with disabilities to ensure their active participation in the waste economy.

7.5 Monitoring and Evaluation

Ongoing Monitoring and Evaluation of all initiatives pertaining to the integration process will be done through the forums (i.e. Central Forum and Regional Forums) in order to evaluate progress and adapt where necessary.

8. Resources

Below are some of the resources that will be required from all stakeholders in order to provide support for the reclaimer integration process. However, due regard shall be given to the limited resources and limited scope of mandates of each stakeholder.

- 8.1** Human Resources – It is envisaged that a team of people with various skills will be required to facilitate and execute functions associated with reclaimers integration e.g. train the trainer on manning of daily reclaimer registrations etc.
- 8.2** Financial Resources - budget that can be committed in the effective implementation of the integration and other programmes which will benefit reclaimers.
- 8.3** Other Resources (as applicable) – Any other resource that is identified and available that can be lobbied or obtained for the benefit and of strengthening the work undertaken by reclaimers. These may or may not be in the form of 8.1 and 8.2 above.

9. High-level Implementation Plan

Below are some of the initiatives that have been identified for implementation. The list is not exhaustive and will be updated from time to time through the relevant structures i.e. Level 1 (Central) and Level 2 (Regional) forums:

Legend:

X – indicates applicable period

Table 1. Implementation Plan for key thematic issues affecting Reclaimers

Thematic Area	Action	Responsibility	Short term (1-12 months)	Medium Term (12-36 months)	Long term (36 months and longer)
Registration	○ Registration launch	Pkitup & EISD	X		
	○ Enhancement of the current database and creation of a new one for reclaimers	All stakeholders	X		
	○ Issuing of Identity cards to all registered and reclaimers	EISD	X		
	○ Training of Reclaimers on legislation which has relevance to waste management	All stakeholders	X		
Establishment of representative regional and central forums	○ Establishment of Level 1 – Central Forum Waste	All stakeholders	X		
	○ Establishment of all 11 Regional Reclaimer Forums throughout the COJ	All stakeholders		X	
	○ Participation of Reclaimers in development / revision of programmes such as S@S, CUP, etc.			X	X
Sorting Facilities	Explore the following:	All stakeholders		X	X
	○ Dedicated areas for sorting and safe storage of recyclable material				
Landfills	○ Possible partnership in the design of compliant trollies for transportation of recyclable material	All stakeholders		X	X
	○ Establishment of material recycling facilities at operational landfills	Pikitup and EISD			X
Training and Development Programme	○ Provision of Ablution facilities for Reclaimers	Pikitup and EISD			X
	○ General Training applicable with respect to these aspects amongst others legislation, Health and Safety and awareness raising and etc.	All stakeholders		X	
	○ Encourage the formation of Cooperatives & SMMEs by reclaimers.	All stakeholders			X

ANNEXURE C: RECLAIMERS' MEMORANDUM OF DEMANDS

JOBURG RECLAIMERS ORGANISING THE FUTURE

MEMORANDUM OF DEMANDS

ISSUED TO THE MMC FOR ENVIRONMENT AND INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES AND PIKITUP

13 JULY 2017

Attention: Cllr. Nico de Jager (MMC Environment and Infrastructure Services Department)

Mr. Lungile Dhlamini (PIKITUP Managing Director)

The **Interim Joburg Reclaimers Committee**, on behalf of the thousands of reclaimers who for generations have been earning a living by providing recycling services, demands that PIKITUP and the City of Joburg **recognise** our work and **consult** us with **dignity** and **respect** about our future in the recycling industry of this city.

We demand that;

1. ALL WASTE MANAGEMENT CONTRACTS and PROJECTS THAT ARE TAKING AWAY OUR WORK BE STOPPED IMMEDIATELY.
2. THE CITY OF JOBURG RECOGNISE OUR WORK AS A PUBLIC SERVICE FOR WHICH WE DESERVE TO BE PAID.
3. PIKITUP AND CITY OFFICIALS STOP STEALING OUR WORK THROUGH TENDERS.

RECOGNISE US AND CONSULT US CONCERNING OUR WORK IN PROVIDING RECYCLING SERVICES!

NOTHING FOR US WITHOUT US!

Your urgent response to these demands will be appreciated.

Interim Joburg Reclaimers Committee.

Response to be addressed to our legal representatives at Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa.

Received by:

Cllr. Nico de Jager

Date

Mr. Lungile Dhlamini

Date

2017/07/13

ANNEXURE D: RECLAIMERS' REGISTRATION PROCESS OF 2017

Prepared by EISD, 2017

Standard Operating Procedure for Registration and Permits Accreditation by Waste Management Activities.

Purpose:

This is a standard operating procedure for registration and permit accreditation process by CoJ Waste Management Information System as required by CoJ Waste Management By-Laws, 2013 Chapter 7; to be used by both internal and external stakeholders⁵.

Objectives:

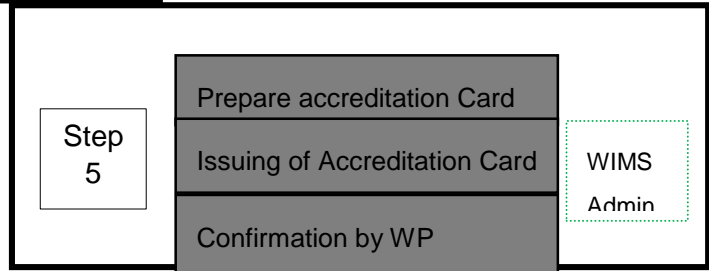
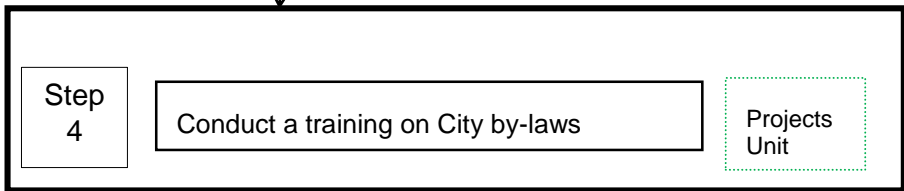
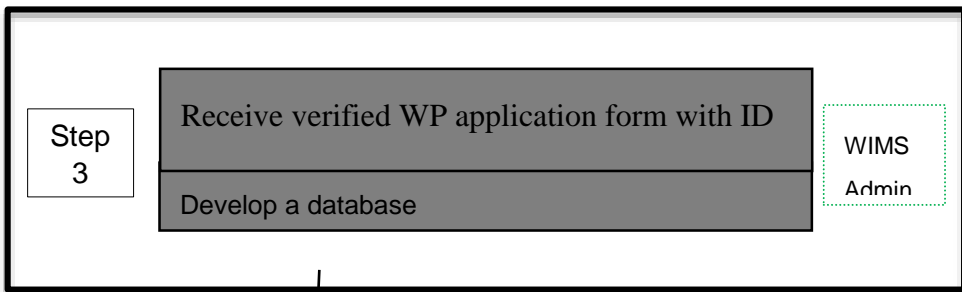
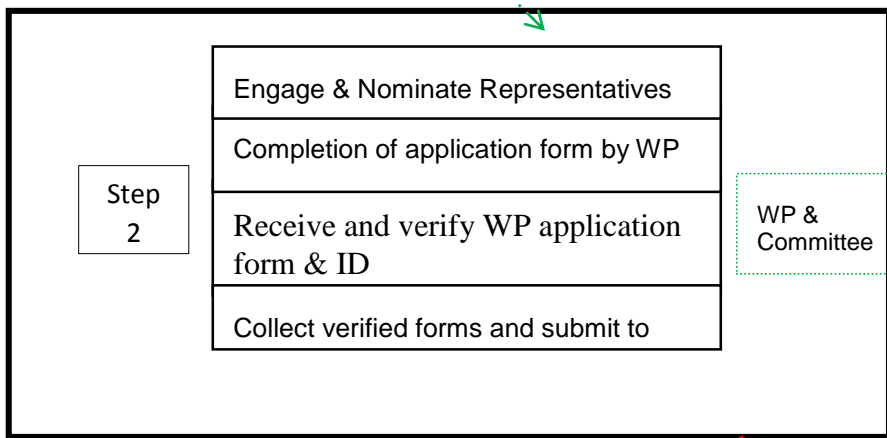
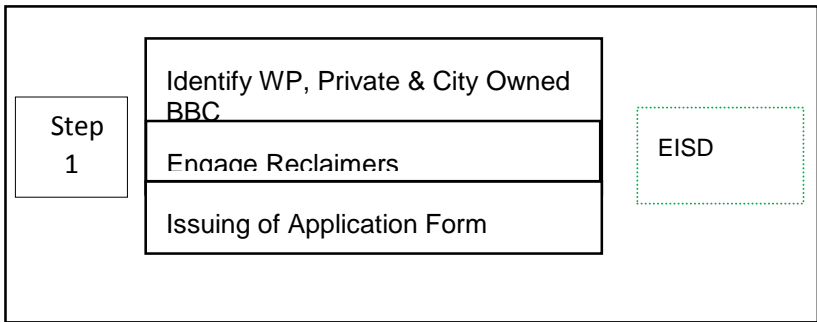
To ensure that both the City and Reclaimers are aware of registration process.

To ensure Waste Management Activities are aware of accreditation process.

⁵ Pikitup and Commercial Waste Management Activities

WIMS 5 Generic Steps

STEP ACTIVITY WHO



ANNEXURE E: RECLAIMERS' REGISTRATION FORM



PART 1 – Personal details of Reclaimer:

Reference No:

Name and surname of Reclaimer (*specify by typing in grey box below*):

Nationality of Reclaimer (*specify by typing in grey box below*):

ID Number/Passport of Reclaimer

Gender of Reclaimer

Postal address (*complete by typing in grey box below*):

Physical address (*complete by typing in grey box below*):

Email address:

Contact Number:

In case of emergency:

Next of kin

Name of and surname Next of kin *(specify by typing in grey box below):*

Physical address of Next of kin *(complete by typing in grey box below):*

Contact number(s) of Next of kin:

PART 2 – Services:

Area Serviced:

Region Name:

Are you part of a cooperative? Yes No

If Yes, Please give name of cooperative:

Recycled Waste Stream:

Paper Plastic Glass Metal Electronic Waste

Recyclable Destination:

PART 3 – Declaration

I, _____ (Name), declare that the information provided is correct.

Signature

Reclaimer's Name

PART 4 – Confirmation of Receipt

City Official Name

Date

PART 5- Comment Box

ID Submitted	Passport Submitted	No ID/Passport
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