



Shaping Hydropolitics in Durban – Community Activist Strategies in Chatsworth

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COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

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Abstract

This study is an attempt to better understand the strategies adapted by local community organizations to challenge hydropolitics in the city of Durban. In the debate of hydropolitics in Durban two very different images prevail. On the one hand, there has been wide acknowledgment of eThekweni Water and Sanitation's pioneering approach to water management and its achievements in water provision to the poorest in society. On the other hand, academics and civil society have found eThekweni Municipality's approach to be flawed and non-inclusive, a neoliberalist approach to cost recovery. High levels of protest that spark around the city voicing dissatisfaction with service delivery seem to support the critics. Community organizations such as the Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA) in Westcliff, Chatsworth have been at the forefront of challenging eThekweni Municipality's approach to water provision and further, its ignorance towards the poor.

Debates around water provision involves the questions "*who gets what [water], when, where and how*" (Turton, 2002, p. 16). While this is traditionally understood as a resource allocation by the state, there has been increasing attention on the role of civil society and the potential to achieve change in this entity. This study draws on Miraftab's (2004) concept of "invited" and "invented" spaces to analyze where participation is taking place and how it has shaped the relationship between communities and local government. Moreover, Foucault's approach of governmentality is used to consider how far community activism has impacted on local government planning and decision making in Durban. The study draws on a series of semi structured, in-depth interviews with members of the WFRA, as well as the local Ward Councillor and eThekweni Water and Sanitation Unit.

The study's main findings are that while the decentralization of local government was meant to bring democracy closer to the people and actively involve them in local government, there are many challenges remaining. This is evident in the rather narrowed approach to "invited" spaces and a general denigration of community activism in "invented" spaces which has undermined the ability of meaningful citizen engagement in hydropolitics. This has in the case of the WFRA led to a creation of distrust of municipal authorities and the Ward Councillor amongst the community and a general feeling of not being taken seriously by the government. The study argues that hydropolitics in Durban has to become more sensitive to

community challenges as well as everyday protest and the potential of local communities as agents of change. Even though active citizenry is important in modern government strong community advocacy may lead to an increasing governmentalization of civil society shifting responsibility away from the state onto communities.

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List of Acronyms

AEC – Anti-Eviction Campaign

ANC – African National Congress

APF – Anti-Privatization Forum

CCF – Concern Citizens Forum

DWAF – Department of Water Affairs and Forestry

EWS – eThekweni Water and Sanitation Unit

FBW – Free Basic Water Policy

HIV/AIDS – Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

IDP – Integrated Development Plan

IRIS – Incident Registration Information System

KZN – KwaZulu-Natal

NDP – National Development Plan

RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme

RSA – Republic of South Africa

SDG – Sustainable Development Goals

TAC – Treatment Action Campaign

UN – United Nations

WFRA – Westcliff Flats Residents Association

WTO – World Trade Organization

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Context of the Research

For South Africans, particularly those excluded under apartheid, the year 1994 marked nothing less than the beginning of a new Era and the expectation that democracy, freedom and equity were no longer privileges only available to a small white elite. The apartheid Era had left the country with a racially divided society and the majority of the population in a state of poverty, inequality and without adequate access to basic services (Sutherland, Scott & Hordijk, 2015). Most South Africans hoped for a reverse of discriminatory public policies, that had only benefited a small white minority (Seekings, 2007). In his inauguration speech in 1994, the first democratically elected President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela stated: “*The South Africa we have struggled for, in which all our people, be they African, Coloured, Indian or White, regard themselves as citizens of one nation is at hand*” (The Presidency, 1994). However, to achieve this goal has proven to be rather difficult as South Africa’s second President Thabo Mbeki, describes South Africa in 1998 still as a “*two-nation*” society which highlights the severity of inequality and racial divisions (Seekings, 2007, p.9). Since the end of apartheid in South Africa politics have proven to be a balancing act between achieving long-term inclusive economic growth and dealing with the socio-economic inequalities rooted in the apartheid Era.

More than twenty years into democracy South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world with persistent and widening gaps in inequality which rank amongst the highest in the world with a Gini Coefficient of 0.64 in 2011 (Sutherland & Lewis, 2012; World Bank, 2016). This inequality can be viewed through a number of variables however, the provision and access to basic services as pointed out by Narsiah (2010) is most imminent - the author states: “*It is apparent that access to water and sanitation provides an essential barometer to social inequalities in transitional and post-liberation societies such as South Africa*” (p. 2). For this study the provision of water and sanitation services will therefore serve as an example of highlighting the complex interaction of actors, local government, private companies and the public sector, in what has been termed *hydropolitics*. The analysis of

water provides a “*powerful lens through which the workings of different societies might be explored*” (Loftus, 2011, p.186). Therefore, the analysis of water provision can help to understand power relations and spaces in the urban context (Sutherland et al., 2015). As the issue of water has been discussed extensively in the literature (See Mosdell & Leatt, 2005; Gounden et al., 2006; Bond & Dugard, 2008; Bond, 2010; Narsiah, 2010; Loftus, 2011; Hellberg, 2014, 2017; Sutherland et al., 2015), this article does not aim to provide another review of water governance in Durban. Instead its aim is to investigate the connection between provision of basic water services such as water for consumption as well as sanitation and community activism and set the focus on the strategies communities have adapted to become agents of change to challenge existing power structures which have contested their right to water in the urban space.

1.2 Problem Statement

To get a clearer understanding of how hydropolitics have been shaped in South Africa, this study focuses on the experiences of citizens engaging in various forms of activism and community protest. In particular, the study examines the case of the Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA), a community organization based in the Westcliff community, in the predominantly Indian township of Chatsworth in Durban, South Africa. The aim of this study is to explore and evaluate how communities participating in different strategies of activism and protest, have contributed to local government decision making in water and sanitation provision. This research comes at a time where social protest levels around the country, often labeled “service delivery protests” as they target the lack or insufficient municipal provision of basic services (water, sanitation, electricity, housing). Protest levels suggest dissatisfaction with current politics and/or a mismatch between what local government provides and what communities feel they need or are entitled to. While these protests are often seen as a sign of frustration and purely a reaction to questionable government decision-making (Booyesen, 2007), they have also been celebrated as a means to practice citizen rights, establish political participation and, therefore stabilize democracy (Pithouse, 2008).

Whereas there is a vast amount of literature on social protest in post-apartheid South Africa (See Desai, 2001; Ballard, Habib & Valodia, 2006; Booyesen, 2007; Pithouse, 2008; Alexander, 2010, Sinwell, 2011; Runciman, 2011; Mottiar & Bond, 2012; Alexander,

Runciman & Ngwane, 2013) there is a lack of understanding in how far protests and community activism have been successful in challenging planning and decision-making to achieve lasting impact on local level governance. The literature highlights debates as to whether South Africa's civil society and the many community protests have the potential for challenging the status quo and acting as a driver for political and social change or if they merely claim a "*piece of the pie*" (Sinwell, 2011, p. 62).

The purpose of this study is therefore to explore the channels of community participation in Durban and to understand the impact community activist strategies have on local government's provision of water related services. The study will be based on the experiences of the WFRA and their perceived impact on what has been labeled 'hydropolitics' in their community. For the purposes of the research, hydropolitics was generally defined as the study of "*who gets what [water], when, where and how*" (Turton, 2002, p. 16). The study seeks to contribute to the existing body of research on community activism for water services and identify important areas for further investigation.

1.3 Guiding Objectives and Research Questions

In order to explore some of the issues connected to hydropolitics in Durban the following study objectives and research questions were applied.

Study objectives:

- I. To explore eThekweni Municipality's current approach to community participation in hydropolitics,
- II. To understand different activist strategies and participation methods in hydropolitics in the WFRA community,
- III. To evaluate the effectiveness of different strategies of community activism in shaping water governance in eThekweni Municipality,
- IV. To understand how the community perceives its contribution in shaping hydropolitics in eThekweni Municipality.

The study was guided by the following research questions; 1) How have various activist strategies shaped hydropolitics in Durban? 2) What are the experiences of community members regarding their participation in issues of water services? 3) How far do these

strategies contribute to a broader governmentality approach including decision making in local government? 4) Has community involvement in water activism changed their perception of politics and citizenship?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Background

According to Gaventa (2002), there is a global “*crisis of legitimacy*” (p. 1) affecting the relationship between governmental institutions and citizens. Issues of corruption, as well as a lack of “*responsiveness to the needs of the poor*” (Gaventa, 2002, p. 1) and the disconnection of elected representatives from the voters have led to political disenchantment and mounting distrust in government and have raised questions about the traditional understanding of government and citizen representation.

As there is a shift away from state-centered analysis, civil society has become an interesting area to study these issues (Swyngedouw, 2005). In the South African context, social movements and civil society have often been romanticized and idealized as the solution to social problems (Sinwell, 2011). Left wing scholars especially have placed high hopes on social movements to provide the answer to the negative effects neoliberalism as well as structural adjustment programs have had on the poor and marginalized. However, according to Sinwell (2011), academics have shown little engagement with the internal structures and dynamics of those movements or their potential to offer real alternatives to the status-quo. Bond (2005) by citing Nigerian political scientist Claude Ake, warns social movements are “[...] *first and foremost a child of necessity, of desperation even*” (p. 433). This indicates that civil society merely fills the gaps that have been opened by the failure of states to provide for marginalized groups and hence have not reached their potential to challenge injustice on a broader level (Bond, 2005). Sinwell (2011) takes a similar approach and explores the post-apartheid trends and implications of social movements which have formed mainly to access basic services from the state and asks whether post-apartheid social movements have an actual counter-hegemonic aim to challenge the existing structures or are rather merely claiming their share instead (Sinwell, 2011). Nonetheless, it has also been argued that civil society has contributed to reshaping and constructing citizenship in a young democracy. Cooper (2010), for example, argues that through contesting the discriminatory approach of apartheid and building a liberal democratic state and later challenging the new political reality, where certain forms of discrimination still existed, civil society has helped to open

new spaces of political participation and platforms for citizen engagement. Furthermore, as Cooper (2010) notes, it is important to understand that the right to participate and the means of participation are not only defined by formal institutions but are also shaped by the informal engagement of the people.

Historically, civil society in its various ways has played a vital role in South Africa's turbulent past. The liberation struggle and especially the period around 1970 can be counted as part of the essential movements of the 20th century and was a major contributor to the democratic transition (Ballard et al., 2006). Despite the great successes of the liberation struggle leading to the 1994 transition to democracy a new wave of social struggle spiked around the early 2000s and frequent social protests started to take place around the country (Zuern, 2011). While the pre-1994 social movements aimed to overthrow the racist apartheid state, the new wave of social protest of the early 2000s and the service delivery movements starting around 2004, drew attention to the daily struggle still faced by many South Africans without condemning the state as such (Zuern, 2011). Cooper (2010) describes this transition as "*The post-apartheid shift in South Africa marked the normative shift from a fight of political nationalism to one of citizenship in a proclaimed liberal democracy*" (p. 7). The issues addressed by the new social movements, range from everyday struggle such as affordable tertiary education, crime, land issues, service delivery and housing and health care (Mottiar & Bond, 2012) to broader aspects of economic policies including trade liberalization and the negative impact of globalization on the local economy (Ballard et al., 2006).

Some of the most visible post-apartheid social movements include the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), the Concerned Citizens Forum (CCF) and the Anti-Eviction Campaign (AEC) just to name a few. Moreover, through their engagement in countless smaller and larger community protests, strikes and marches communities and individuals have continuously challenge unjust conditions in post-apartheid South Africa. Many of these movements highlight the importance of the engagement of ordinary people in social activism and the impact they had on the poor and marginalized. However, they also underline the fact that often basic issues, such as access to affordable HIV/AIDS treatment and basic healthcare, lack of basic municipal services or the right to shelter have been at the center of contention. Therefore, while social protests may present a sign of a well-functioning democracy (Heese, 2016), it becomes also clear that in today's South Africa many people are still fighting for very basic socio-economic entitlements (rights and services) which may not

be of question any more for other parts of the population or more developed states (Sinwell, 2011). Since 2004 and the rise of ‘service delivery protest’ (Alexander, 2010), there have been questions of whether meaningful citizen participation had been sacrificed for the “*delivery of development*” whereby the focus of is on physical development such as infrastructure (e.g. the building of houses) but leaves out less tangible elements of democratization (Oldfield, 2008, p. 488). The phenomenon of widespread protests has also triggered a debate on the underlying causes of social protests and the question as to why people choose this specific way of participation. Booysen (2007) states, that in a multi-party system, such as established in the 1994 democratic transition, it seems logical that citizens would use the national and local elections to indicate their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with political parties or alternatively would boycott the elections. Other than that, citizens are expected to trust the chosen party with regards to policy making and implementation. However, the South African case seems to be more complex which the disparity between the number of protests and electoral results for the ruling party show (Booyesen, 2007). Booysen (2007) states that for many communities the formal channels of democratic participation such as voting in national and local elections, Ward Councillor engagement and so forth have been disappointing and not created the results many had hoped for. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that communities search for other means to make their voices heard. The first nationwide wave of service delivery protests occurred in 2004 to 2006 where local communities supported the view that “*protest works*” and soon, it became integrated in the strategy of political participation (Booyesen, 2007, p.25). Another important aspect of protest is that even though there has been some movement in the political landscape of local government as the 2016 municipal election results show (Electoral Commission of South Africa, 2017), there is yet a lack of a strong opposition party to challenge the African National Congress (ANC). Zuern (2011) therefore argues that civil society can fill this gap and take an important stand to hold the government accountable and address socio-economic and political inequalities.

Moreover, while voting in elections can be considered an important aspect of a lively democracy, there has also been critical voices calling for a more open approach to citizen participation. Michels and De Graaf (2010) discusses some of the aspects of participatory democracy and states some of the benefits.

“The first is the educative function: citizens may increase their civic skills and become more competent if they participate in public decision-making. A second function of participatory democracy is the integrative function. Participation

contributes to citizens' feeling of being are public citizens, part of their community. As a consequence, they may also feel more responsible personally for public decisions. And thirdly, participatory democracy contributes to a greater legitimacy of decisions. As Rousseau argued, participation plays an important role in producing rules that are acceptable to all” (Michels & De Graaf, 2010, p. 480).

Others, including the United Nations (UN) (2008), agree with this assessment and state that in order to obtain policies that are directed towards community needs and gain public support it is crucial to involve citizens in a broad range of policy making activities. Only in this way it can be assured that policies have a positive effect on the socio-economic situation of communities (UN, 2008).

2.2 Citizenship and Participation in South Africa

South Africa is regarded as having one of the most liberal and progressive Constitutions in the world and an open approach to active citizenry. Citizen participation is integrated into a number of policies and strategies in South Africa, such as the National Development Plan (NDP). The NDP states:

“Active citizenry and social activism is necessary for democracy and development to flourish. The state cannot merely act on behalf of the people – it has to act with the people, working together with other institutions to provide opportunities for the advancement of all communities” (The Presidency, 2012).

Also at regional and local level emphasis is placed on active citizenship and participation of communities and individuals. According to van Donk (2012), South Africa has one of the most progressive policies on participatory local governance in the world. These policies include the White Paper on Local Government (1998), the Municipal Structures Act (No. 117 of 1998) and the Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000) (van Donk, 2012). For example, the Municipal Systems Act from 2000 draws attention to community participation and states:

“16. (1) A municipality must develop a culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance, and must for this purpose- (a) encourage, and create conditions for, the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality, (...)” (SA Government, 2000).

Further to achieve a more participatory approach to local government and to serve the needs of individual communities, the municipal Ward system including Ward Councillors and Ward Committees has been regarded by the South African Government as a promising step in decentralizing local government and thereby increasing accessibility (SA Government, 2014). In Durban, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) (2014) states that the established Ward Committees, which serve as an advisory body to the Councillor and as a channel of communication on Ward related issues has “*the aim of enhancing participatory democracy*” and ensuring “*constructive and harmonious interaction between the Municipality and the community*” (p. 8). These structures represent a seemingly innovative and open approach to community participation in local government decision-making but it has also been pointed out that there is a gap between the theory on paper and the actual implementation, indicating that current local governance lacks meaningful participation and inclusiveness. Gaventa (2002) points out that often the literature calls for active or participatory citizenship but falls short on conceptualizing what this implies. Therefore, much room is left for interpretation regarding the concept of citizenship as well as the rights that come with it (Gaventa, 2002). The author further points out that in traditional literature there has been a narrowed focus either on strengthening the “*processes of participation*” and the channels through which poor people can make their voices heard or strengthening accountability and responsiveness of governing institutions and policies through institutional change (Gaventa, 2002, p. 2). This narrowed perspective is according to Gaventa (2002) undermining the potential both approaches can have in combination to ensure participation and ensuring accountability of the government.

Galvin and Goldberg (2012) further highlight that the current shortcomings in implementing legislation, can be an excuse for many officials where participation is treated as a “*procedural tick the box*” instead of showing a genuine willingness to include civil society in local government level decision making (p. 1). Others like Oldfield (2008) identify issues with the formalization and politicization of local government. She argues that the participation of communities in decision-making has been limited to the Ward Committees and Councillors (Oldfield, 2008). Often participation is narrowed to consultation of communities, and therefore it seems to be unclear whether participation in its current form is merely a farce instead of empowering citizens and giving them a real voice in the decision-making process (Oldfield, 2008). The recurring community-based protests have therefore been seen as an indicator of the current state of these shortcomings in local government (van

Donk, 2012). With regard to service delivery and the participation of civil society organizations, Galvin and Goldberg (2012) point out that despite the great chance of mutual benefits there is a serious gap in understanding and willingness to cooperate between the state and civil society organizations in South Africa. For the authors it is clear that only through improved citizen participation and engagement will the issue of poor service delivery as well as the increasing number of service delivery protests be solved (Galvin & Goldberg, 2012). However, there are several factors that have suggested challenges between government and civil society. The government has shown little interest in citizen participation and questions the credibility of civil society organizations or disclaims them as “*troublemakers*” who do not respect the state preferring to follow their own agenda (Galvin & Goldberg, 2012, p. 6). Civil society, on the other hand, has often acted out of frustration and may not always respect the state nor trust the government (Galvin & Goldberg, 2012). Moreover, the claim has also been made that civil society pays no attention to the political realism and instead focuses on how things ‘should be’ (Galvin and Goldberg, 2012). Therefore, civil society has been criticized for holding the moral high-ground and being effectively incapable (Galvin & Goldberg, 2012).

2.3 The Water Debate – International and National Approaches

Due to several reasons, such as climate change, misuse and mismanagement as well as general population increase, water has become a scarce resource and it is predicted that the future will see increased tensions around water resources, which have already become a contested terrain and therefore a political issue (Turton, 2002). The water debate is shaped by a constant discussion as to whether water should be treated as an economic good and therefore falls under market principles of demand and supply, or whether it is as a human right also public good which should be regulated by the state (Sutherland, et al., 2014). In this debate, it comes as no surprise that actors such as the World Bank favor a market-oriented approach to water provision, arguing: “*Water that is provided free, promotes and condones overuse and waste. Countries that price water more cheaply also consume it more freely. Often, the most inefficient users of water are found in countries with the highest levels of water stress, where incentives are also lacking for prudent water use*” (World Bank, 2016, p.14).

The World Bank further calls for: “*A fundamental rethinking of water rights and appropriate governance mechanisms*” and further highlights that the “*focus could be on how water rights could be used not as a declaration of inviolate ownership, but as a flexible instrument to resolve water conflicts at the community, basin, regional, national, and global levels, while still protecting the needs of the poor*” (World Bank, 2016, p.14).

While water conservation must be central to any policy strategy it has to be carefully evaluated in terms of who has the ability to pay the full price of water and who should be granted free access. If not handled with sensibility, cost-recovery and privatization may undermine the right of the poor and thus worsen their situation by limiting their access to basic needs (Bond, 2005). On the other hand, the United Nations (UN) (2017) and other international organizations have also highlighted the right to safe drinking water and sanitation as central to sustainable development. The UN’s Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) include this aspect and state:

“Goal 6 – Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all. Access to safe water and sanitation and sound management of freshwater ecosystems are essential to human health and to environmental sustainability and economic prosperity” (UN, 2017).

In the South African context, the issue of water and sanitation is intertwined with the country’s history and especially apartheid’ racist approach to town planning and resource allocation. Under the apartheid regime, systematic racial segregation was established through the forced reallocation of people into townships, which often lacked basic infrastructure and services and were not comparable with the rich, white neighbourhoods (Desai & Vahed, 2013). Therefore, one of the main challenges the first democratically elected government under the ANC had to attend to was the spatial division and the issue of basic needs and services. The ANC placed these issues at the heart of the ambitious Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Access to water and sanitation services was prioritized under the RDP, as in 1994 around 14 million people across the country lacked a sufficient, clean water supply, and half the country’s population, approximately 21 million people, had no access to adequate sanitation (DWAF, 2004). With the democratic transition, the national government acknowledged water as a social good and a fundamental aspect of transformation and development and recognized that people who are deprived of sufficient water supply are unable to realize a range of other constitutional rights (Sutherland & Lewis, 2012).

2.3.1 Understanding Hydropolitics

“Water isn’t just water [...] it is not simply a resource that needs to be controlled and regulated in order to secure the health and productivity of the population [...] but can be explored as an element that performs a function in constituting life and lifestyles” (Hellberg, 2014, p. 229). Water is a multifaceted resource, it is essential to all life and plays a significant role in social, cultural and economic aspects of human life. However, as an increasingly scarce resource, water has also become a contested terrain and a highly politicized issue (Turton, 2002). While water, is often valued as a universal human right, the access and provision of water is organised in a complex network of actors and directed by power relations, technologies and available infrastructure (Sutherland et al., 2015). This complex interaction has been labelled ‘hydropolitics’ which involves the questions *“who gets what [water], when, where and how”*, in the dynamic and ongoing process of political decision making through which resources are allocated (Turton, 2002, p. 16). While the concept may not be entirely unique and is based on common practices of authoritative resource allocation, the specific focus on water issues in politics is rather new and symbolizes the importance water has gained over the last decades (Turton, 2002). According to Turton (2002), due to this recent engagement with water-politics, there are still uncertainties around the concept and hence room for interpretation. Water is in constant movement and it becomes clear that allocation of water resources is influenced by rights and market values as well as relations between the state, citizens and the market (Turton, 2002). Turton (2002) therefore, notes that hydropolitics can also be understood as an *“investigation into the interaction between state and non-state actors”* (p. 16), which involves national and increasingly international stakeholders. While the state is traditionally responsible for ensuring people’s health as well as access to basic services, globally there has been an increasing privatization of services and water resources (Bond, 2005). This poses a new and complex challenge and a possible threat, as international and private organizations shrink the role of local governments (Bond, 2005). The increasing number of actors may also follow very different interests.

The involvement of different actors also calls for an analysis of power relations in water governance as Hellberg (2014) states, these influence the production and redistribution of water and may further determine who has access to water and who is excluded. In the South African for example, where large numbers of the population were excluded and deprived of

basic rights and resources under apartheid, this is a highly critical aspect. Furthermore, as pointed out by Swyngedouw et al. (2002), the social power relations do not only suggest who has access to certain resources and who is excluded, but on a larger scale they “[...] *shape the particular social and political configurations and the environments in which we live*” (p. 125). Hence, paying attention to the underlying “*power geometries*” provides important insight into social structures and further offers a point of analysis for social change (Swyngedouw et al. 2002, p. 125).

2.4 Establishing Effective Water Governance at a National Level

In the following the attention is paid to the spheres of government (national, provincial and local) with regard to the approaches taken towards water and sanitation services. The focus will be on the comparison between national and local government.

While specific legislation on the access and provision of water exists, it is crucial to understand them in the broader context of post-apartheid decentralization and restructuring of local government. As mentioned above, water and sanitation under apartheid were, as many other municipal services, subject to the unjust and unequal allocation of resources, leaving the majority without access to basic services. With the democratic transition, it became clear that water was crucial for development and therefore had to be accessible to everyone. The ambitious RDP clearly states in section 2.6: “*Water is a natural resource, and should be made available in a sustainable manner to all South Africans*” (ANC, 1994). However, while the document acknowledges the right to water as a fundamental principle, it also recognizes the economic value of water and calls for an “*economically, environmentally and politically sustainable approach*” towards the management of water resources as well as sanitation services (ANC, 1994).

Another important component of the RDP was that it gave the mandate to provide water to the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) to acknowledge the importance of the issue. One of the DWAF’s first important achievements was the release of the White Paper on Water and Sanitation in 1994 which urged the need for swift delivery of basic water supply and sanitation especially to those excluded under apartheid (DWAF, 2004). Basic water supply was defined in the White paper as a “*standpipe supplying 25 litres per capita per day within 200m of the household and with a minimum flow of 10 litres per second*”

(DWAF, 2004). While the DWAF was a central authority it stipulated in White Paper that the long-term goal should be to decentralize services and shift the responsibility of water provision to local government (DWAF, 2004). One of South Africa's most important documents, the 1996 Constitution, has been praised as the model of social rights and said to be amongst the most progressive in the world. Among other more conventional rights the document makes a reference to social rights. Section 27 of the Bill of Rights states:

- (1) *Everyone has the right to have access to- (...) (b) sufficient food and water; (...)*
- (2) *The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of each of these rights.* (South African Government, 1996)

While the right to water is acknowledged, the implementation of it is somewhat more challenging especially in terms of practicability. Therefore, the Constitution was followed by a range of legislation to ensure a more practical approach and actively address the backlog and increase access to safe water and sanitation. The implementation of the Water Services Act 108 in 1997 and the National Water Bill in 1998 were two important steps towards this goal (Bakker & Hemson, 2000). The Water Services Act confirms the constitutional right to water and gives guidance on the implementation process and a regulatory framework e.g. the Act states the duties of the water service authorities and presents the need to establish water boards and water service committees and further gives direction on standards and tariffs (SA Government, 1997). The Water Services Act defines the right to a basic water supply as: “[...] *the prescribed minimum standard of water supply services necessary for the reliable supply of a sufficient quantity and quality of water to households, including informal households, to support life and personal hygiene*” (SA Government, 1997). Moreover, the Act states that sufficient financial support should be given to water service institutions in this case the municipalities from the national government.

With this step the decentralization of water services was implemented and for the first time policies shifted the responsibility for water service provision to local governments (SA Government, 1997). The National Water Bill (1998) is a more technical document and presents a “*fundamental reform of the law relating to water resources*” (SA Government, 1998). Besides, concentrating on some of the issues that were already part of the previous water regulations, including equal access to water without racial or gender discrimination and facilitating social and economic development, the Bill emphasized a more sustainability and

conservational use of water resources to meet “*the basic human needs of present and future generations*” (SA Government, 1998). To reach this end, strict measures should be taken where necessary to limit or suspend water services where a consumer fails to meet his or her obligations (SA Government, 1998). While the first years of democracy showed an overall commitment by the national as well as local government to tackle the service backlog, and some improvements were made, it soon became clear that many people still had no means to pay even small fees for services and were hence further excluded from basic water services (DWAF, 2004).

In response, the national Government drew on experiences from Durban and launched the seemingly progressive Free Basic Water Policy (FBW) in 2001, to respond to the persistent inequalities and lack of access in the water sector (DWAF, 2004). FBW, originally developed in Durban, was designed to allocate 25 l of water per person per day or about 6 kl per household per month which is either provided directly through a tank system or over a water-meter system (Dugard, 2010). While there are differences among municipalities with regard to how much water is provided at no charge as well as who is eligible it is suggested that since its inception 4,3 million South Africans have been connected and were provided with FBW during 2011/2012 (Statistics South Africa, 2013).

Despite these measures there nonetheless remain a number of challenges to water access for South Africans. According to McDonald and Pape (2002), flaws in South Africa’s hydro-politics are present in the Constitution. The constitutional right to water is as stated by the authors protected from “*unfair discrimination solely on the grounds of race, colour, ethnic or social origin, sex, religion or language*”, however, the Constitution fails to mention specifically one’s ability to pay as a factor of discrimination (McDonald & Pape, 2002, p. 4). Considering the high level of income inequality as well as unemployment it seems that the right to water is subject to major flaws from the very beginning and access to water and sanitation services remain influenced by wealth and race (Bakker & Hemson, 2000). More radical scholars refer to the unresolved issues of access to water as “*water Apartheid*” as they present a continuation of spatial and divided approach to service provision (Bond & Dugard, 2008, p. 3). While according to Mosdell and Leatt (2005) “*cost recovery and free basic services have become two sides of the same policy coin*” (p.3) as the extension of services to more people has ultimately led to the initiation of cost-recovery policies and an approach of the consumer pays. Not only does this seem to directly oppose the right to access water, but it

is also an unequal approach undermining the equality of people as water meters and automatic cut-offs are only enforced in poor but not in affluent neighborhoods (Dugard, 2010).

2.5 Local Government – the Case of Durban

The city of Durban or eThekweni Municipality is located on the South African east coast, in the KwaZulu-Natal Province. With a population of approximately 3.6 million Durban is the third largest city in the country in terms of population (Statistics South Africa, 2016). The majority of Durban's population are Black Africans (73.8 %) followed by Indian and Asians (16.7%), Whites (6.6 %) and Coloureds (2.5%) (Statistics South Africa, 2011). In Durban, the responsibility to manage water and sanitation lies with the eThekweni Water and Sanitation Unit (EWS). The Municipality faced according to EWS' Teddy Gounden (2011) a range of challenges over the last years, especially with regard to the extension through the Municipal Demarcation Process which declared the integration of smaller municipalities into the existing eThekweni Municipality and, thus increased the area by 68% (Sim, Sutherland & Scott, 2015). This resulted in an increased number of people requiring water services, many of them living in poor areas without the necessary infrastructure. eThekweni Municipality responded with a spatial approach to water and sanitation provision ranging from flush toilets in the inner city to dry toilets and communal taps in more rural areas (Sutherland & Lewis, 2012). This approach has been justified by the Municipality as a necessary step due to the lack of resources as well as the need to conserve water in a drought prone environment (Gounden, 2011).

Critics have however pointed out that the approach is a continuation of unjust town planning and therefore reinforces inequality in the city. Furthermore, there is a severe issue of leaks and illegal connections which the Municipality is facing. As stated by IOL news, eThekweni Municipality is losing approximately 237 million liters of water every day (IOL, 2015). Statistics South Africa states that around 51 % of households in eThekweni Municipality use a free source of water (Statistics South Africa, 2015) also leading to a high amount of non-revenue water services. Besides the challenges, eThekweni Municipality has been regarded a pioneer in terms of water and sanitation provision (Loftus, 2011) and has gained international attention and acknowledgement. In 2014, the eThekweni Municipality won the Stockholm

Industry Water Award for its “*transformative and inclusive approach to providing water and sanitation services*” (SIWI, 2014). The Municipality’s pro-poor approach was praised as: “[...] *respecting the constitutional right to water while maintaining financial sustainability, access to basic water supply and sanitation is provided at no cost to poor families, while higher levels of service and consumption are charged at full cost*” (SIWI, 2014).

However, not everyone would agree with the Institute’s interpretation. As Desai states many post-apartheid policies on water at local level can be understood as “*market-driven measures*” to “*make residents of poor communities paying customers in a capitalist society*” (2002, p.7). The FBW policy might be a good example of this very different way of looking at eThekweni Municipality’s water governance. While initially celebrated for its acknowledgement of socio-economic inequality under apartheid and a shifting focus on rights in service delivery, the policy was soon criticized for its implementation including issues of non-participation, lack of connections, a harsh disconnection policy as well as its generally unequal approach to water provision (Dugard, 2010). According to Bond and Dugard (2010) one of the flaws of the FBW policy was that it presented a major cutback from the original plans of the RDP, namely to provide people with around 50 l of water per day per person. Moreover, the authors question the intentions of the Municipality which seem to have focused rather on cost efficiency than meeting the basic needs of the population (Bond & Dugard, 2008). Mottiar and Bond (2012) state that water prices as well as electricity tariffs in Durban had been subject to massive increases in the 1990s and early 2000s. This was imposed on the entire population including those already marginalized, who had no other option but to cut their consumption by 30 % (Mottiar & Bond, 2012). Only in 2008, and after observing how such restrictive policies had caused angry citizen uprisings elsewhere, the Municipality increased its amount of free water to 9 kl per household/month (Mottiar & Bond, 2012). Therefore, the Durban example highlights the difficulty in balancing between water as a human right and an economic good.

2.6 Formation of Resistance – the Birth of Service Delivery Protests

Durban has in many ways played an interesting role in South Africa’s history and has been the showground for different kinds of resistance movements and protests. From King Shaka’s resistance to British settlers to Gandhi’s non-violent movement, the dockworker workers’ strike in the 1970s to the more recent examples of the CCF or Abahlali base Mjondolo

(Mottiar & Bond, 2012). With regard to water the experiences in South Africa over the last years have shown that partial privatization and general commodification of water is highly contested amongst the population (Bond, 2005). The poor quality of services has become a main concern for people on the ground and has been challenged in various ways. The provision of water and other municipal services is just one example of the causes of protest over the past two decades, however, it is one that has gained attention at a local and national level. At the forefront of the struggle against the water politics of local Governments are individuals as well as community organizations and many spontaneous protests. Over the last decade nearly all municipalities have had their share of community protest to oppose water regulation and worsening living conditions (Alexander et al., 2010). While there are numerous smaller protests nearly every day, some of the larger movements around water, electricity and housing have gained attention. Some cases that have gained attention include the resistance of the people in Soweto Johannesburg in response to Operation ‘Gcin’Amanzi’ (isiZulu for ‘conserve water’) and the installment of prepaid meters which automatically cut off the water supply when the maximum amount is reached, leaving many families without water for almost half the month (Dugard, 2010). In Durban, the CCF, originating in Chatsworth, mobilized in the early 2000s to address a range of issues including rent increases, evictions as well as water and electricity provision (Mottiar & Bond, 2012). In Cape Town, the Anti Eviction Campaign gained attention in the struggle against housing evictions and water and electricity disconnections by local Government (Miraftab & Willis, 2005). These are just a few examples of protest and resistance against the policies of a Government that has declared war on poverty (SA News, 2008). While these social movements have been widely discussed in the literature, there is less attention on how communities on a daily basis and absent from media attention are struggling for their constitutional rights and for participation in the political landscape (Runciman, 2011).

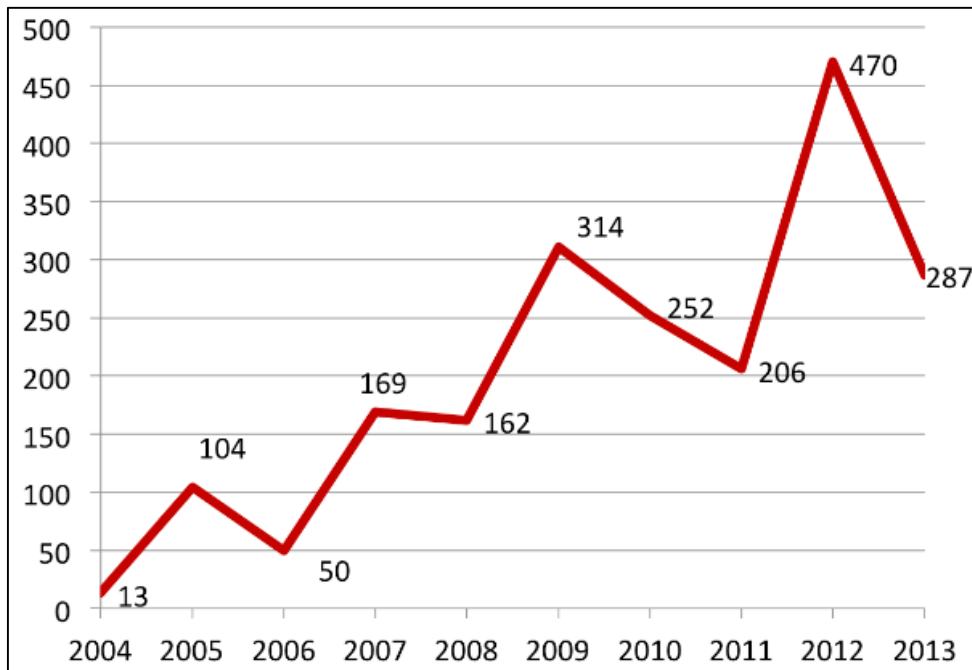
The expression ‘service delivery protests’, as well as the phenomena it describes, have been controversially discussed in the literature. Nleya (2011) states that the term suggests a “*technocratic*” (p. 5) portrayal of the relationship between citizens and the state, where the Government delivers while citizens passively receive services. The private platform Municipal IQ (n.d) states that, while the term service delivery protest may not be completely ‘accurate’, it is yet an ‘adequate’ way to describe the phenomena as inadequate or delayed services provision by local Government have been the main issues addressed by protesters. Zuern (2011) points out that while protestors often express materialistic demands they also

address issues of political participation such as the “*right to be heard, to have a voice, to be consulted, and to become full members of the political community*” (p. 14). Another interesting aspect is whether service delivery protests are, as stated by the author Alexander (2010), expressions of a deeper connection of protests and protestors through a common cause which will eventually lead to a “*rebellion of the poor*” (p. 25). Or are they merely local “*popcorn protest*” as stated by Mottiar and Bond (2012, p. 328) due to their spontaneous and as it seems unconnected nature. Besides the remaining uncertainties it seems that the state of municipal services in many places is challenged and gives communities enough reason to engage in protest action (Mottiar & Bond, 2012). It should also be mentioned that for many of those living in poor communities the engagement in protest is not an expression of an ideology but rather driven by the need to survive and the desire to live a decent life in post-apartheid South Africa (Desai, 2002).

The analysis of social protests bears several difficulties regarding measurement, classification and analysis. Protests in general are often difficult to measure and there are several approaches and definitions in place as shown by Runciman et al. (2016). Several databases exist, such as the Incident Registration Information System (IRIS) by the South African Police or the private database the Municipal IQ as well as the Civil Protest Barometer (Runciman et al., 2016). There are also uncertainties as to when and where service delivery protests first emerged or what the underlying factors for protests are. The author Alexander (2010) states that while the phenomenon of service delivery protests could be traced back to the apartheid Era, it is more likely that the recent phenomena can be dated back to 2004 and the Mbeki administration. As Booysen (2007) argues the time between 2004 and the 2006 local Government elections was used by grass-root organizations to mobilize against the quality of services as well as the representation of people in the local political sphere and have thus led to a quick rise in the number of protests.

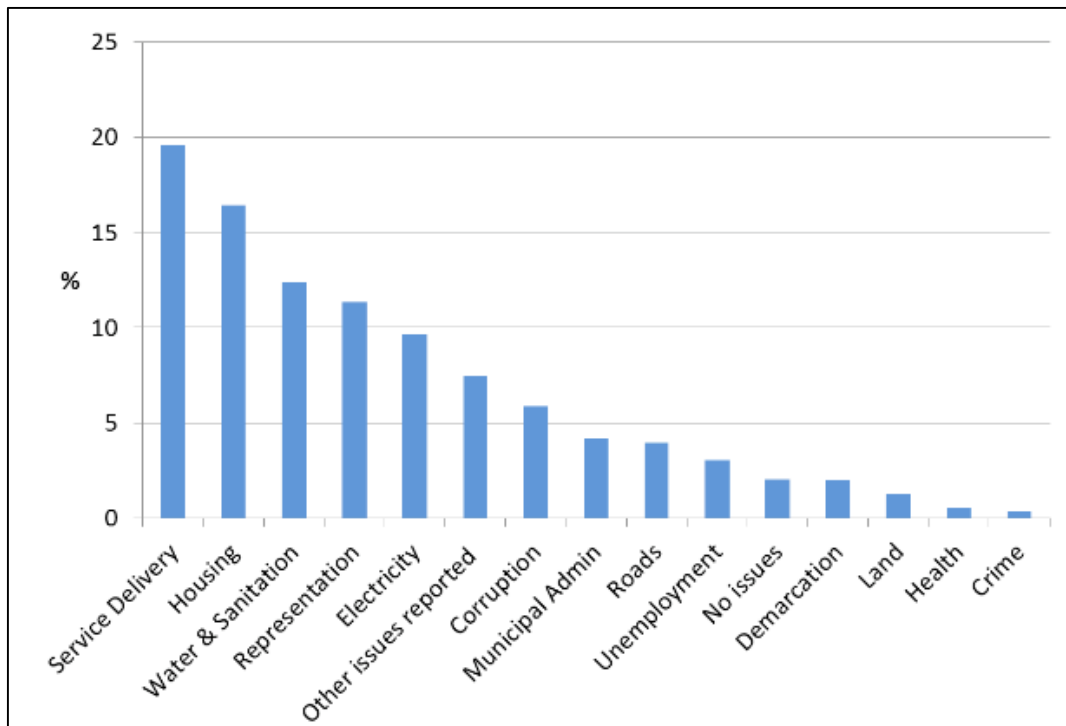
Graph 1 gives some indication of the number of protests recorded between 2004 and 2013 and highlights a steady increase, even though there are large fluctuations from year to year. While it could be assumed that protests spike ahead of elections, it has been stated that there is no clear connection between protests and elections (municipal or national) (Alexander et al., 2013). Alexander et al.(2013) show in their findings that 42.2 % of protests have been directed towards local municipalities followed by the Mayor (16.2 %) and local Councillors

(15.3 %). Moreover, the researchers found that close to half of the protest are organized by community organizations (Alexander et al., 2013).



Graph 1: Number of Recorded Protests 2004 – 2013 (Alexander et al., 2013)

As outlined above, there are varying assumptions as to why people chose protest and what their actual grievances are. Graph 2 shows various grievances and indicates some of the dominant reasons for protests is related to service delivery (approximately 20 % of registered protest) (Alexander et al., 2013). However, there has been disagreement amongst authors and two different approaches can be identified regarding the underlying grievances cited by protesters (Alexander, 2010). Booysen (2007) sees service delivery protest as merely an expression of the dissatisfaction with the quality as well as overall delivery of services. Pithouse (2003), this is not reasonable and he rejects this economic point of view and instead argues that service delivery protests should be looked at in a broader context of citizenship, social inclusion and participation. While both offer very different points of analysis the two approaches may not necessarily exclude one another but reflect a comprehensive approach to the phenomenon. Alexander et al. (2013) argue that protest also raises concerns of the quality of democracy and the failure of authorities to address underlying socio-economic issues.



Graph 2: Complaints Addressed by Protest as Percentage of all Registered Protest (Alexander et al., 2013)

2.7 Theoretical Framework

To understand how hydropolitics has been shaped in eThekweni Municipality and what the impact of civil society organizations like the WFRA had on these outcomes, one has to look at the broader dynamics of state-civil society relations. To understand how civil society organizations have been influential in decision making and have shaped the hydropolitics in Durban, attention should be drawn to the bi-dimensional relation of civil society and governance in democratic states (Pyykkönen, 2015). Several approaches to the study of civil society and civil society-state relations can be found in the literature. This study adopted a Foucauldian approach, which serves as a tool to investigate and study the power relationship between civil society and Government. While in the traditional comprehension of Government, the state has been at the center, holding authority and acting as a legitimate executor of power, in modern state theory, ‘governance’ is no longer understood as state centric (Pyykkönen, 2015). Therefore, other actors including civil society have gained significance in decision-making and as a counter-balance to state power (Pyykkönen, 2015).

The debate of “*modern governmentality*” has brought a new wave of alternative governance arrangements and concepts (Pyykkönen, 2015, p. 21). French philosopher Michel Foucault (1991) rejects the state-centric analysis of political authority and offers an approach to what he calls governmentality or the “*conduct of conduct*”. Davoudi (2016) provides a definition of this:

“Governmentality positions the state within the wider field of government and points to the existence of diverse and diffused forms of power in everyday life. Defining governmentality as ‘the conduct of conduct’ implies a complex web of power / knowledge relations in which knowing and governing the self is intertwined with knowing and governing others” (p. 3).

It is this diffusion of power that has gained attention in the literature, e.g. Swyngedouw (2005) states that such innovative governance arrangements have started to challenge and initiate changes to the traditional state-centered approach to governance. The author refers to this phenomenon as “*governance-beyond-the-state*” (p. 1991) which gives a greater role in planning, decision-making as well as administration to non-state actors, such as the private sector and parts of civil society (Swyngedouw, 2005). According to Swyngedouw (2005) the emergence and proliferation of these new and more open forms of governance are however not challenged by the state, but instead often actively encouraged as they provide an important source of legitimacy and may further increase efficiency. For Swyngedouw (2005), it becomes clear that several forms of governance beyond the state already exist and have become an inherent part of a more inclusive development process. Swyngedouw (2005) further notes that a stronger focus on local political and economic arrangements and the increased inclusion of civil society organizations into processes of urban governance have been potentially empowering and enhancing democracy.

At the heart of Foucault’s theory is the understanding that while coerce and discipline are significant means to exercise control over populations, the permanent use of force in liberal states is not possible, and therefore self-discipline or guided self-interest is used to establish norms, habits and beliefs to direct people in the ‘right’ direction (Li, 2007). According to Li (2007), Foucault used the term “*conduct of conduct*” to describe the way in which government shapes the behavior of citizens by calculated means. As Foucault (1991) states the main aim for governments to do so is its self-interest to secure well-being, health and longevity to increase or improve the overall welfare and condition of the population. For Pyykkönen (2015) modern governmentality is:

“[...] dependent on the freedom and activeness of individuals and groups of society. Civil society is thus analyzed as fundamentally ambivalent: on the one hand civil society is a field where different kinds of technologies of governance meet the lives and wills of groups and individuals, but on the other hand it is a potential field of what Foucault called ‘counter-conduct’ – for both collective action and individual political action” (p.8).

In terms of this study a Foucauldian approach to protest does not seem useful at first due to Foucault’s absolute and pessimistic interpretation of power (Pyykkönen, 2010). Although, looking closely at Foucault’s theory offers several points for resistance. Schulzke (2015) highlights that in Foucault’s understanding power is not held by one individual nor group but can be found everywhere and in every relationship. As Foucault (1976) points out:

“[...] power is not something that is divided between those who have it and hold it exclusively, and those who do not have it and are subject to it. Power must, I think, be analyzed as something that circulates, or rather as something that functions only when it is part of a chain. It is never localized here or there, it is never in the hands of some, and it is never appropriated in the way that wealth or a commodity can be appropriated. Power functions. Power is exercised through networks, and individuals do not simply circulate in those networks; they are in a position to both submit to and exercise this power” (p. 29).

According to Schulzke (2015), Foucault divides in his theory among different forms of power, such as social control, domination, oppression and surveillance. In his understanding of governmentality, knowledge takes a central role and is constantly created and transformed. As Schulzke (2015) further points out, power is also the ability to produce truth, which is in turn continuously transformed and recreated by power. On the one hand, innovative governance may potentially allow for better inclusion of marginalized social groups and can result in greater openness of governance. However, on the other hand it should be noted that very often the state sets the rules for the engagement of citizens in these “invited” spaces of engagement. A more detail discussion of “invited” spaces can be found in the section below. Moreover, Swyngedouw (2005) also points to the dangers of such arrangements and the risk that the state increasingly loads responsibility onto citizens and may not be held accountable for decision-making anymore. Furthermore, there may be an issue of non-transparency of such governance approaches which also involve the impact of political, economic and socio-cultural élites (Swyngedouw, 2005). According to Galvin (2016), there may be two extremes

when it comes to the state- community relationship and the provision of services. In the first, the state is overpowering and community participation is merely a “tick the box” affair and at worst a mockery. In the second, the state withdraws and all responsibility is placed on the community (Galvin, 2016). None of these two seems particularly favorable for an effective and just approach to service delivery. Therefore, a middle way is necessary to overcome the short falls of either these scenarios. Finding this balance in the state- community partnership is not only a ‘valuable instrument’ to effective service delivery but also in the nature of a democracy (Galvin, 2016). The author Cox (1999) follows a similar approach and states:

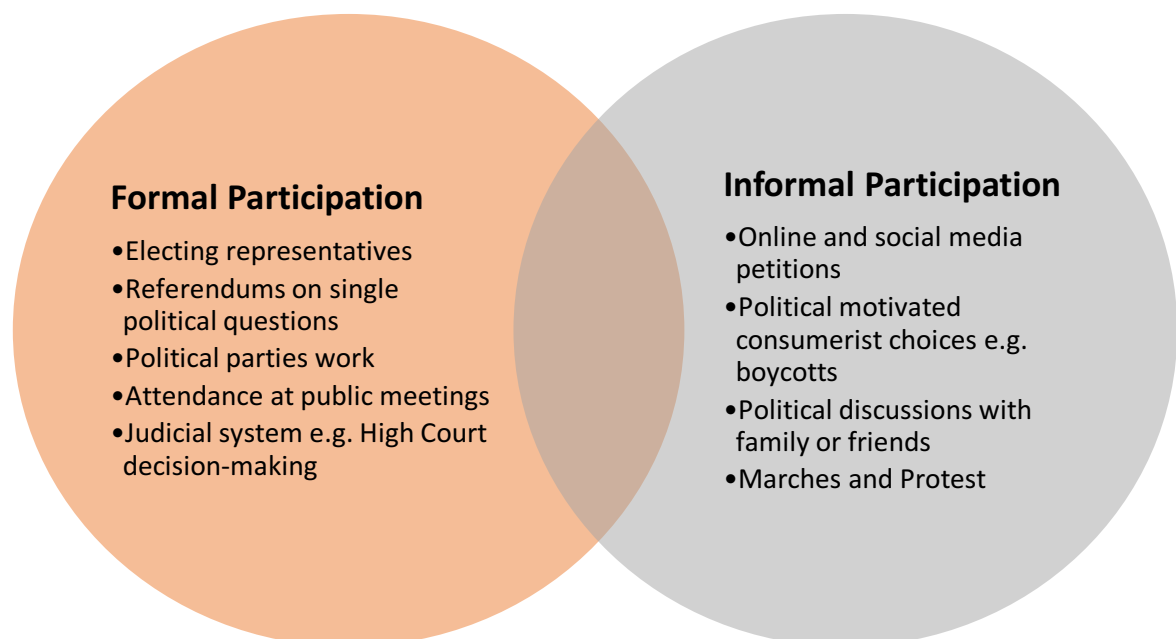
“The political space between constituted authority and the people is the terrain on which civil society can be built. A weak and stunted civil society allows free rein to exclusionary politics and covert powers. An expansive participant civil society makes political authority more accountable and reduces the scope for exclusionary politics and covert activity” (Pp. 13-14).

In the study of hydropolitics, Foucault’s ideas can offer some useful points for the discussion, as his theory provides guidance on the way in which the government has influenced the water debate. Foucault’s ideas on “*biopolitics*” (2008) can provide a helpful and interesting point for analysis in hydropolitics. As van Schnitzler (2008) states, South African municipalities have established a biopolitical relationship between the state and the citizens. In this way water infrastructures were used to control and regulate citizens and ultimately turn them into “responsible” and “moral” subjects (Van Schnitzler, 2008). This can be observed through the introduction of prepaid water-meters and flow-limiters which aim to turn citizens into self-controlling agents who take charge of their water consumption and eventually conserve water (van Schnitzler, 2008). Hellberg (2014) focuses on what has been termed “*hydromentality*”, which reflects the “[...] *mentalities, rationalities and techniques through which water users, as well as water use, are governed*” (p. 226). Hellberg (2014) further makes an important remark on how “*hydromentality*” does not only shape people’s access to water but also their behavior towards water usage as well as their self-perception as citizens. These aspects can be observed in the use of technical devices including water meters or flow limiters but further in differences in sanitation solutions (Hellberg, 2014).

2.7.1 Political Participation – Invited and Invented Spaces of Citizenship

After exploring the relationship between state and civil society, this study seeks to take a closer look at the spaces of engagement through which people seek to influence the decision-making processes that shape their lives. Political participation has largely been understood through formal and informal participation which aims to achieve influence in the public, private or a third sector (Lamprianou, 2013). Formal political participation focuses on official forums as well as process, such as voting in election of representatives (local-, national- and in some cases, supranational level e.g. European Parliament) it directs involvement through referendums on single political questions up for vote, or other formal processes such as through political parties and attendance at public meetings (UN, 2012). Informal political participation, on the other hand, can be understood as those ‘bottom-up’ activities that take place outside the official setting. Protest, activism and campaigns in their various forms, e.g. the arts, online and social media petitions, political motivated consumerist choices like purchase or boycott of products, but also discussing political matters with family or friends, can be mentioned here (UN, 2012). These examples are not exhaustive and new forms of participation may emerge (Lamprianou, 2013). Moreover, formal and informal spaces are not isolated from one another but overlap, and people may move from one to the other promptly. While presenting very different methods of participation, both are considered important for a well flourishing democracy (UN, 2012).

Figure 1: Channels of Political Participation



Participation of citizens in political decision making is not a new topic and has over the last century began to transform significantly. In 1969 Arnstein explored citizen participation through what she called ‘a ladder of citizen participation’. Arnstein (1969) distinguishes in her model between eight steps between ‘non-participation’ to ‘citizen power’ and points to the risks of ‘empty rituals’. South Africa has experienced a transformation of the political arena and a decentralization of the state, strengthening the local government. However, there has also been a selective opening and closing of spaces of democracy, according to Desai (2002). On the one hand, more people were provided means of formal participation, especially through the local councils and Ward Committees moving decision-making closer to the individuals. On the other hand, people have also been continuously pushed into informality through housing evictions and cut offs from basic services (Desai, 2002; Miraftab, 2004).

Miraftab (2004), in taking a feminist approach, rejects the binary concept of formal and informal and highlights that community-based activism has been most successful as part of the informal arena especially for the disadvantaged. Miraftab (2004) builds her argument on the point that often informal spaces have been criminalized as “extremist” and thus do not give recognition to collective action in the informal arena. Miraftab introduces the concept of “invited” and “invented” spaces where citizenship is lived and shaped (2004, p. 1). “Invited” spaces are according to Miraftab “[...] *the ones occupied by those grassroots and their allied non-governmental organizations that are legitimized by donors and government interventions*” (2004, p. 1). Galvin refers to those invited spaces as those where citizens engage within the “*pre-defined parameters*” offered by the state (2016, p.124). Therefore, the state holds the power over these spaces and determines the rules of participation. On the other hand, “invented” spaces “[...] *are those, also occupied by the grassroots and claimed by their collective action, but directly confronting the authorities and the status quo*” (Miraftab, 2004, p. 1). While “invited” spaces are seen as “[...] *coping mechanisms and propositions to support survival of their informal membership* [...]”; “invented” spaces aim to challenge the ‘status quo’ and the dominant power relations; therefore the long-term goal is to achieve social change (Miraftab, 2004, p. 1).

Again, “invited” and “invented” spaces are not mutually exclusive and can be used simultaneously where they apply and present the best fit to the grassroots struggle at any given time (Miraftab, 2004). In the discussion of access to rights and spaces in the urban setting, Miraftab’s ideas can provide an important tool for analysis. While the study does not take a feminist approach, there are good reasons to argue from a feminist perspective. In an attempt to reshape the concept of citizenship and rights the experiences of community organizations such as the WFRA can have valuable impact and offer new solutions to expand the concept of citizenship and make the hidden (informal) spaces visible and overcome the rigid separations of formal and informal (Miraftab, 2004).

The importance of “invented” spaces and grassroots activism has found widespread acknowledgement in the literature. While using a different theoretical approach, and following Gramsci’s ideas of hegemony and counter-hegemonic forces Carin Runciman (2011) argues that resistance comes not “[...] *from some disembodied oppositional consciousness but from long-standing community institutions where people are able to penetrate the common sense that keeps most passive in the face of injustice [...]*” (p. 611). Amongst academics there is often a false dichotomy between the formal, organized, systemic resistance and informal, unorganized resistance with “*no revolutionary consequences*” (Runciman, 2011, p. 611). However, this ignores the fact that a considerable aspect of resistance happens in invisible and unnoticed day-to-day actions of protest and resistance (Runciman, 2011). While according to Alexander (2010) social movements have mainly focused on the local level, they have more and more take on issues of national government response including land, housing or jobs and therefore shifting the debate of social justice to a broader level (Alexander, 2010). Dale McKinley (2004) on the other hand highlights that in many poor communities “*it is through the activities of the new social movements that an increasing number of people experience and practice meaningful democracy*” (p. 12). This is an important step in a young democracy with a long-standing tradition of racism and oppression.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter the research approach, design and the methodological methods used to achieve the study objectives and answer the research questions are outlined.

As stated in Chapter I, the objectives of this study are; *firstly*, to explore eThekweni Municipality's current approach to community participation in hydropolitics. *Secondly*, to understand different activist strategies towards participation in hydropolitics in the WFRA community. *Thirdly*, to evaluate the effectiveness of different strategies of community activism in shaping water governance in the Municipality, and *fourthly*, to understand how the community perceives its contribution in shaping water politics in eThekweni Municipality.

To reach these objectives, the study was guided by the following research questions;

- 1) How have various activist strategies shaped hydropolitics in Durban?
- 2) What are the experiences of community members regarding their participation in issues of water services?
- 3) How far do these strategies contribute to a broader governmentality approach including decision making in local government?
- 4) Has community involvement in water activism changed their perception of politics and citizenship?

3.2 Selected Paradigm

The study is guided by a social constructivist paradigm that influences the research process and informs the choices of research design as well as methods adapted. A social constructivist approach is based on the “*assumption that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences, meanings directed toward certain objects or things*” (Creswell, 2014, p. 37). Therefore, the research was interested in identifying the variety of meanings rather than having a narrowed focus on a few ideas or perspectives. The respondents' views as well as

their interaction with other members of the community were essential for the research. In contrast to a post-positivist approach, which has a set theory as its starting point, a social constructivist approach aims to generate a theory or generate a pattern of meaning (Creswell, 2014). Therefore, interviews as well as observations and general discussions are important sources of information to gain a comprehensive understanding of the participants' views on the issue of interest. The interview adapted a broad, open-ended style of questions that gave people the freedom to answer questions openly and construct meaning through their own history and experiences. For this research, it was therefore, crucial to understand the underlying historical and current, social, economic, cultural and political factors which might influence participant's views. Hence, attention was given to those factors at all stages of the research process. Furthermore, the paradigm acknowledged the sensitive role of the researcher and the understanding that personal background and experiences have effects on the understanding and interpretation of information (Creswell, 2014). While an open research design is crucial for a constructivist approach one should be careful and sensitive to own bias which might influence the research outcomes and, moreover, data should be carefully documented to prevent that valuable information is lost.

3.3 The Qualitative Design

To gain a deeper understanding of the perceptions, feelings and experiences of the people involved in hydropolitics in Durban and particularly the Westcliff community, a qualitative case study design was selected. According to Quartaroli (2009), the analysis of qualitative data allows the detection of patterns and meaning attributed to certain events or situations and to get a better understanding of *why* and *how*. It therefore enabled the researcher to explore the situation under study from a closer angle and get a much more detailed understanding of the meanings individuals or groups attribute to a social problem (Creswell, 2014). Qualitative research is hence a way to embrace the individual experience and meaning and can help to understand the complexity of situations, which may not be possible from a broader, more distant perspective. Exploring the specific case of the WFRA allows for an in-depth analysis of the current situation and the processes that shape hydropolitics from a communities' perspective.

The study design chosen for this dissertation includes both primary and secondary research to reduce the chance of bias and to obtain data collection from a variety of sources. As cases are bound by time and activity, detailed information was collected, using a “*variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time*” (Creswell, 2014, p. 43).

The first part of the objectives was approached through a review of the relevant, existing literature. The review included a range of online source material such as journal articles, online news and research reports as well as print media such as books, articles and research reports. The review also used information from statistical databases such as Statistics South Africa’s 2016 census data. The key terms used for the literature search included: service delivery, social protest, South African civil society, hydropolitics, governmentality.

The second part was based on in-depth interviews with members of the WFRA as well as with officials from the Municipality working in the area of water and community participation to acquire a detailed understanding of the specific case at hand. The interviews followed a standardized open-ended interview guide which served more as a general guidance for the researcher but questions were asked in an unstructured way to allow for an open discussion. In this way, there was room for comparability of interview outcomes while at the same time allowing for a narrative response from participants. Moreover, the study made use of information gained during conversations and meetings with the community as well as observations made during field visits to have a broad range of information. A copy of the interview guide can be found in Appendix 2.

In order to assure trustworthiness (internal validity) of the study, multiple forms of data were included in the research. In this case the data collection included a range of data sources such as interviews, field notes and observations, other documents as well as audiovisual material. This process, also referred to as “*triangulation*”, is an important step to state or describe a specific event or situation in the most trustworthy way and limits the chance for bias (Creswell, 2013).

3.4 Sampling Strategy

For this study, a non-probability sampling strategy was adopted to select the participants. The quality of information was crucial for this study and should therefore outweigh the number of interviewees. To reach this aim, a purposive sampling strategy was adapted, whereby

participants were selected based on their experience and knowledge of a certain situation to help the researcher to gain in-depth information of the event under study. The participants for this study were selected from three groups, namely the WFRA community, local politician such as the Ward Councillor as well as the eThekweni Water and Sanitation Unit. While interviews with the WFRA community intend to understand the access to water as well as the involvement in community activism from the perspective of the people on the ground, the other two groups of participants served to gain a better understanding of the formal, political aspects of hydropolitics in Durban. A total of 12 participants (see Table 1) from the three interest groups were selected and interviewed including: nine with the WFRA community, two with officials from EWS and 1 with the Ward Councillor (Ward 70). While having a smaller sample-size was cost and time effective, the main aim here was to focus on in-depth data from specifically information-rich cases. To make the first introduction to potential participants the researcher used the information obtained from gatekeepers from the three groups to establish a first contact. The first introduction to the WFRA and their leader Orlean Naidoo was made by Helen Poonen who had previously worked with the Centre of Civil Society at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and was therefore easy to reach for the researcher. After the first introduction, the researcher scheduled a meeting with the WFRA leader to discuss the way ahead and the possible selection of interview partners. Due to time constraints on the side of the WFRA and the circumstance that the researcher was new to the study area it was decided to select another member of the organization who assisted to select further interview partners. In this way, nine members were identified and were willing to participate in the interviews and were further available on the selected days.

For the second group of interview participants from EWS the initial contact to the authority was made by an insider the researcher had previously worked with. After the first introduction, two officials from the department were identified as being suitable and available for the interviews and appointments were scheduled. The Ward Councillor, who is responsible for Ward 70, including the areas Silverglen, Bayview and Westcliff, was individually approached on one field visit to the Westcliff area. The Councillor is the formal link between the community and the Municipality and is elected by the community. It was therefore crucial to include him in the research to get better insights into the community and the way they engage with the Municipality.

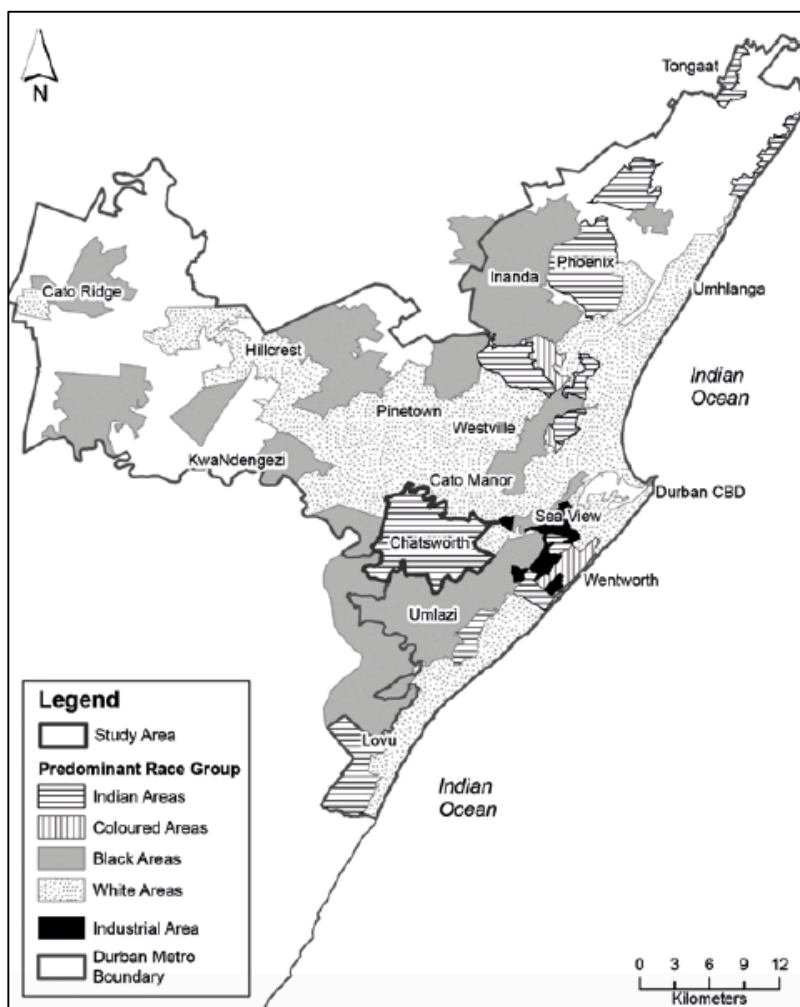
Table 1: Outline of Participants for Qualitative Interviews

Type of Respondent	Workplace/ Setting	Themes	Tool	Number	Total
Policy maker	eThekwini Municipality (Water & Sanitation Unit)	Water policy-maker, service provider	Key Informant Interviews	2	2
Activist	Westcliff WFRA	Leader of community organization	Key Informant Interviews	1	1
Community	Westcliff Flats	Recipients of services, currently active or have participated in community activism in the past	General Interviews	8	8
Ward Councillor		Custodian of the people, policy implementation	Key Informant Interview	1	1
Total					12

3.5 Study Location

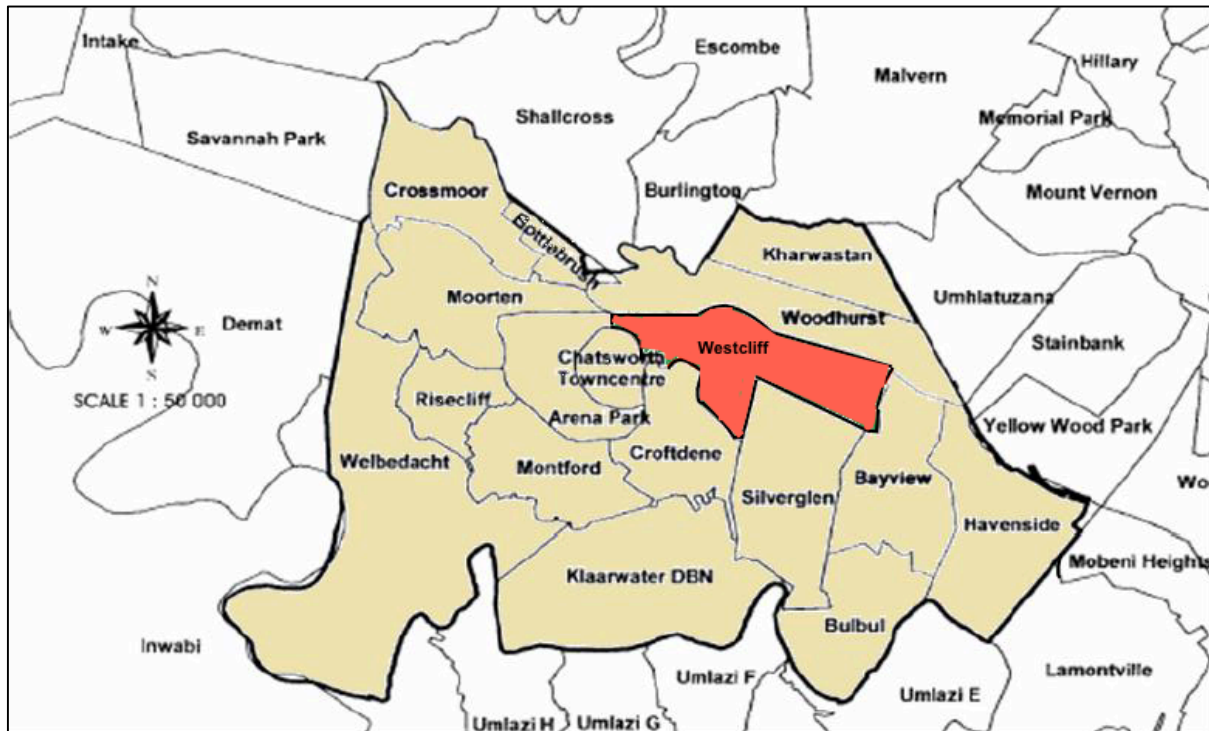
The former Durban township Chatsworth provides an interesting and important site in South African history. Over the years Chatsworth has witnessed many historic events. Gandhi made a stop here in 1893, on his South Africa journey and his nonviolent protest movement. In later years, it became the showground for anti-neoliberal protests movements including the Concerned Citizens Forum challenging post-apartheid policies and their harmful effects on the poor. His extensive work on the township led author Ashwin Desai (2002) to refer to Chatsworth as both a “*place and a struggle*” (p. 4). The township which is located 30 km south-east of Durban’s city center, was created in the 1960s, at the time of the apartheid regime’s “*racist social engineering*” (Desai & Vahed, 2013, p. 1) approach to town planning and can be understood as a direct result of the Group Areas Act from 1950 (No.41) (Desai & Vahed, 2013). Following the overall crude approach of racial segregation, the area was reserved for those classified as “*Indian*” as well as “*Other Asiatics*” (Desai & Vahed, 2013, p. 2). The mass evictions and the resulting resettlement in the townships, often had negative effects on the people, depriving them of long standing, established social networks and job

opportunities (Desai & Vahed, 2013). Moreover, the need to build houses for the township dwellers in rapid time often led to inadequate quality of buildings and a lack of overall town planning which was also visible by the lack of infrastructure including roads, sewage, drainage and electricity (Desai & Vahed, 2013). These measures specifically aimed at the Indian population, who were regarded as foreigners or ‘aliens’ under the apartheid regime and denied basic rights including the right to citizenship (Desai & Vahed, 2013, p. 22). Nonetheless, Chatsworth, initially created as an ‘artificial’ space, was soon taken over by its residents who transformed the township into a “*living, breathing landscape*” (Desai & Vahed, 2013, p. 5). In 2011, Chatsworth was home to 196 580 people mainly of Indian (60%) origin but also increasingly witnessing the inflow of Black Africans (38%) (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The greater Chatsworth area is divided into 14 subsections with varying income distribution ranging from impoverished dwellings to upper class buildings (Hinely, Hoffman & Naidoo, 2012).



Map 1: Historic City Map of Durban, Indicated Racial Segregation

The focus of this study is on the Westcliff area, a Ward located at the heart of Chatsworth (see Map 2), with a population of 16 793 (3.45 km²), of which the vast majority is of Indian or Asian (92.21%) origin (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Westcliff as well as its neighboring district Bayview, belong to the poorer parts of Chatsworth.



Map 2: Study Location: Westcliff Area Map (Narsiah, 2002)

These subsections are somewhat hidden from the M1 Higginson Highway and consist of mainly pale pink, turquoise and orange colored, double-story buildings providing flats for up to 6 families. In 2000, Desai described the area as:

“At the very bottom of the ridge, where a valley is formed, the semi-detached flats mutate into huge, bulky tenement blocks, containing 6 families a piece. Here the poorest of the people of Chatsworth have been put to live and die. These are the proverbial third class coaches of the apartheid train; cramped, ugly, unsafe and hidden from view” (p. 15).

Almost two decades into democracy there has been little change in Westcliff, with many of the municipal owned flats in bad condition and the face of poverty still being all too visible. Many of those living in the flats are those left behind or forgotten.

3.5.1 Westcliff Flats Residents Association

The WFRA is a community organization formed in 1998, initially as a part of the Concerned Citizens Forum (CCF) (Hinley et al., 2012). The organization was founded by the residents to coordinate the struggles around basic services such as housing, electricity and water which were caused by a privatization of resources by the post-apartheid government (Waetjen & Vahed, 2013, p. 185). For many of those living in the small flat units, the post-apartheid period had resulted in worsening living conditions. Especially the closure of the nearby textile industry in Jacobs and Moberi worsened the living conditions of many who relied on the work in the factories as a source of income. These developments in the textile and other industries were driven by the national Government's commitment to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) suggested deregulation of trade and tariffs (Pithouse, 2003). Moreover, in an attempt to redistribute financial means to the black population, the ANC government "chopped" the maintenance grant by one third which had severe effects for many Indian families in the years following 1994 (Mottiar, Naidoo & Khumalo, 2011). Under the pressure of decreasing household income many in the community struggled to meet basic needs, resulting in shortfalls on rents as well as electricity and water bills. The Municipality responded in 1998 with eviction notices to those in arrears (Waetjen & Vahed, 2013). While the first eviction attempts were turned down through somewhat spontaneous community action, Westcliff residents soon began to form and organize their protest. The WFRA was a result of this formation.

While the WFRA has significantly more female members, members do not refer to the organization as a women's organization (Mottiar et al., 2011). The female dominance is a result of women being more engaged in community work and committed to achieve better outcomes for the whole community. Men on the other hand, have been described as (mentally) weaker and being "*too lazy*" to join regular meetings and other activities (Mottiar et al., 2011, p. 125). Moreover, many of the women in Westcliff have been affected by unemployment which has especially severe effects on women in single headed households. Therefore it has been stated that many women fight for themselves and are more willing to give time to commit to community work (Mottiar et al., 2011). Other than that, the WFRA does not address predominantly female issues but is active on a broad range of 'bread and butter' issues, including access to basic services and improving living conditions for the poor,

which affect the community as a whole. Nonetheless, women play a significant role in community activism in Westcliff as well as in other places across the city.

3.6 Data Collection

The data collection for this study took place between January and July 2017. The interviews took place face-to-face and the researcher performed the interviews in the participants' settings.

The first part of the data collection focused on the Westcliff Flats Residents Association and involved a total of six visits from the researcher to the Westcliff community. The field visits consisted of interviews, attendance at general community meetings, workshops, prayer groups and general observational tours through the Westcliff area. The visits were either planned beforehand or spontaneously arranged by WFRA leader Orlean Naidoo. On two of these occasions in-depth interviews with the WFRA leader took place while two other site visits were specifically scheduled for the purpose of interviews with other members of WFRA as well as the general community. All interviews took place after consultation with the WFRA leader and were in most instances personally arranged by the leadership or by one other WFRA member. Further, the researcher was always accompanied by a WFRA member during the site visits, who would make the introduction to the interview partner.

In this way 9 interviews with WFRA and community members were conducted, using the standardized interview guide. The interviews ranged from 15 to 30 minutes and took place at people's homes, outside in the yard or at the school where the WFRA generally meets. There was no audio recording taken to capture the information, but the researcher took notes and transcribed the interview promptly. The decision not to have audio recordings was made for several reasons such as the aspect that the interviews did not take place in quiet, isolated environments, which would have caused noise pollution and hence risked that parts of the interview would get lost. Another aspect was that a recording device could make people feel uncomfortable, especially when they are not trained in public speaking and therefore a more informal technique was adapted. Moreover, notes of general conversation during the visits as well as community meetings were taken to gain additional information and to deepen the understanding of dynamics within the community and the WFRA.

The decision to interview people in their homes was made to allow for a more comfortable and intimate environment, in which interviewees have the chance to address the issues they are confronted with and point them out to the researcher. This allows for a better impression and understanding compared to a neutral setting. While the time frame for most interviews conducted was rather short and may undermine an in depth understanding, it was realized by the researcher that most women interviewed did simply not have more time as they were often in charge of all kinds of daily activities including cooking, cleaning or taking care of the children. Therefore, expanding the interviews or arranging additional meetings would have been infeasible and slowed down the research process as well as the willingness to participate. During the interviews it was attempted where possible to arrange for as much privacy as possible to allow for a non-judgmental and comfortable environment that permits people to answer questions without the interference of others. However, in reality it was often more difficult than anticipated as people constantly walk in or other activities were interrupting the interview. Nonetheless, at no point did the researcher experience the feeling that people would not feel able to speak freely or felt intimidated by others during the interviews. This is also based on the close relationship many of the women seem to have in the community and which is reflected in the familiar terms amongst them during general meetings or privately. The second part of the data collection focused on the eThekweni's Water and Sanitation unit as an important stakeholder in local government and specifically in the area of water related services. The meetings took place at the offices of the respective interview partners and lasted around 20 to 30 minutes. Again, no audio recording was taken during the interview, but handwritten notes and transcripts were prepared by the researcher. Even though the conditions were more formal in this case the decision was made in order to establish a private and relaxed environment which may encourage people to speak freely and therefore reflect on their own experiences rather than the institution's approach to certain circumstances. The third part of data collection focused on the local Ward Councillor. The interview took place in July 2017 at his office in Chatsworth. The meeting comprised an interview of approximately 30 minutes and 1 hour general discussion.

3.7 Data Analysis

The data analysis of the qualitative interviews followed a cyclic process and was done throughout the data collection process to allow the researcher to go back and forth and gain a better understanding of the situation and go back to the field to resolve unclear questions or gather further information. Moreover, an inductive and deductive data analysis method was adapted. In the first step the bottom-up or inductive method allows the researcher to build the themes, retrieved from the data from the bottom-up into more abstract and broader components. This step is repeated until the researcher has established a comprehensive set of themes (Creswell, 2014). The inductive method is then followed by a deductive or top-down method to ensure that the broader themes are supported by the evidence of the initial data (Creswell, 2014). This process allowed the research to identify possible gaps and decide then if more data has to be gathered. The first step therefore in the analysis of the data was to transcribe and organize the data. As the sample size in this study was rather small no computer program such as NVivo was used to code, structure and analyze the data. After all interviews were transcribed the researcher started to label and categorize the data with the help of codes. This allowed the researcher to sort and eventually compare the data and to observe patterns and themes in the responses. The coding process followed an open approach, whereby the data is analyzed multiple times to identify the sets of codes rather than working with preset codes. From this step the codes were summarized to various themes.

3.8 Limitations of the Study

There are some limitations to this study that should be mentioned especially with regard to the collection of primary data. First, the access to the study community and the selection of interview partners was highly controlled by the WFRA chairperson who took responsibility to identify possible interview partners and who decided on the meeting dates. It was pointed out to the researcher that no own initiative to collect data in the community was tolerated. To respect these circumstances, the researcher included the WFRA leadership in every step of the data collection in the community and did not contact community members without the knowledge of the leadership. Through the strong exercise of control there is a high chance that information could be manipulated through selection bias as respondents might have been selected based on favorable information about the WFRA and not their true experiences or positions. While this may pose serious concerns for the trustworthiness of information, care

was taken to include a wider range of people such as the EWS and the local Councillor to overcome these problems and gain a comprehensive image of the study area. On the other hand, the detailed documentation of observations during community meetings and general conversation made it possible to gain a better understanding of the dynamics within the community. Another more technical limitation was the absence of a recording device, which would have allowed for a more accurate collection of data and would allow the researcher to speak more freely without having to worry about the transcription/notes, and therefore could have given more attention to the interview partner instead of focusing on taking notes. However, as mentioned before the decision to take handwritten notes was based on the context and need to maintain an informal setting. As in any study the quality of data and information is crucial and hence precautions should be taken to limit bias. To assure the quality of data the researcher should listen carefully to participants, record all material accurately, include peer reviews and feedback at all stages of the research process, be sensitive to one's own objectivity and not guide the readers to a specific assumption (Spencer et al., 2003). Comprehensive and honest reporting of all findings as well as careful documentation of all information and findings is another important factor. This includes notes taken during fieldtrips, transcriptions of interviews and conversations, search strategies for literature and so forth. These steps helped to achieve transparency during the research process (Spencer et al., 2003).

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The well-being and protection of the interview partners is the utmost concern in the research process. The opinions, needs, values and rights of the respondents must be respected throughout the research process. While all participants were informed prior to the study as to the objectives of the research and gave their oral or written consent (see Appendix 4), it was also at all times ensured that participants were comfortable and where necessary interviews were interrupted. Moreover, the privacy of the participants was assured through confidentiality of participants and data. The data was saved carefully on a securely stored hard drive that could only be accessed by the researcher and the supervisor. Another critical aspect is that people may feel 'used' for the purpose of gaining information which may lead to a hesitant or even hostile attitude towards the researcher. It was therefore crucial to ensure from the beginning that the findings will be communicated back to the community e.g. during

a workshop, community meeting or discussion groups. Therefore, a community meeting will be initiated shortly after the finalization of the dissertation to inform people what their information are used for and also create a platform for discussion and mutual learning.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Hydropolitics – the Durban Experience

This chapter presents the findings of this study based on the in-depth interviews as well as observations and notes from meetings attended during the research process.

The decision “*who gets what [water], when, where and how*” (Turton, 2002, p. 16) is dependent on various factors including available infrastructure, environmental factors and needs of the community. Decisions in hydropolitics, therefore, should be made after a careful evaluation process of the various factors. Moreover, the process often includes different stakeholders who will further shape and influence decision-making at local as well as national level. In the following chapter observations and interviews with key informants from the field of hydropolitics in Durban are analyzed considering various perspectives on the topic.

With respect to water service delivery, eThekweni Water and Sanitation (EWS) notes significant improvements in the provision as well as quality of services over the last decade (Interview#1 EWS). According to EWS, the delivery of basic water and sanitation services to disadvantaged communities has drastically improved and more people have access to basic water services than before. One official states:

“There have been lots of improvement in the provision of basic water and sanitation services, especially to disadvantaged communities that have previously not been attended to. Also, improvements can be noticed in rural areas and informal settlements, which have now access to clean and safe water and sanitation through ablution facilities. We now provided to all 500 informal settlements with water and sanitation through these facilities. Otherwise there is also other upgrades that have taken place such as new water pipes, better quality in urban areas can also be noticed” (Interview#1 EWS).

These were, in the eyes of the Municipality, crucial steps to ensure the health of the population and prevent the outbreak of diseases (Interview#2 EWS) as well as redressing the inadequate approach to service delivery of the past. Two thirds of the population of

eThekwini Municipality have access to piped water in their homes and around 11 % have water taps in their yards while 17% have to obtain water from public taps (Statistics South Africa, 2016). With regard to sanitation, improvements have been made connecting 70% of people to flush toilets, while only 2% have no access to toilets at all (Statistics South Africa, 2016). Besides the extension of services there has also been attendance to issues of debt relief and the legalization of illegitimate water connections through a once-off fee payable by the household (Interview#1 EWS). These steps were taken to address the ongoing issue of non-payment and illegal connections, leading to massive losses in water and revenue for the Municipality. Moreover, it became clear that many people were simply not able to pay their water bills and were hence indefinitely cut-off from a water supply (Interview#1 EWS).

Besides the improvements, there are also several challenges remaining with regard to service backlogs and water scarcity. This has been compounded by the drought situation which has had severe effects on the provision of water, not only in Durban but in many municipalities across the country (Interview#2 EWS). Moreover, the Municipality is, according to one official, still battling with the lack of adequate infrastructure often because of shortcomings in certain areas due to Apartheid's town planning. Another challenging factor is to manage the expectations of people as one official stated "*People want things to be done like yesterday*" (Interview #1 EWS). Hence, there are considerable challenges with the time periods within which communities expect the Municipality to respond to issues.

"People don't care about internal Municipality structures they expect changes from one meeting to the other. Some processes however take between three months to one year for example for consultation, environmental impact assessments and so forth. Sometimes processes may even take up to two years!" (Interview#1 EWS).

While EWS is the main service provider for water related services, other stakeholders can play an important role in the decision-making processes and use their position to gain influence in policy making and implementation. At the local level, the Ward Councillors have a powerful position to act as a link or mediator between the Municipality and communities. According to the Westcliff Ward Councillor there are a number of challenges regarding water provision to the area such as issues with the existing infrastructure and control devices such as the flow limiters that are supposed to control and restrict the flow of water in houses. The Councillor mentions the incidents of burst pipes and water leaks which have increased after flow limiters were installed by the Municipality (Interview#1 Councillor).

“My personal opinion is that ever since they installed the water restrictors (water tickler) to reduce the flow/pressure of water in the houses we have seen more burst pipes and water leaks. eThekweni has lost millions of rand last year. The restrictors might be responsible for that. The problem is also that it takes 72h to get plumbers on site and there is a lack of service delivery. Incompetent people (plumbers) they have to come 4 or 5 times for the same issue, the same repair. Another problem is the overflowing of the storm water and the sewer which somehow seem to be connected. I don't know how that can be” (Interview#1 Councillor).

In general, he questions the competence of municipal plumbers and engineers as very often the same issue is attended to several times without success and therefore, in his view there has not been enough progress in the Westcliff area (Interview#1 Councillor). The Councillor states: *“Improvements are happening but too slow or I would rather say a very slow process. More needs to be done to contain these issues”* (Interview#1 Councillor). This highlights some of the issues specific to the Westcliff area. Westcliff, as outlined earlier is one of the poorer parts of Chatsworth and many of the houses here are poorly constructed and lack adequate service infrastructure.

4.2 The Westcliff Water Experience

Members of the community in Westcliff state that they noticed some improvements with regard to the accessibility of water, for example through the debt relief program as well as the Free Basic Water (FBW) policy. This is despite most Westcliff Flat Residents Association (WFRA) members state that the water provided free of charge is not sufficient for most households - e.g. a family of 8 having to share 300 litres per day (Interview#5 WFRA). As one WFRA member puts it: *“The bill is very high, it's always escalating. They give 300l per day but it's insufficient, we always pay on top”* (Interview#2 WFRA). Another woman states: *“It's fair we appreciate, but we use more than the free amount”* (Interview#4 WFRA). Overall, there is a great disappointment and dissatisfaction noticeable amongst the community. Frustrations occur over municipal services but also the precarious living conditions. The flats inhabited by the study community members are in disastrous shape, some have worrying cracks reaching from wall to wall, while others do not fare well in heavy rainfall leading to indoor flooding and damp (Researchers own observation). They are almost always too small for the families that live in them with sometimes eight people in a 10m²

room. Housing is therefore a huge issue on its own and is further connected to issues of non-payment of rent and the ongoing conflict between the community and the Municipality over ownership and arrears. Other problems in the community is the situation of crime, unemployment and widespread poverty which leads to a state of uncertainty for many families (Interview#6 WFRA). As some women stated this uncertainty is further increased by the non-transparency of the billing systems and water cut-offs which occur often as a result of malfunctioning water meters. Some of the women interviewed also stated that they do not receive the free basic water and have to pay “*for every drip that comes out*” (Interview#8 WFRA). It was not clear to them why this was the case and whether it was their shortcoming or the Municipality’s fault. However, it clearly indicates a lack of information on the FBW policy, which would be required to save the family important resources.

Community members also criticized the system of water meters which, as stated by WFRA chairperson Orlean Naidoo, do not carry over water from one day to the other and therefore do not allow people to conserve water (Interview#1 WFRA). Moreover, the current billing system is not working very well, as many people do not receive bills for months or in some cases the address is inaccurate. This results in people receiving large bills or unexpectedly being cut off from the water supply (Interview#1 WFRA). The decision to write off debts was welcomed by the Westcliff community members, as many of them are single, female headed households who had been dealing with several challenges over the past years particularly the loss of employment (Interview#4 WFRA).

“It [the situation] has improved. Because previously to this we were not charged according to what we used. But after the organization (WFRA) came in and spoke to them a lot has changed there is now a partnership with the Municipality” (Interview#5 WFRA).

As these experiences show there are many challenges remaining despite considerable improvements in the area of water service provision. Some of these challenges may undermine past achievements if not addressed appropriately. Moreover, it could also be observed that often there is an underlying link between water related issues and general factors such as living conditions, housing, unemployment and poverty. Some of these issues may be beyond the scope of local government and fall under national government’s responsibilities, however they need to be addressed on all levels.

4.3 'Formal' Participation in Hydropolitics

Another important factor in local government decision-making is the engagement of communities. Looking at the relationship between the Municipality and communities is therefore crucial to understand communication as well as conflicts and is further essential in the debate and analysis of service delivery and resulting protest. While stating that protest has overall decreased in the Municipality, EWS acknowledges that there are still many issues that cause community uprisings (Interview#1 EWS). For example, having no or insufficient water is a common reason for protests as well as the feeling of being neglected by the Municipality (Interview#1 EWS). To address some of the challenges noted and to improve communication between communities and the Municipality, EWS has launched several programs. Many of EWS approaches to reach communities are based on educational programs or awareness campaigns to address water scarcity and to encourage people to conserve water (Interview#1 EWS). In order to reach communities, EWS launched a radio campaign which is running on several local stations informing people about current issues such as water conservation and scheduled water cuts. Moreover, street theatre plays have been successful in drawing people's attention to the issues of water conservation and raising general awareness (Interview#2 EWS).

For immediate issues of services delivery, the customer centre and the toll-free service number can be used to address problems and attain information (Interview#1 EWS). A concern when it comes to the involvement of communities in decision making is the late start of such initiatives, according to one EWS official it would have been helpful to start the interaction as soon as the second municipal expansion took place (Interview#1 EWS). This would have helped to deal with issues people had from the beginning as well as communicate EWS's visions to create mutual understanding. According to local officials where a lack of understanding exists, people choose protests as their medium of communication (Interview#1 EWS). While it has been stated that community involvement is not feasible at all stages of the decision-making process (Interview#2 EWS), it is well recognized that people have useful ideas and that cooperation can lead to desirable outcomes on both sides. Such has been seen for example in the case of FBW which was increased from 6kl to 9kl per month after intense community consultation (Interview#1 EWS). Another benefit of working closely with communities is the creation of jobs, small business opportunities and employment of local labour, contractors or manufacturers (Interview#1 EWS).

Besides these rather technical services, there have also been attempts on the part of the Municipality to include people in decision-making processes and consult with communities to prevent problems before they occur. For example, focus groups and meetings with the local Councillor and selected people from the ward are held quarterly by EWS to give both sides a chance to raise their concerns. Through these meetings a good partnership has been established with many communities indicating a successful approach to participation. Another project has been the platform Raising Citizen's Voices (RCV) which has been established to provide citizens with more channels of participation (Interview#1 EWS). The RCV program, piloted in Cape Town (Galvin, 2013), includes the Ward Councillors, community members and EWS officials and consists of two-day workshops, offering information and training to communities on water policies and laws as well as giving communities a chance to express their grievances (Interview#1 EWS).

The Councillor of Ward 70, also highlighted the importance of a new program 'Operation Sukuma Sakhe', launched in July 2017 and focusing on the creation of a platform for participation for the most marginalized groups in society (Interview#1 Councillor). The Councillor further pointed out that in his opinion he maintains a good working relationship with the Municipality as well as with the community; for him this is important to effectively address concerns on both sides (Interview#1 Councillor). In the Westcliff community at least one workshop on debt relief was offered by the Municipality and some of the women interviewed stated that they had attended the meeting and felt it was helpful for them. As one stated: *"Yes, I participated. It gave us an understanding about how the Municipality works with water and how they make decisions also on billing and the 9kl FBW"* (Interview#7 WFRA). Another, however, points some of the difficulties on the side of the community. *"Over the years yes [I have heard and participated in workshops], there are always small programs and campaigns. Education programs, attendance of people is a problem, people don't listen"* (Interview#3 WFRA).

Some also admitted that they would rather send their community leader to these meetings with the Municipality and get the information from her (Interview#6 WFRA). Hence, responses to the workshops are rather mixed and it seemingly does not reach everyone in the community. Besides the attempts on the side of local government to create spaces to involve communities, participation is understood in a rather narrowed way, with a strong focus on informing and consulting citizens rather than engaging with people on the ground.

Moreover, these programs do not seem to have resulted in genuine levels of understanding between EWS and communities. While not having specific knowledge of the Westcliff community one EWS official stated when asked how EWS views the current situation of service delivery protests in the Municipality “*EWS is not failing to provide. Blame God not us. If the people want to protest they must protest against God because the drought situation is beyond EWS’s control*” (Interview#2 EWS). While acknowledging the importance of environmental factors, e.g. as observed in the drought that affected large parts of the country including the KwaZulu-Natal province and Durban (SABC, 2017) followed by flash floods, this statement seems to be somewhat short-sighted and opens questions about responsibility and leadership in general.

Protest therefore remains a feature of local politics and a concern for the Municipality not least because they cause security issues for municipal personnel. As indicated by EWS officials’ communities often find ways to forcefully get the attention of the Municipality e.g. through scheduling false meetings with officials and then detaining them until tangible solutions are promised (Interview#1 EWS). In other cases, EWS officials have been held at gunpoint by frustrated citizens (Interview#2 EWS). While there have been no reports about such incidences in the Westcliff community, they do give an idea of the challenges faced by the Municipality and the acrimonious nature of the struggle for basic services in Durban.

The relationship between the community and the Municipality has changed significantly over the last few years from direct, violent confrontation towards a more cooperative and engaging approach. Even though communities and individuals can directly address issues with EWS through the customer center and community meetings, it is also crucial to understand the role of the Ward Councillor as a gatekeeper and mediator between the Westcliff community and the Municipality. Where the system works perfectly, he or she is responsible for consulting with the communities and channeling issues to a higher level. In the case of the Westcliff community it is striking that the role of the local Ward Councillor seems to be insignificant in comparison with the community organization, the WFRA as mentioned above. Even where people felt the local Councillor was helpful they feel it was mainly due to the WFRA leader Orlean Naidoo that officials from the Municipality engage with them. This assumption could be rather worrying from a local government point of view as it potentially undermines the democratic and elected structures it is built on. On the other hand, it may offer an opportunity

for new cooperation with leaders that are closely connected to and have the approval of the target community.

As mentioned before there are some formal spaces for citizen participation, created by the Municipality to allow for a more open approach to hydro politics. The findings indicated the importance of the different spaces to engage with people on the ground and to understand their needs and concerns while also using this platform to inform people about decision-making on a broader level. However, as the community pointed out there is yet a lack of participation and understanding in the Municipality's approach. One woman states "*they [the Municipality] need to put themselves in the community's shoes to experience the community's issues*" (Interview#5 WFRA).

Besides the educational approaches to raise awareness amongst the population and to sensitize them for the complex challenges with respect to water conservation, there is a need for a wider discussion and dialogue with communities. This was highlighted by several WFRA members who wish to be more included in the Municipality's decision-making processes. One woman clearly states

"More communication with the residents [is needed]. Every decision should go through the residents so that they [Municipality] understand the people on the ground. They [Municipality] don't consider the poor and everything they do is for the rich. Meetings and discussions and also workshops are very important also to educate the people..." (Interview#2 WFRA).

This highlights the issue of misunderstandings and perceptions that develop where communication is falling short. Unfortunately it also seems that often programs exist on paper but are not visible to the communities. The interviewed community members were for example not familiar with the programs such as 'Raising Citizens Voices' or 'Operation Sukuma Sakhe' and therefore could not provide impressions of their implementation.

In terms of the formal route of communication and participation of local government, the Ward Councillor can play an important role to mediate between the communities on the one hand and the Municipality on the other hand. Even though the local Ward Councillor in Westcliff was not central to community members, some still acknowledged the importance of this position. As one woman argues:

"The Councillor is the captain, he needs to deliver to the Municipality the concerns of his people. The community cannot fight against the Councillor, and go against the

only voice that can be heard at a higher level. We need peace and not war. Working together always we can achieve more. Violent protest are a waste of time, money and lives. Rather negotiate on the proper level” (Interview#3 WFRA).

Hence, the statement highlights the importance and the benefits of formal structures and procedures for community activism. While, most WFRA members do not attach importance to the role of the Councillor in terms of positive change there could yet be a chance of achieving better outcomes on both sides when all options are exhausted. Another important aspect that is connected to the position of the Ward Councillor is the existence of Ward Committees. These committees present important spaces for people to become formally involved in local political structures and address issues more directly with the Municipality. Therefore, these committees can potentially be meaningful for the community as well as the Councillor who can use these engagements to get first-hand information from the people on the ground and therefore present a better overview of the needs in the community. To become active in the Ward Committee can also be an important step to achieve legitimization and make one’s own work for the community more visible. However, committee members cannot simply join but have to be formally elected by the community.

During the research for this dissertation, WFRA made the decision to run for the local Ward Committee and managed to fill all available ten positions with its own members. This represents a new step in the organization’s strategy as compared to previous years where they were keen to be separate and autonomous from the political structures of local government. According to chairperson Naidoo, the step was taken as the organization felt it could have more influence from inside the system. However, after a couple of months it became apparent that the formal structures of the Ward Committee were difficult to combine with informal community work (Interview#1 WFRA). According to Naidoo, to “*follow the proper procedures*” can slow down or complicate the work between the community and the Municipality. Therefore, the WFRA questioned whether working within formal processes was more effective than working through the informal structures. This example highlights some of the underlying challenges in the cooperation between communities and local government. One of the main challenges that came up with regard to the cooperation between the Councillor and the WFRA was that service delivery had been politicized and are part of clashing party political interests. This focus on party politics has led to tensions and slowed down the progress and communication between the Councillor and the WFRA. This is

unfortunate as it undermines the potential these committees offer and may endanger the relationship between the different stakeholders.

4.4 'Informal' Participation – Community Protest and Activism

The Westcliff community has over the last two decades witnessed a multiplicity of protests, marches and community meetings. Over time the WFRA has been established as a strong community organization and has gained recognition. It has been argued by Mottiar et.al. (2011) that WFRA's strategies and tactics to address issues in their community have not followed conventional feminine tactics and often implied rather male associated actions. Amongst some of the strategies used are the physical removal of municipal water devices used to restrict or disconnect households from the water supply e.g. modification of the water 'trickler', replacement of pipes and restoring of water connections to the household (Mottiar et al., 2011, p 126).

The WFRA's technical response to water cut offs and insufficient services by restoring or destroying municipal devices has forced the Municipality back to the negotiation table as attempts to withhold services in response to non-payment failed. The Westcliff community has also resorted to court action as part of its resistance to water cut offs such as in 2000, when Christina Manquele took the Durban Transitional Metropolitan Council to court on the grounds of denial of the socio-economic right to basic water based on non-payment (Loftus, 2005; Mottiar et al., 2011). While the court ruled against the applicants it did so on the ground of a lack of guidance from the legislature or executive and hence, raised issues of comprehensive national legislation to clarify basic requirements and the right to water (Durban High Court, 2002). Over the decades the organization has also engaged in several basic methods of protest, including marching and delivering memoranda to local authorities, as well as forms of public disobedience (Mottiar, et al., 2011). This highlights that the WFRA is shifting between formal and informal or rather invited and invented spaces of participation and adjusts its strategy to its needs.

While the range of tactics seem to have made a great impact on the communities' water situation, it is the marches and protests that WFRA members believe are most successful. It was noted that there was some disagreement with the Municipality as to how positive changes, with regard to water provision, have been achieved in the Westcliff community. Despite the initiative from the Municipality there is a strong belief amongst the Westcliff

community that changes only occurred because of strong resistance and protest by the community, led by the WFRA. Simply stated by one member:

“If we didn’t go on the marches and the strikes we wouldn’t have what we have now. We really had to fight the Municipality for everything” (Interview#2 WFRA).

Others supported this view and referred to protest as the only effective agent of change:

“Writing memorandums is over, we have to fight for our rights. We have to stand up for ourselves to get the outcome. But it should be peaceful marches not violent. Like back in the days everyone assisted each other, black and white because everyone went through the same thing” (Interview#2 WFRA).

While most community members could not link specific actions of protest to tangible outcomes, there was a strong sense that non-violent protest and disobedience had positive effects on the situation of service provision by the Municipality. This view arises with respect to the community’s past disputes with the Municipality, which often took the form of harsh, violent altercations. As stated by community leader Naidoo in a 2009 radio interview the community could be described as a ‘rude crowd’ and was fighting hard against electricity and water cut offs as well as housing evictions which the Municipality had imposed. According to Naidoo, this was the only possible response to the harsh course and methods adapted by the Municipality including bringing in heavily armed security forces, teargas and police dogs to intimidate the community and push through their agenda (Naidoo, 2009). Eventually, the community registered some victories and the Municipality withdrew from their harsh approach of confrontation, giving room for discussion and negotiations. Back then, one of the main achievements was to stop the evictions by the Municipality and keep people in their homes while negotiating with the Municipality. Many of the women interviewed for this study still remember “*the good old times*” of protest and one reports: “*Yes we were the organisers that got involved in the planning and distribution of the pamphlets and getting the people to the marches. We were at the fore front. Good old times*” (Interview#7 WFRA).

Most of the WFRA members stated that they had joined in marches, protests and meetings in the past. Some were organizers and got involved in the planning of actions and distribution of pamphlets. Others became active in community work due to their involvement in party political activities. Community members still support the idea that ‘protest works’ even though, recent years have been characterized by a relaxation of the community – Municipality adversary. Many of those interviewed noted however, that in case other means fail, they would turn back to protest to make their voices heard.

4.5 Reasons for Community Action

Many of the women interviewed started to become active as a response to the degradation of their community as well as housing evictions, water and electricity cut offs that constantly threatened their livelihoods from the early 2000s. One woman remembers:

“I moved to the area in late 1998. I moved into the flat and in 1999 I got the first letter of eviction, at that time I heard for the first time about the organization but I wasn’t involved. In February 2000, we got the second letter of eviction. We went to the Councillor but he said its fine but the next day, in the morning the guys were there to evict me. But Orlean (Naidoo) and the others were there to stop them. Sadly, it went totally wrong they [Municipality] put the teargas and all” (Interview#7 WFRA).

The implications of poverty and the feeling of being stripped of basic rights was also for others the starting point of their involvement in community activism. Another woman described her story in a few sentences:

“I started to get involved almost 20 years ago. I’ve been hearing about all the good things the WFRA was doing for the people. Also, I was in need of all the basics (house, clothing, food) because my husband and I were unemployed. That’s what made me join them and stay with them. [...] the time the council was evicting ‘illegal’ tenants they claimed that we had no rights to this houses. That was the time when we seriously got involved. Also, fighting for other rights such as children rights and so forth. Fighting for our human rights. But now I can’t remember when last we went on a protest. Now it’s a bit quiet” (Interview#8 WFRA).

Besides the need for protest there are also other factors that influenced the women interviewed to become involved in community action. For some it came with a sense of pride and the acknowledgment that responsibility for change cannot lie with community leaders or the Municipality alone. As some women stated:

“Living in the same community you can’t let the community leader fight for all so we all have to take a stand. She [Naidoo] can’t do it for all of us” (Interview#4 WFRA).

“At first it wasn’t my issue but later-on I was also affected by water cut offs. I really took pride in the involvement it’s something to tell the grandchildren” (Interview#2 WFRA).

Having a 'voice' and being 'heard' have therefore been important reasons to participate in community activism along with the very real impacts of poor service delivery. For others, it is the frustration about being neglected by local government and the renegeing on party promises that made them participate.

“I don't care what happens to you' that's what they [the Municipality] think! They had no intention of giving us a better future. No, they still don't give a damn about us. For simple things like simple repairs they tell us they don't have the funds. They got no interest in us” (Interview#8 WFRA).

4.6 Internal Structures of the WFRA

Considering the internal structures of the WFRA can provide valuable insights into the organization as well as into its relationships and levels of engagement. On the outside, the organization may not have visibility in terms of offices, logos, or other recognition features. However, the WFRA is highly structured, with elected leadership, a Chair, Vice-Chair, Secretary and Treasurer. Meetings are held weekly and address a range of issues faced by the community (Hinely et al., 2012). The organization consists of 85% female membership, however WFRA does not view itself as an exclusive organization but rather members feel that women are more actively involved in the community which accounts for their higher levels of participation (Mottiar et al., 2011). Individual leadership has played an important role in the organization's formation and development. Crucial in the formation of resistance in Westcliff were Naidoo and her husband who became central to the organization with Naidoo being not only the current head of WFRA but also a role model to many of the women in the community (Waetjen & Vahed, 2013).. The findings indicate that most of the women in the Westcliff community consider themselves either members of the WFRA or have at least participated in meetings and other events with respect to the situation of water services in the area. Most of them have been actively involved in community activism for the past 15 to 20 years and have hence a detailed understanding of the events and changes that occurred over this period. The WFRA is also more than a protest organisation. There are many activities that have to do with general social activities such as social getaways which are organized by the women for the women of the community. Other important structures are support groups such as a Sunday's women's groups which offer the women of the community, regardless of WFRA membership, a space to address issues and receive support

and assistance with various problems they may face. During one meeting, participants were invited to a domestic abuse seminar which was scheduled some weeks later to offer those affected social support and counsel. These kinds of activities and mutual support are very important for many of the women. As pointed out by one member:

“It is also important to support young women and make them independent. Orlean [Naidoo] made them stronger and made them stand up for themselves” (Interview#2 WFRA).

Therefore, the meetings initiated by the WFRA contribute to a much broader sense of social cohesion in the community. As one woman pointed out *“united we stand, divided we fall”* (Interview#6 WFRA).

4.7 The Role of Leaders and Elites

Another remarkable characteristic of the WFRA is its strong leadership, which becomes especially visible when interacting with the Councillor or EWS. While in its early days, the organization was influenced and inspired by several activists including Fatima Meer and later Ashwin Desai (Interview#1 WFRA), the interviews showed the critical role the current WFRA’ leader Naidoo and to some degree her husband hold within the organization as well as the wider community. It further became evident that strong leadership was crucial for the organization’s successes over the past decades as almost all individuals interviewed for the study stated the importance of Naidoo as a leader of the organization. As the WFRA’ leader Naidoo’s role involves a multitude of tasks, she gets people involved, organizes actions and meetings, addresses issues with the Municipality and solves hands on issues such as water cut offs and so forth (interview# 1WFRA). Further, she speaks on behalf of the community and gives voice to those who otherwise remain silent or who have given up (Interview#4 WFRA). To understand the communities’ relationship to the WFRA leader is especially interesting when considering the official and democratically elected leader, namely the Ward Councillor, who on the contrary, has received less praise. As one woman describes the situation *“I went to the meetings with Orlean [Naidoo]. She is talking on behalf of the people. She is the best to speak for us. The Councillor is not doing anything”* (Interview#6 WFRA). Others acknowledge the role of both leaders and point out *“You must have a central person. E.g. the Councillor and Orlean [Naidoo]. The Councillor is not very helpful but Orlean made the community one of a kind. Serve all and love all”* (Interview#4 WFRA). Naidoo’s presence is

also noticeable when discussing the role of the Municipality and whether they have been supportive with regards to water services in the community, one woman responded:

“Yes, the committee leader Orlean [Naidoo] made sure that services are delivered. And stands for the rights of the people. She was the one to get the write off of debt. The community is strong because of Orlean. We don't have a lot of educated people and a lot of people are old so they have to go to Orlean and she helps them. Orlean brought everyone together. EWS came into the area and helped with the bills due to Orleans engagement. Will the Municipality listen to one of us local people? They won't” (Interview#4 WFRA).

The presence of a strong leader is crucial for many in the community who otherwise feel neglected by municipal officials. In the case of the study community, the WFRA leader functions as a sort of intermediary between the community and the Councillor or other sections of the Municipality including the EWS. Some also felt that the inaccessibility of the Ward Councillor has made the presence of a community leader more important:

“We can't go to anybody else besides Orlean [Naidoo] to get things sorted out, EWS takes too long. The Councillor is doing his own thing. What good is he doing? The Councillor moved from the Westcliff area, now you have to take a taxi, R10 one way, most of us are unemployed so we don't have money to go to Councillor to give a complain” (Interview#5 WFRA).

Besides the positive impact the strong individual leadership had on the community, observations from the study also showed that the strong presence of the WFRA in the Westcliff community can lead to difficulties especially regarding access to the community. This was not only evident throughout the research process but also during community meetings the researcher attended. One example is the domestic abuse workshop which was attended by several members of the WFRA as well as the general community. The workshop was organized by a government sponsored organization and it soon became clear that WFRA felt they should have been included in the programs on domestic abuse and questioned the effectiveness of an outsider's project on abuse in the community. While there are certainly valuable points and the close cooperation with the community must be a priority of any governmental program, there is still the risk of missing important funding and opportunities when cooperation is only tolerated if it goes through the leadership of the WFRA instead of focusing on the general community. This is important as not everyone in the Westcliff

community considers him- or herself a member of the WFRA and should therefore also have the opportunity for open information.

4.8 Community Activism and Political Education

While having paid attention to some of the formal and informal structures that guide participation in hydropolitics in Durban, there are some other positive outcomes from the involvement in political and community work that should not be underestimated. These include social cohesion as well as an improved understanding of politics and governance on a local level in particular. Amongst the Westcliff community an improved sense of citizen/human rights but also responsibility was noted by the people's own judgement. For many women, WFRA is more than a means to address issues of service delivery, it also played an important role for empowerment for example through support groups but also through informing the community about their rights to service delivery and other aspects of citizenship. Hence, the joint activities in community work have helped many not only to make sense of everyday political decision-making but has also sensitized them to their own role in these processes. Moreover, the work for or with the WFRA has empowered many of the women to step out of the role of observer to become active citizens taking part in decision-making and questioning local government's policies.

“I understand now how the government works, also through my involvement at the Ward Committee. Now we understand what the Councillor is going through. And we better understand the network structures and how we can bring up issues in the community through the Councillor and so forth – moving ‘up the ladder’” (Interview#2 WFRA).

“Yes, that I can say for sure. I just took the politics for granted. Now I can say which is the right parties and wrong parties for me. So yes, it has made a big influence in my life” (Interview#7 WFRA).

Further, others feel that being part of a community organization such as the WFRA has “educated” them (Interview#8 WFRA).

One of the most obvious ways but still an important part of active citizenship to take part in decision-making is to vote in national or local elections. For those interviewed in the Westcliff community voting is seen as a fundamental right but also an obligation and most people interviewed had voted in every election since they became registered voters. Thus,

besides the challenges faced and community activism in Westcliff there is still a general trust in the formal structures of government and no sign of disenchantment with politics as such, but rather a more general dissatisfaction of post-apartheid politics and therefore a need to stay actively involved.

These findings somewhat reflect the overall South African experience, where high numbers of protests seem to be somewhat contrary to significant election results and support for the ruling ANC. The results of this study show that where people are actively involved in political work and/or community work they have a better understanding of the procedures of local government and its challenges. Moreover, addressing issues on a community level has helped to overcome the feeling of powerlessness against the authorities and has empowered individuals to stand up for themselves and their community. Further the involvement in community activism may have helped to sensitize people to their rights and has sharpened their overall understanding of politics. Another important aspect of community activism suggested by the study findings is the creation of social capital and of building stronger social networks not only through political action but also through more general activities such as the female support groups or organized getaways. Focusing especially on the women of the community may significantly improve their personal standing in society but also has the potential to improve society's function on a broader level while facilitating the development of the community.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Summary of Findings

This study focused on the strategies and outcomes of community activism in Westcliff, Durban and explored the community's influence on local level decision-making processes in hydropolitics. At the center of the study stands the WFRA and their ongoing battle with 'bread and butter' issues affecting the majority of the community. Amongst the issues addressed by the WFRA are the access and provision of basic water and sanitation as well as electricity, the right to basic housing and more general issues affecting living conditions in the area, such as crime and drug abuse. Moreover, the community's struggle has also highlighted challenges around recognition and the right to be taken seriously by local authorities. Analyzing the community's decade long involvement in activism, is helpful to develop a clearer understanding of participation in local governance and further present important insights on social change in South Africa after the democratic transition. The research process was guided by the following objectives: *first*, to explore eThekweni Municipality's current approach to community participation in hydropolitics. *Second*, to understand different activist strategies towards participation in hydropolitics in the WFRA community. *Third*, to evaluate the effectiveness of different strategies of community activism on shaping water governance in the Municipality. *Fourth*, to understand how the community perceives its contribution in shaping water politics in eThekweni Municipality. In order to reach these objectives the study focused on the following research questions:

- 1) How have various activist strategies shaped hydropolitics in Durban?
- 2) What are the experiences of community members regarding their participation on issues of water services?
- 3) How far do these strategies contribute to a broader governmentality approach including decision making in local government?
- 4) Has community involvement in water activism changed their perception of politics and citizenship?

By learning from the experiences of community members, as well as municipal officials, it can be suggested that even though some formal channels of participation are in place to allow for communication between the Municipality and communities, there is still a high level of

community dissatisfaction. Over the last decade communities, such as Westcliff, have continuously protested against local government's approach to basic service delivery. The case at hand, can therefore deliver some important insights which possibly contribute to improve local governance.

With regard to hydropolitics in Durban the findings indicate that basic services and access to water, remains a highly politicized issue. Access to water is dependent on a number of factors such as environmental aspects, available infrastructure, political willingness to deliver as well as governance priorities. The findings further highlight the complexity of interaction between individuals, communities and the Municipality at the local level. The study has shown that hydropolitics is not purely about the allocation of resources, in this case water, but also reflects underlying power structures as well as the social constructs that guide people's understanding of themselves and how they choose to interact with their environment. The study has therefore exposed how community members value their participation in local government hydropolitics and how this has in turn impacted on them.

As outlined above, eThekweni Municipality has some measures in place to include citizen participation in local government decision-making. While these platforms represent an important step to empower citizens and aim for more cooperation, the impact of such initiatives has yet been limited to consultation and information instead of resulting in a strong partnership with communities based on genuine participation. This comes despite a long understanding of the benefits of citizen's participation (UN, 2012) and may therefore still have a the taste of what Arnstein (1969) referred to as "tokenism". Thereby the powerholders, in this case the local Municipality may inform and consult with communities on certain issues but not be "heedful" of the peoples point of view (Arnstein, 1969). Under these circumstances Arnstein (1969) points out that communities lack the power or "*muscle*" (p. 217) to affect real change of the status quo.

In Durban, one of the reasons for falling short of positive results may also be the focus on 'proper procedures' of bureaucracy which may hinder communities to effectively access the platforms for participation and hence outcomes take a long time to be visible. Another important aspect which became evident in the results is that of knowledge and citizen empowerment. The literature has given some examples of the importance for active participation in democracy and embracing active citizenship (Michels & De Graaf, 2010).

Therefore, political work in the communities can be an important space for people to learn and understand aspects of politics.

The WFRA has experiences with informal as well as formal spaces within the Municipality and used them to address ‘bread and butter’ issues through their diverse and active involvement. While having achieved significant victories in the past, the community understood that in order to stay relevant protest is not sufficient. Therefore, they have increasingly drawn on formal strategies such as the Ward Committee to address their issues. Another aspect when analyzing the WFRA is to pay attention to the internal structures and the individual leadership of the organization which have been critical in the organization’s success.

5.2 The Invited Spaces of Hydropolitics

Exploring eThekweni Municipality’s current approach to community participation in hydropolitics reveals a two-sided image. On the one side the Municipality has gained international recognition and awards for its pioneering approaches to water provision, especially to the poor (SIWI, 2014; Gounden et al., 2006). On the other side, some academics and civil society organizations have frequently criticised the spatial approach to service delivery and unjust cost recovery mechanisms (Bond & Dugard, 2008). While without question much has improved in terms of service provision in eThekweni Municipality, the reports of frequent service delivery protests across various communities in the City (Alexander, 2010), demanding better access to adequate services, seem to support the critiques.

As this study argued the lack of participation of local communities can be understood as one factor affecting the levels of protest. These developments should also be viewed in the context of decentralization of South Africa’s local government and the division of municipalities into smaller Wards. While the intention was to create a more accessible approach and bring decision-making closer to the people to “*ensure a constructive and harmonious interaction between the Municipality and the community*” (IDP, 2014), there have also been shortfalls with this approach. Authors such as Oldfield (2008) identify challenges with the formalization and politicization of local government where participation of communities and meaningful engagement in local governance has been limited to the Ward Councillors and Committees. Therefore, participation is often narrowed to consultation

and education (Oldfield, 2008) and remains a “tick the box” situation (Miraftab & Willis, 2005). Booyesen (2007) also states that for many communities the formal channels of democratic participation such as voting in national and local elections, Ward Councillor engagement or the Ward Committees have been disappointing and not created the results many had hoped for. Nonetheless, active participation is supported by the national as well as municipal government in Durban and has found its way in several pieces of legislation. With regard to hydropolitics in Durban, some approaches by EWS have been identified which aim to invite citizens to take part in decision making. These include focus groups as well as meetings with the local Councillor and selected people from the ward held quarterly to give both sides the possibility to raise their opinions and concerns (Interview#1 EWS). Another project has been the platform Raising Citizen’s Voices which has been established to provide citizens with more channels of participation as well as ‘Operation Sukuma Sakhe’ to create spaces for participation for the most marginalized groups in society (Interview#1 EWS; Interview#1 Councillor). The focus of EWS’ approach towards citizen’s involvement is however mainly based on education and rising awareness (Interview# 1 EWS). Through different means such as radio shows, street theatre or workshops, the Municipality ‘informs’ communities about certain aspects of water governance such as policies as well as water conservation, environmental factors as well as the use of technical devices such as the water meter (Interview#1 EWS). These measures have, according to EWS established a good partnership with many communities, indicating that current approaches to participation show some success. Moreover, EWS has also acknowledged that working with civil society has achieved good outcomes e.g. in the case of increasing the amount of free basic water from 6 kl to 9 kl a month (Interview#1 EWS). However, it seems this is rather an exception as many of the above mentioned approaches are outlined on paper but are yet lacking implementation in the target communities. Members of the WFRA stated that while some workshops had taken place in their area and were found to be helpful e.g. in understanding issues of water governance in their community, they still felt left out when it comes to broader planning and decision making (Interview#2 WFRA). Furthermore, it became apparent that much citizen participation is shaped and controlled by the Municipality who determine who is selected for community meetings and they set the frame for meetings or programs (Interview#1 EWS). Therefore, there has been little room for the community to create their own spaces of participation without being labeled as troublemakers or extremists.

Miraftab (2004) discusses in her work the distinction between invited and invented spaces of citizen participation. Following the authors approach it can be argued that the current municipal approach to participation in hydropolitics, corresponds more with the idea of ‘invited’ space, where citizens engage within predefined parameters, legitimized by the government (Miraftab, 2004; Galvin, 2016). This also means that the rules of participation are determined by the government and therefore, may risk the exclusion of citizens for various reasons (e.g. based on political party affiliations). It further undermines the people’s ability to choose for themselves when, where and how they want to engage with the authorities and could endanger the process when people fail to commit to the governments terms of participation. Following Arnstein’s (1969) discussion of citizen participation it can be argued that EWS’ current approach has more tokenism, focusing mainly on informing and consulting communities and a lack of building long-term partnerships with active community organizations such as the WFRA. Even though, noticeable improvements have been made and some forms of participation have been established by EWS, it has also become clear that hydropolitics in Durban has largely been understood as politics from above.

5.3 The Invented Spaces of Hydropolitics

The story of the WFRA is one of many stories across South Africa that highlights the daily struggle of poor communities to access basic services as well as gaining respect from the government. As stated by Miraftab and Willis (2005) citizens should also be able to create their own spaces thereby expanding citizen participation as well as challenging the concept of citizenship itself. Therefore, while the recurring community-based protests in several communities across the city have been mainly seen as a key indicator of the failure of the government to allow for a more open approach to participation (van Donk, 2012) they could also be seen as an attempt to reshape participation in the urban context.

The case of the WFRA provides a diverse picture of community activism and participation around basic water services. While some disenchantment with the formal channels of participation was noticeable, mainly regarding the Ward Councillor as well as the Municipality, there have been attempts to actively engage in those invited spaces e.g. through the Ward Committee. Therefore, it can be observed that the organization undertook various shifts in strategy and moves between informal and formal spaces of participation. Some of the strategies mentioned were marches, public resistance/disobedience, rent boycotts, illegal

reconnection of services, writing memoranda, negotiations and court cases. More recently participation in the Ward Committee highlight the flexibility of approaches to make community voices heard. However, while by now many WFRA members acknowledged a better working relationship with the Municipality, over the longest time participation in Westcliff was under the maxim “*protest works*” (Booyesen, 2007) and WFRA members stated that without “*marches and strikes*” they would not have acquired what they have over the years. There is therefore a sense of having to “*fight*” the Municipality for basic levels of water services and the right to water amidst beliefs that they were widely ignored and disappointed by local authorities (Interview#2 WFRA). This has also been reported in the literature as Booyesen (2007) points out during the first nation-wide waves of service delivery protests unsatisfied local communities realized that protest was what got the Municipality’s attention and hence became an integrated part of their strategy of political participation. It may not be possible to evaluate the effectiveness of individual strategies adapted by the WFRA to challenge water governance as one has to look at the long-term perspective and therefore there is often no direct impact and result analysis possible.

Overall it can be noted that while the interaction with the Municipality was not always pleasant for the community, especially in the early years when evictions were being enforced with heavy security forces there has yet been a relaxation in their relationship and more willingness for communication on both sides. However, as has been pointed out, there is a need to improve communication to make the Municipality more aware of the daily struggles faced by the people in Westcliff. While addressing issues directly with EWS the organization also engaged with their local Councillor, to follow “*the proper procedures*” (Interview#1 WFRA). However, this engagement proves to be rather difficult as there is almost a sense of competition between the organization and the local Councillor as to who has more impact on the community. Moreover, members of the WFRA felt the Councillors work was “*useless*” or that he was not doing enough to support the community (Interview#5 WFRA). Further, they felt that the Councillor was more interested in party politics than serving the community (Interview#2 WFRA). Nonetheless, many members stated that they felt that better cooperation between the organization and the Councillor would be the most favourable option to address community challenges. Others felt that the Councillor was the only suitable person to take issues forward to the Municipality and speak for the community (Interview#3 WFRA).

As noted above, to have more impact the WFRA recently campaigned to join the Ward Committee in an attempt to achieve change from the inside and have more influence on decision making in the community (Interview#1 WFRA). Running for the Ward Committee may also be seen as a way to legitimize the organization and its cause as members would have to be publically elected to join the committee. In this way WFRA could manifest itself as an organization that speaks for the greater community and not just those that are active members.

The findings did not give clear indications as to why the WFRA chooses its different strategies of participation however it can be suggested that where there is a shortfall of local government participation mechanisms and participation is generally restricted or limited to a minimum, communities may become active within their own spaces of community activism. This again follows Miraftab's (2004) approach of grassroots occupation of different spaces of participation. One can argue that these may form the invented spaces of participation as they shift the power over rules of participation and legitimization away from the government and towards the people. As Miraftab and Willis (2005) point out the informal innovative spaces are very important as they are closer to the personal realities of the poor and also give them agency instead of leaving it up to time-consuming bureaucracy to establish meaningful participation. In the case of the WFRA a clear distinction between the two spaces is not always possible as the organization moves between them and uses them according to their needs. Miraftab (2004) states that 'invited' and 'invented' spaces are mutually constituted and urges that the "*full range of spaces within the informal arena where citizenship is practiced*" (p. 1) should be recognized in the academic literature as well as by politicians (Miraftab, 2004).

The case of the WFRA also highlights the importance of such organization for social cohesion amongst the community and especially amongst the women of Westcliff. Hence active citizenship in informal spaces has allowed women to become more than just recipients of services but active members of society challenging political authority. The strong cohesion amongst the members of the WFRA has also empowered them in terms of their rights and the confidence to claim those rights. This can also be seen through Foucault's (1990) concept of knowledge as an important source for power. Interviews with members of the WFRA have indicated the importance of having the organizational network as an information platform as well as a empowering network. Many of the interviewed women felt that without the WFRA

they would not have the knowledge about their rights or politics in general and therefore the organization was a crucial space to understand “*the right to have rights*” (Miraftab & Willis, 2005, p. 207).

5.4 WFRA Internal Structures and Leadership

While not being a very formal organization on the outside, WFRA proves to be internally highly organized. Striking is the strong (individual) leadership which has been for the longest time in the hands of Orlean Naidoo. During the interviews, it became clear that most WFRA members value the work of their own leader more than the local Councillor or any other elected official. Even though, Naidoo is from the same community it seemed that there was a wide acknowledgment amongst the other members that she was better equipped to address issues and negotiate with the local authorities than other community members. One woman even went so far as to question whether the Municipality would listen to any other person in the community (Interview#4 WFRA). While it is uncertain whether education here refers to schooling or experiences with the issues at hand, there seemed to be vast acknowledgment that Naidoo was the best person to talk on behalf of the community (Interview#6 WFRA).

Her strong stand in the WFRA and perhaps the broader community also puts Naidoo in direct competition with the local Councillor. Many members questioned the intention of the Councillor or his efficiency (Interview#5 WFRA). This could be interpreted as strong mistrust in the local government structure, initially indented to bring decision making closer to the people but yet falling short of community trust (Oldfield, 2007). It should further be noted that while there is seemingly satisfaction amongst the interviewed WFRA members, there are also some concerns regarding leadership and gatekeeping in the community. Two incidents during the research process are instructive in this regard. First, the data collection process was controlled by the WFRA leader in terms of when meetings were scheduled and who the researcher could talk to. Moreover, while initially being the first contact and a gatekeeper to the community and the organization, the WFRA leadership soon turned more into a regulator as to what was ethical to do in the community and what was not.

The second example is in reference to a workshop on domestic abuse, the researcher attended with members of the general community as well as the WFRA. The workshop which was

organized by private as well as governmental organizations, aimed to raise awareness amongst community members and sensitize people to abuse. While attendees were initially in favour of the offered programs, the effectiveness of the governmental program was then questioned by the WFRA leadership as well as the concern that the organization had not been in prior contact with the WFRA. This was felt to be an omission due to the WFRA's strong position in the community. While this example may not seem to be relevant to the topic of this study, it does give an important indication as to the perceived power relations in the community and the stronghold of the WFRA.

5.5 Political Education and Citizenship

There has been vast acknowledgement across the literature that active citizen's engagement and protest are important aspects of democracy (Heese, 2016, UN, 2012). The findings of this study indicate a mixed picture on the underlying causes of protest and their analysis. The example of the WFRA shows that while the initial reason for protest in the community was out of need and frustration over water services, there is also a sense of addressing broader issues of rights and challenging political ignorance. Some members of the WFRA stated they felt that the Municipality did not care about them nor where they interested in the plight of the poor. Activism through the WFRA gave community members a sense of hope but also pride and helped them to get a better understanding of local politics and their own perspective on community issues. For most women of the WFRA the involvement in activism has hence made an important contribution to their understanding of politics as well as their rights and duties as citizens. While these experiences may be in line with those suggested by the literature, where involvement in social movements and activist citizenship can be a means for poor communities to experience and exercise meaningful democracy (McKinley, 2004) there is a risk of placing too much responsibility on local communities to be 'schools of democracy'. Especially in the South African context with its long history of racism and oppression there is a risk that citizens lose trust in the government if they are not taken seriously. Alexander et al. (2013) suggest that rising levels of protest can only be addressed through fundamental institutional and economic change. Authorities must, according to the authors listen sympathetically to communities and act in close cooperation with the people on the ground (Alexander et al., 2013).

Where bureaucratic reasons are provided as an excuse for inaction or unfulfilled promises, frustration and bitterness will rise amongst those that have waited far too long for results. Finally, it is important to acknowledge that while protestors often express materialistic demands they also address issues of political participation such as the “*right to be heard, to have a voice, to be consulted, and to become full members of the political community*” (Zuern, 2011, p. 14). Runciman (2011) states the importance of acknowledging invisible and unnoticed day-to day resistance as an important sphere of taking part and challenging governmentality. The author further states that, while amongst academics, there is often a false dichotomy between the formal, organized, systemic resistance and informal, unorganized, resistance with “*no revolutionary consequences*” it is nonetheless important to take the power of these grassroots activities into account (Runciman, 2011, p. 611). Other authors have also addressed the importance of conceptualizing the broader meaning of citizenship and participation as crucial steps to create establish meaningful frameworks for participation (Gaventa, 2002). To avoid “*voice without influence*” there needs to be a focus on strengthening participation while also looking at possibilities of institutional change (Gaventa, 2002, p. 2).

5.6 Water and Citizen Participation: a Governmentality Approach

Civil society and its potential to realize societal change has been discussed with some controversy in the literature. In the debate of service related protests this controversy has become evident. As stated by Alexander et al. (2013) service delivery protests are not only addressing the issues related to basic municipal services but challenge the quality of democracy itself. Alexander (2013) further argued that while the focus of protests is currently on local governance grievances, the next step will be addressing national government responsibilities and further challenge the South African understanding of democracy (Alexander, 2010). Others have however rejected this view on civil society and its potential to bring about societal change as too narrowed and romantic (Sinwell, 2011). This is also evident in the analysis of the reasons of protest as Pithouse (2003) states its more about citizenship, social inclusion and participation. Others such as Booysen (2007) and Bond (2005) argue that much of service delivery protest is born out of frustration and are aimed solely at the insufficient provision of basic municipal services. The state - civil society relationship has been described as somewhat two sided. On the one hand, it is a field where

different kinds of technologies of governance meet the lives and wills of groups and individuals, on the other hand it is a ground for what Foucault termed “counter – conduct” action (Pyykkönen, 2015). The discussion of water is a good example of this and highlights this bi-dimensional relationship in which the state tries to influence the citizens from above and citizens hold out against these interventions and create their own approaches. Foucault’s concept of governmentality offers an interesting point of analysis in this case. Governmentality is according to Foucault defined as “*the broad sense of techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour*” (Foucault, 2000, p. 81). While the focus has largely been on the state and its decision-making authority, it has been argued that in modern governmentality, power is much more diffused in a complex network (Davoudi, 2016). Or as Foucault understands it, power is the ‘diversity of forces’, which may not be found in central or main source but can be found anywhere in any relationship and interaction (Foucault, 1990). Therefore, power relations in hydropolitics can also be understood as a two-way street in which the government but also community organizations such as the WFRA, which will use their power to weigh in on the planning and decision-making process. In the case of water one can argue that people are not only consumers or passive receivers of services but are instead active agents for change to access the services they are entitled to. Civil society plays an important role in this debate as Pyykkönen (2015) points out, modern governmentality depends on “*freedom and activeness*” (p. 30) of individuals as well as groups within society. However, it has also been argued that in light of a neoliberal approach to government, civic and economic freedoms have become means to protect the integrity of the market rather than the means to assure the democratic rights of citizens (Pyykkönen, 2010).

Moreover, as Swyngedouw (2005) has argued, an open approach to governmentality may also jeopardize the accountability of the state as well as transparency as increasingly responsibility is loaded onto citizens to make decisions. Therefore, Galvin (2016) has highlighted the need for a middle way between participation as tokenism and an absent state. In the example of the WFRA, it can be noticed that while interviewees found the state to be absent or not involved enough in the issues of the community, many also thought local government was important and hence felt that better cooperation was needed. Nonetheless, most were convinced that a central person, such as their own leader, was crucial in this process. This could be an important message to local government to be open to independent community leaders, not only those elected as Ward Councillors. Moreover, restoring trust in the existing formal institutions could also be an important step to improve communication

and participation in communities. Visible in the example at hand, is that where the state is perceived absent, citizens take matters into their own hands and challenge service delivery but may also question more general structures of governance.

5.7 Conclusion

Inside the formal structures of the city of Durban, water flows through a complex network, channeled by political, social, economic and environmental factors and influenced by South Africa's vivid history. On its way from the rivers and dams to taps around the City, its force has begun to dilute the boundaries between formality and informality in the urban context. Through this process water has helped to build new routes through the social construct of a City and eroded some of the rather rigid built, social and political structures which have remained from its apartheid past. Water therefore, like power, is in constant circulation and makes for an interesting as well as important lens to investigate governmentality in the urban space.

The case study at hand has highlighted some of the existing social and political structures and explored the different spaces used by communities and the local government to shape these structures. The interaction between the WFRA and eThekweni Municipality on issues of basic service delivery and especially the access to water can be understood as one example of the ongoing challenges faced by many poor communities around the country but also as an opportunity to learn and create social change. Unquestionably much has changed with regard to access to basic services in Durban over the last decades. Nonetheless, for many in the poorer neighborhoods there is still a feeling of top-down politics and enforcement of decisions with little room for citizens to participate. While a vast amount of legislation exists, laying out the importance of including citizens in planning and decision-making, there is yet a lack of implementation of these policies. Moreover, local government has been opposing other, informal channels of participation which have developed across Durban communities.

The findings of this study have highlighted the importance to pay attention to 'invited' and 'invented' spaces as important facets of citizenship and democracy. Especially the 'invented' space may be crucial in giving a voice to those who otherwise remain marginalized. Therefore, more respect and greater emphasis on these created spaces could not only help

poor communities to be heeded by the local government but also bring more efficiency to problem solving and overall decision making. Having drawn on Foucault's understanding of power as a diversity of forces the study suggests that hydropolitics in the city of Durban is a mirror of the ongoing transformation of post-apartheid South Africa and the need to create greater social change.

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Graphs and Images

Graph 1: “Number of recorded protests 2004 – 2013”. Alexander, P. Runciman, C., Ngwane, T. (2013). Community Protests 2004-2013: Some Research Findings. Retrieved from <https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com>.

Graph 2: “Complaints Addressed by Protest as Percentage of all Registered Protest”. Alexander, P. Runciman, C., Ngwane, T. (2013). Community Protests 2004-2013: Some Research Findings. Retrieved from <https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com>.

Figure 1: “Channels of Political Participation”. UN (2012). Enhancing Youth Political Participation throughout the Electoral Cycle. A Good Practice Guide. Retrieved from www.undp.org.

Table 1: “Outline Participants for Qualitative Interviews” Researchers own notes

Map 1: “Historic City Map of Durban, Indicated Racial Segregation”. Desai, A., Vahed, G. (2013). Writing Chatsworth: An Introduction. *In* Chatsworth: The making of a South African Township.

Map 2: “Study Location: Westcliff Area Map”. Narsiah, S. (2002). Neoliberalism and privatisation in South Africa. *Geo Journal*. Vol. 57 (1). Pp. 29 – 38. Retrieved from www.jstore.org

Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Interviews

eThekweni Water and Sanitation (EWS)

Bernard Gabela, Official, 10.01.2017

Lucky Sibiya, Official, 08.02.2017

Westcliff Flats Residents Association (WFRA)

Orlean Naidoo, Chairperson, 21.05.2017

Committee member, 25.05.2017

Committee member, 25.05.2017

Committee member, 25.05.2017

Committee member, 25.05.2017

Committee member, 26.06.2017

Committee member, 26.06.2017

Committee member, 26.06.2017

Committee member, 26.06.2017

Politicians

Tony Govender, Councillor (Ward 70), 03.07.2017

Appendix 2: Interview Guides

Guide 1: eThekweni Water and Sanitation (EWS)

Part 1: Service delivery protest and citizen participation

1. What, in your opinion, are the main improvements and the current challenges regarding the situation of water and sanitation service delivery in eThekweni Municipality?
2. How does EWS value the situation of protests (especially 'service delivery protest') in eThekweni Municipality?
3. What is the Municipality's current approach towards 'service delivery protests'?
4. Have you noticed changes in the protests as well as the Municipality's response over the last decade? If yes, how would you describe them?
5. Which channels does EWS use to communicate with the general public?
6. Which channels can communities use to communicate with EWS?
7. How would you describe EWS' approach to citizen participation regarding water and sanitation service delivery?
8. What are the biggest challenges EWS faces with regard to citizen participation?
9. Do you think there are benefits from the engagement of communities in decision making processes? If yes, in which areas is it feasible?
10. Where do you see other strength and weaknesses of citizen participation in the area of water and sanitation?

Part 2: The case of the Westcliff Flats Residents Association

11. Are you familiar with the case of WFRA or can you think of other examples of community protest which have had an impact on EWS decision-making processes?
12. What are the main challenges when dealing with such cases?
13. What do you think should be done to decrease the number of protests in communities in the future?

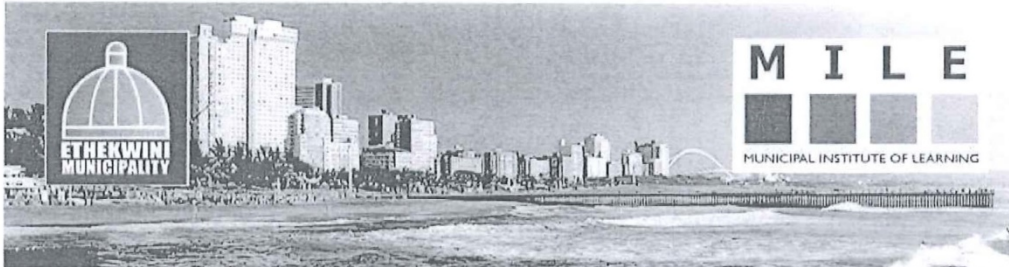
Guide 2: Westcliff Flats Resident Association (WFRA)

1. Can you please describe for me your current situation regarding access and use of water?
 - a. How do you feel about the current situation?
2. How do you feel about the Municipality's approach towards the provision of water services in the past?
3. If changes occurred: Do you feel that you had an impact on these changes?
4. Have you taken part in the community actions regarding water services in the past?
 - a. If yes: what kind of activities were you involved in? (name some examples)
5. When and why did you start to engage in community action?
6. What in your perception was the most effective strategy to reach your goals?
7. Do you feel the Municipality has been supportive with regards to water services in your community?
8. What do you feel the Municipality could do in the future to support your community?
9. What were your perceptions about the way the Municipality made decisions in the past? Has this changed?
10. Did your engagement in community activism change your perception about politics in the Municipality?
 - a. If yes: how so?
 - b. Do you feel that the Municipality cares about the opinion of an organisation like WFRA?
11. What do you think other communities can learn from WFRA?
12. Have you ever participated in a municipal organized workshop or meeting on water or sanitation?
 - a. Have you ever heard of such?
13. Are you voting in general/local elections?

Guide 3: Ward Councillor

1. How would you describe your role as a councillor?
 - a. what are your tasks
2. How do you communicate with the community and the Municipality?
3. What are some of the challenges you as the Councillor face and how do you address them?
4. How would you describe the situation regarding water related services in the community?
5. Where have you seen improvements?
6. How would you describe your relationship with the community?
7. What have been your experiences working with WFRA?
8. How would you describe your work with EWS/ other municipal institutions?

Appendix 3: Gatekeepers Letter



Pod 1, Second Floor, Intuthuko Junction, 750 Mary Thiphe Street, Umkhumbane, Cato Manor, Durban 4001.
Tel: 031 322 4513, Fax: 031 261 3405, Fax to email: 086 265 7160, Email: mile@durban.gov.za, Website:
www.mile.org.za

For attention:
Chair: Research Ethics Committee
School of Built Environment and Development Studies
University of Kwazulu-Natal
Durban
4001

19 August 2016

RE: LETTER OF SUPPORT TO JANA ROGOLL, REGISTRATION NUMBER 215078530 - GRANTING PERMISSION TO USE ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY AS A CASE STUDY

TITLE: "Shaping hydro-politics in Durban – Community activist strategies to address water services provision: experiences of the Westcliff Flat Residents Association"

Please be informed that eThekweni Municipality's Head: Water and Sanitation and the Head: eThekweni Municipal Academy (EMA) have considered the request by Ms Jana Rogoll to use eThekweni Municipality as a research study site leading to the awarding of a Masters in Development Studies .

We wish to inform Ms Rogoll of the acceptance of her request and hereby assure her of our utmost co-operation towards achieving her academic goals; the outcome which we believe will help our municipality in the long run.

In return, we stipulate as conditional, that Ms Rogoll contacts the MILE Office to present the results and recommendations of this study to the related unit/s on completion.

Wishing the student all the best in her studies.

Mr E. Msweli
Head : Water and Sanitation Unit
eThekweni Municipality

26/08/2016
Date

Dr. M. Ngubane
Head: EMA
eThekweni Municipality

Westcliff Flat Residents Association
170 Crimby Ave, Westcliff
Chatsworth 4092
Durban

10th of June 2016

To Whom it May Concern,

I Orlean Naidoo, give Jana Rogoll, Masters student in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies at UKZN the permission to interview members of the Westcliff Flats Residents Association and use the data collected for her Master's dissertation entitled: *"Shaping hydro-politics in Durban – How different strategies of community activism challenge governmentality: experiences from the case of the Westcliff Flat Residents Association"*. I have been informed about the objectives of the study and the research process.

Kind regards,

Orlean Naidoo (Chairperson)

WFRA

Permission to use interview data Granted by:

Name: Somayanthie Naidoo (Orlean) - (Chairperson)

Signature: Orlean Naidoo

Date: 09/06/2016

Westcliff Flats Residents Association
Durban

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date:

Dear Sir or Madam,

My name is Jana Rogoll, I am a Development Studies Master student from the University of KwaZulu-Natal's School of Build Environment and Development Studies.

Contact details Researcher: Jana Rogoll, Study ID 215078530, email address: 215078530@stu.ukzn.ac.za, cell phone: 0782293309.

Contact details Supervisor: Dr. Shauna Mottiar, email address: mottiar@ukzn.ac.za, office phone 0312602940, office address 723A, 7th Floor, Denis Shepstone Building, Howard College, UKZN

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research, including interviews, on community activism in the area of water service delivery in eThekweni Municipality. The aim and purpose of this research is to look at the ways communities have in the past and present contributed to shape water-politics in the eThekweni Municipality. The study is expected to enroll around 10 participants in the Westcliff community. It will involve scheduled meetings with the researcher and interviews. The duration of your participation if you choose to enroll and remain in the study is expected to be no longer than 6 months between January and July 2017. The study is a self-funded project and no other institutions/organizations have an influence on the study or any benefits from its results.

I hope that the study will create a better understanding of how communities can take action to participate in local government decision-making in the area of water services and better cooperation between the Municipality and communities. The study may however, not provide direct benefits to participants.

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher (contact details above) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary and participants may withdraw from their participation at any point. In the event of refusal or withdrawal of participation there will not be any form of incur penalty or negative impacts for the participant.

The confidentiality of personal information is the highest priority for the researcher. Therefore, all information from the interviews and notes during field visits will be stored on the personal and password secured computer of the researcher. The personal information and answers from the interviews is only shared between the researcher and the supervisor (named above). All data will be stored for a maximum of 5 years and deleted afterwards.

CONSENT

I have been informed about the study entitled 'Shaping Hydropolitics in Durban – Community Activist Strategies in Chatsworth' by Jana Rogoll.

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without any negative consequences.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study, I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor at any point.

Contact details Researcher: Jana Rogoll, Study ID 215078530, email address: 215078530@stu.ukzn.ac.za, cell phone: 0782293309.

Contact details Supervisor: Dr. Shauna Mottiar, email address: mottiar@ukzn.ac.za, office phone 0312602940, office address 723A, 7th Floor, Denis Shepstone Building, Howard College, UKZN

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO

Signature of Participant

Date

**Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)**

Date